

Hans Peter Hallbeck and the Cradle of Missions in South Africa



H. P. Hallbeck.

HANS PETER HALLBECK AND THE CRADLE OF MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA
A THEOLOGICAL-CRITICAL STUDY

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Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

In the

Faculty of Theology

Jonathan Edwards Centre Africa

At the University of the Free State

BLOEMFONTEIN, 2015

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Preface

Some **terms** that were used to describe nations in the sources have become derogative in the meantime. It is important to stress that these terms were not used by the missionaries in a derogative way. In other cases new terminology is being used nowadays, without the old terms having become derogative. When the sources are quoted directly, the terms are left as in the original. However when I refer to or quote from the sources by first translating them into English, I have changed some of the terms:

“Hottentot” – Khoikhoi

“Bushman” – San

“Caffre” – Bantu, and sometimes more specific: Xhosa, Thembu, Fingu

“Tambukki” – Thembu

Quotations that are translated by me into English, are typed in *italics* in order to clearly distinguish them from the rest of the text. Although I intended in my translations to stay as close as possible to the original text, they still remain translations. The original text (in German or Dutch for example) appears in the footnotes. The other alternative – to just have quoted the original language in the main text – would have made the dissertation much less accessible to readers not versed in languages like German or Dutch.

The **pictures and maps** incorporated in this study are of historic significance. Most of them are published for the first time, after having laid virtually untouched for at least one and a half century in Herrnhut. Hallbeck lived in the era just before photography became in use. The different sketches and paintings, often made by the missionaries, endeavoured to give an authentic representation of South Africa and its mission stations.

I like to thank everybody who assisted me during the course of my study. I think of my wife, especially her shared interest in the topic of my study. I also think of my children. Together as a family we undertook several excursions to the respective mission stations. Furthermore I am indebted to my parents and parents in law, for their ongoing encouragement. I thank my promoter, Prof Britz, for his assistance, especially towards the end of my study trajectory. I really appreciated to study under someone with a vast knowledge of South Africa's (mission) history. My gratitude also goes to Prof Neele, for his accurate and punctual assistance. Furthermore I

want to thank everybody in the different archives, in South Africa, Germany, Sweden, Holland and England, for their assistance. They brought me into contact with the primary sources, without which this study would not be possible. I also want to thank those who helped me in proofreading my dissertation: Mieke Boon from Canada (now in South Africa), and Beate Britz from South Africa (now in China). Above all I thank my Creator and Saviour for granting me the health in order to complete this study.

PG Boon

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
BMS	Berlin Missionary Society
Br / br	Brother (male member in the church)
DEIC	Dutch East Indian Company (Vereenigd Oost Indisch Compagnie – VOC)
Dr	Doctor
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
DWIC	Dutch West Indian Company (Vereenigd West Indisch Compagnie – WIC)
HC	Helpers Conference (Helpers Konferenz)
GA	Genadendal Archive, Broederkerk Argief Genadendal
HA	Herrnhut Archive, Archiv der Brüder-Unität Herrnhut
LMS	London Missionary Society
MASA	Moravian Archives of the Moravian Church South Africa, Moraviese Argief van die Moraviese Kerk Suid-Afrika
MC	Missions Conference (Missions Konferenz) (the central body controlling the worldwide Moravian mission work)
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
Rev	Reverend
RMS	Rhenish Missionary Society
SAMS	South African Missionary Society (Zuid-Afrikaansch Genootschap)
Sr / sr	Sister (female member in the church)
UEC / UAC	Unity Elders Conference (Unitäts Ältesten Konferenz), the central body of the Moravian Church (located in Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut, Germany)
VOC	Vereenigd Oost Indisch Compagnie (Dutch East Indian Company – DEIC)
WIC	Vereenigd West Indisch Compagnie (Dutch West Indian Company – DWIC)
ZAG	Zuid-Afrikaansch Genootschap (South African Missionary Society)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Intention of the research

The intention of this research is to provide a comprehensive source based theological and critical study of the Moravian Hans Peter Hallbeck's (1784-1840) life, work and legacy, in particular during his sojourn in South Africa. This investigation will illuminate a fundamental phase in the history of the Moravian Church in South Africa and at the same time contribute to explaining the pivotal role Hallbeck played in church and society in a key period of British-colonial transition of South Africa. Hallbeck had to deal with religious and social-ethical issues described as slavery, colonialism, oppression, injustice, racial tensions and reconciliation, war, poverty, paganism, witchcraft, syncretism, spiritual superficiality and the like that challenged the Moravian's ministry in the early Cape colonial setting. As superintendent of the Moravian Mission in South Africa from 1817 until his death in 1840, he distinguished himself as an effective administrator, leader with vision, as well as a pedagogue, historian, scholar, preacher, missionary and theologian. His ordination as bishop of the Moravian Church in 1836 made him the first ever to hold this ecclesiastical office in South Africa.

In the literature and church historiography Hallbeck received a standing of significance. Already in 19th century accounts or narratives, dealing with and reporting on the evangelical missionary enterprise in South Africa, Hallbeck and Genadendal were noted and even profiled. The earliest Hallbeck *biographies* appeared as short missionary sketches at the end of the 19th century. Inaugurated by Du Plessis's *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*,¹ published in 1910, the subsequent 20th century scientific historiography offers a more comprehensive and source based portrayal of Hallbeck as a profound missionary. Nonetheless a comprehensive critical study of Hallbeck and the cradle of missions in South Africa is still lacking. Our knowledge of Hallbeck is limited and inadequate.

The *Nachrichten* – the Moravian Missions Magazine – did not publish an obituary of Hallbeck after his death in 1840. It was customary for Moravian missionaries to compile their own

¹ J. du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911). See Preface, vii.

curriculum vitae, which was then published posthumously. The *Lebenslauf* that Hallbeck had prepared was lost in 1837 when the ship carrying his luggage sank in the North Sea during a severe storm.² During the four remaining years of his life he apparently did not rewrite it.³

In his journal *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa* James Backhouse described the Moravian missionaries as devout and simple-hearted people “whose hearts were warmed by Christian love...”⁴ Backhouse spent time on all the Moravian institutions during 1838-1839.⁵ His visit to Genadendal in October 1838 made a lasting impression: “here the poor and oppressed, having found a refuge under the banner of the cross, were literally sitting under their own vines, and their own fig-trees, none making them afraid.”⁶ Many of the neighbouring Boers were attending worship on Sundays, he observed.⁷ “Halbeck,” he wrote, “was a plain, simple-hearted Christian, who visited the sick, and took his turn in the school-instruction of ten Hottentot youths, given up by their parents to the entire charge of the missionaries, in an institution supported by the munificence of a German prince, for training 12 pupils for teachers.”⁸

Telling *My Life in Basutoland* as a story of the groundbreaking missionary venture among the Basotho incepted in 1833, the French missionary, Eugène Casalis (1812-1891) in 1889 remembered his visit of January 1836 to Genadendal: “What is impossible for me to describe was the benevolence, the condour, the serious and orderly habitudes written upon the features of these friends.”⁹ Not only the ministry, but also the institute’s education, industries and agriculture had an enduring effect.¹⁰ Although he did not meet Hallbeck at the time, what he experienced and described was the Genadendal of Hallbeck.

Thirty years later, when the Director of the Berlin Missionary Society, HT Wangemann (1818-1894) visited South Africa during 1867-1868, he explicitly referred to Hallbeck’s influence when describing the “oldest mission station” of the country, Genadendal: *A preacher came into the country, whose preaching resounded far and wide, drawing nearer thousands of coloureds. They*

² Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Jan 20th 1837 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to Herrnhut, Jan 12th 1837 in: Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 61.

³ *Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern* (1840) (HA).

⁴ J. Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa. Illustrated by two maps, sixteen etchings, and twenty-eight wood-cuts*. (London: Adams and Co. Paternoster Row, 1844), 619.

⁵ Hemel en aarde: 93ff.; Elim 99 ff.; Clarkson Chapter 9, 142 ff.; Enon Chapter 11, 164 ff; Silo 14, 200; Groenekloof 619ff.

⁶ Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*, 97.

⁷ Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*, 98.

⁸ Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*, 97.

⁹ E. Casalis, *My Life in Basuto Land. A Story of Missionary Enterprise in South Africa* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1889), 263.

¹⁰ Casalis, *My Life in Basuto Land*, 260-266.

built a big church able to accommodate 1500 persons, for which they themselves manufactured and burnt 200,000 bricks. Yet, when Hallbeck's mighty voice also started to awaken the surrounding white people, the church proved to be far too small. And as the white people were coming now, they no longer shouted on the coloureds, but begged them: 'Children, you have this everyday, so please grant it to us today, so that we can also hear it once today.' The blessed valley henceforth was no longer called Valley of the Baboons, but Valley of Grace (Gnadenthal).¹¹ Obviously Wangemann's observations were coloured with assumptions and preconceptions: it was meant to inspire and encourage the friends and enthusiasts of missions in Germany, emphasising the effects of a spiritual revival, not only among the Khoikhoi, but also among the colonists. Nevertheless, in the late sixties it seems that Hallbeck's memory and legacy was still kept in high esteem and honoured.

The earliest Hallbeck *biographies* appeared as short missionary sketches at the end of the 19th century. In 1895 a brochure of 28 pages, *Hans Peter Hallbeck*, was published as part of the series *Livsbilleder af nordiske Missionaerer*. In the same year Jens Vahl wrote an article "Hans Peter Hallbeck" in the *Nordisk Missionstidskrift*. Vahl was one of the editors of this missionary magazine that has existed since 1893.¹² In 1897 the following booklet was printed in Swedish, offering a rather concise biography of Hallbeck: *Ur Missionären Hallbecks Lif*.¹³ It was not only composed for children, but also for long-standing mission friends. It was a translation of the German brochure *In ferner Heidenlanden: Missionserzählungen für die Jugend. No. 5. Hans Peter Hallbeck*, written by HG Schneider. The Verlag der Missionsverwaltung in Herrnhut was responsible for the edition, probably in 1896. Afterwards it was reprinted twice, and a third time in 1925, entitled: *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars*.¹⁴ According to Hutton, HG Schneider (also) wrote a short biography entitled *H.P. Hallbeck im Kaplande*. He does not mention a date, but it probably was during the last decade of the 19th century.¹⁵ Hermann Schneider published a booklet on Hallbeck's children as well: *Die Sippe der Hallbeck's und Einer*

¹¹ "Es kam nämlich ein Prediger in das Land, dessen Predigten weit hinausschallten, so daß die Farbigen sich bald zu Tausenden einfanden. Sie bauten eine große Kirche, zu der sie 200,000 Ziegelsteine selbst gestrichen und gebrannt hatten, und in der 1500 Personen Platz fanden. Aber als nun Hallbeck's mächtige Weckstimme auch die Weißen umher wach zu rufen begann, da reichte der Raum dieser Kirche bei Weitem nicht aus. Und wenn nun die Weißen kamen, schalten sie nicht mehr auf die Farbigen, sondern baten sie: "Kinder, ihr habt es ja alle Tage, so gönnt es uns doch heute, daß wir's auch heute einmal hören können." Das gesegnete Thal aber hieß fortan nicht mehr das Affenthal, sondern Gnadenthal." HT Wangemann, *Ein Reise-Jahr in Süd-Afrika. Ausführliches Tagebuch über eine in den Jahren 1866 und 1867 ausgeführte Inspectionsreise durch die Missions-Stationen der Berliner Missions-Gesellschaft von Dr. Wangemann, Missions-Director* (Berlin: Verlag des Missionshauses in Berlin, 1868), 33.

¹² Jens Vahl, "Hans Peter Hallbeck", *Nordisk Missionstidskrift* (1895, II).

¹³ *From the missionary Hallbeck's life*. It was published in Göteborg by Göteborgs Handelstidnings Aktiebolags Tryckeri, 1897.

¹⁴ Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925.

¹⁵ Cf. J.E. Hutton, *A History of Moravian Missions* (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1922), 517. I could not retrieve this book. Is it perhaps the same as *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars*?

aus ihr.¹⁶ In these initial biographical sketches, Hallbeck is portrayed, in terms of evangelical-theological motivation, as an eminent missionary that devoted his life to the missionary cause.

The ensuing 20th century *scientific literature* portrays Hallbeck as a fundamental contributor to the establishment of the Moravian Church in South Africa. In 1910, three months after the World Missionary Conference assembled in Edinburgh and in the momentous year of the “birth of a united South Africa,” Johannes du Plessis published his *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*.¹⁷ Dealing with the Moravian Mission, he appreciated the pre-eminent Hallbeck: “For twenty-three years, from 1817 to 1840, the Moravian Missions in South Africa were under the control of Bishop JP Hallbeck as superintendent, and they witnessed during that period a remarkable expansion.”¹⁸ Concluding, Du Plessis observes: “When he arrived at the Cape there were but two stations with 1600 inhabitants; when he died, the number of stations had grown to seven, with a membership of 4500.”¹⁹

In 1927 the first and only comprehensive biography of Hallbeck was published by Carl Anshelm: *Biskop Hans Peter Hallbeck den Förste Svenske Missionären i Afrika*.²⁰ A German translation by Helene Marx remained unpublished.²¹ Anshelm’s research can still be regarded as the standard Hallbeck biography. It is substantially based on letters of Hallbeck, kept in the Herrnhut Archive. Furthermore, Anshelm had access to letters of Hallbeck to family members in Sweden that were still extant. Anshelm – a Swede himself – puts much emphasis on the fact that Hallbeck was the first Swedish missionary in Africa. He wrote his book to encourage Swedish missionaries to continue with their calling. The last words of his book are meaningful: *Many of our fellow countrymen have served or are serving in the part of the world of the blacks in the battle for God’s kingdom. The list of Swedish missionaries there is already long. May the last Swedish missionary not lay down the work that had been started by Hans Peter Hallbeck as the first Swedish missionary in Africa, not before the goal has been reached – the whole of Africa for Christ!*²²

¹⁶ Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1907.

¹⁷ J. du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911). See Preface, vii.

¹⁸ Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions*, 243.

¹⁹ Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions*, 245.

²⁰ Lund: C.W.K. Gleerups Förlag, 1927.

²¹ Anshelm, Carl. *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck, der erste schwedische Missionar in Afrika*. Translated into German by Helene Marx, unpublished (GA).

²² “Viele unsrer Landsleute standen oder stehen im Weltteil der Schwarzen im Kampf für Gottes Reich. Die Reihe der schwedischen Missionsarbeiter dort ist schon lang, und nicht eher, als bis das Ziel erreicht worden ist: Ganz Afrika für Christus! Möge der letzte schwedische Missionar die Arbeit niederlegen, die von Hans Peter Hallbeck als dem ersten

Broadly speaking, Anshelm's *Biskop Hans Peter Hallbeck* provided a wealth of information, that was freely utilised by ensuing publications that appeared later during the 20th century. In 1961 N. Reichel published (in Afrikaans) *Hans Peter Hallbeck Die Eerste Biskop van die Evangeliese Broederkerk in Suid-Afrika. Volgens 'n lewensbeskrywing deur Carl Anshelm*.²³ It was a concise summary of Anshelm's biography. Seven years later, in 1968 a comparable booklet appeared in Swedish, compiled by Herman Schlyter: *Tunnbindaresonen från Malmö som blev Afrikas förste evangeliske biskop*.²⁴ Also based on the study of Anshelm are the biographical entries of Hallbeck in the following dictionaries:

- Herman Schlyter's biography of Hallbeck in the *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon (Dictionary of Swedish National Biography)*: <http://www.nad.riksarkivet.se/sbl>
- PW Schaberg's biography of Hallbeck in the *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek (South African Biographical Dictionary)*.²⁵

Bernhard Krüger, author of the most comprehensive account of the history of the Moravian Mission in South Africa, which he entitled *The Pear Tree Blossoms* (1966),²⁶ and originally submitted as a dissertation for the degree Doctor of Philosophy of Rhodes University, characterised Hallbeck as follows: "He was an excellent scholar and spoke Swedish, German, English and later Dutch fluently. He had foresight but at the same time a realistic approach, a quick perception and a penetrating judgment, discerning clearly between essentials and non-essentials. Very hard-working, he bestowed the same care on far-reaching projects as on small particulars. He was of delicate health, but tenacious. In his dealing with people, he was sensitive and conciliatory, but persistent if necessary ... Like many other leaders of his generation, he attached great importance to the education of young and old ... Hallbeck initiated the creation of an indigenous mission church by the establishment of the training-school at Genadendal."²⁷ Krüger's consultation of primary and secondary sources suggested that the Hallbeck era should be identified as a time of expansion and training of indigenous helpers.²⁸ *The Pear Tree Blossoms* offers a broad exposition of the Moravian Church's history in South Africa. However, although it

schwedischen Missionar Afrikas begonnen wurde." C. Anshelm *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 107 (via the German translation of H. Marx).

²³ Genadendal: Moraviese Boekdepot, 1961. (*Hans Peter Hallbeck The First Bishop of the Evangelical Brother Church in South Africa. According to a Biography by Carl Anshelm*)

²⁴ Kristianstad: Lunds stifts julbok, 1968. (*A cooper's son from Malmö who became Africa's first evangelical bishop.*)

²⁵ C.J. Beyers (Ed.), *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek IV* (Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing, 1981), 218-219.

²⁶ See also: Bernhard Krüger and PW Schaberg, *The Pear Tree Bears Fruit. The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980* (Genadendal, 1984).

²⁷ Bernhard Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms. The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869* (Genadendal: Genadendal Printing Works, 1966), 131.

²⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 120.

pays attention to Hallbeck, it does not contain a systematic study of Hallbeck's activities and writings.

Anshelm had no access to the South African archives. His work provides a sympathetic description, and does not shy away from some of the more controversial aspects of Hallbeck's life and work, and the functioning of the mission (both Moravian and other) in South Africa. Strikingly these aspects are omitted in the writings of Schneider, Krüger and Reichel, resulting in a portrait lacking the necessary depth and objectivity. Both Reichel and Krüger were in the service of the South African Moravian Church. Could that have been the reason why they omitted the more controversial issues of the past?

The well-known Moravian historian, Hartmut Beck, notes in his book *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, published in 1981: *It appears to be rather unusual for the character and history of the United Brethren, when – apart from Zinzendorf – a certain period is named after a specific person. One should not forget that many others – not only endowed with extraordinary personal qualities, but also with much dedication – devoted themselves to the work. Nevertheless, significant developments in the South African mission during the years 1817-1840 definitively proves to be related more profoundly to one name than the mission in many other periods and places – the name of Hans Peter Hallbeck.*²⁹ Beck, though, refrains from a theological-critical explication.

In 2002 a critical Hallbeck article was published by Johanna Hertzsch: "Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans-Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika (1817-1840)."³⁰ The article is based on an unpublished study of hers in 1999, bearing the same title.³¹ Hertzsch was convinced that the traditional approach of mission historiography was one sided and neglected the political and societal aspects. Aligned with the contemporary tendency in research, she focused on and discussed social and political-colonial issues related to the life and work of Hallbeck in South Africa, arguing a differentiated and new perspective on Hallbeck. The image of Hallbeck is thus coloured in terms of her critical approach. However Hallbeck as *theologian* is not treated on its

²⁹ "Es erscheint für Wesen und Geschichte der Brüdergemeine ungewöhnlich, wenn ein Zeitabschnitt – von Zinzendorf selbst abgesehen – mit dem Namen eines einzelnen gekennzeichnet wird. Es soll dabei gewiß nicht vergessen werden, daß zugleich auch viele andere nicht nur mit besten persönlichen Qualitäten, sondern auch mit großen Arbeitseinsatz und viel Hingabe am Werk gewesen sind. Aber tiefgreifender als in vielen anderen Zeiten und Gebieten der Mission waren in den Jahren 1817-1840 in Südafrika bedeutende Entwicklungen verbunden mit dem Namen von Hans Peter Hallbeck." Hartmut Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern. 250 Jahre Mission der Brüdergemeine* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1981), 238.

³⁰ In: *Unitas Fratrum. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeine* 49/50, 229-248.

³¹ Johanna Hertzsch, "Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika (1817-1840)" (Berlin, 1999) (HA).

merits. And the way she compares Hallbeck with his colleague superintendent Dr John Philip of the LMS lacks the historic relief of the broader socio-political situation within the Cape Colony.

The survey of secondary literature, in conclusion of this preliminary paragraph, indicated that Hans Peter Hallbeck was an exceptional missionary and that his ministry and influence indeed, historically, secured an era which the Moravian Church in South Africa recalls with pride. He is portrayed as a key role player in the history of missions in South Africa during the early 19th century. This was a turbulent period, witnessing colonial development, the unexpected growth of the missionary enterprise, the coming of the first British Settlers, the securing of more rights to the people of colour, the emancipation of slaves, the engagement with black nations in the interior, the one border war after the other and the migrations during the late 1830's (amongst others the Great Trek).

Much of what is written in particular about Hallbeck, is presented as an anthology, with limited academic intentness and scrutiny of his theology and work. A critical, in-depth analysis, based on a theological-critical questioning and assessment of primary sources, of Hallbecks' theology, work, life and legacy (in that order) clearly requires academic engagement. Hertzsch approached sources located in the Herrnhut Archive from a different and non-traditional angle, but she also fails to provide a theological-critical exposition.

This study, through a rigorous questioning of primary sources, aims therefore to engender a scholarly platform of knowledge and understanding of theological trajectories that shaped the thinking and labour of Hallbeck within the context of the Cape Colony 1817 to 1840. The decision to shift the focus to the identification and analysis of theological-historical trajectories that substantiated Hallbeck's contribution to the South African church history and theology, not only offers the opportunity to excavate untold (but most significant) theological history, but also to treat Hallbeck's theology as an integral part of the broader South African theological build out that could not be brushed aside as merely history of missions, as so often happened in the South African church historiography.

It will not only illuminate a fundamental phase in the history of Genadendal and the Moravian Church in South Africa, but also contribute to explaining the role missionaries with their churches and societies played in a key period of South African history. It will unavoidably deal with social-ethical issues like slavery, colonialism, (spiritual) poverty, justice, racial tensions and

reconciliation that surfaced in their ministry in the early Cape Colony and beyond. Indeed, Hallbeck proved to be a visionary theologian and leader in uncertain times, and therefore deserves study. In so doing, thus, this study embodies scholarly engagement related to the early colonial ecclesiastical history in general and its first and also influential bishop: Hans Peter Hallbeck in particular. Obviously the context in which Hallbeck operated was regarded as of pivotal significance for the research.

The intent of the study now clarified, the next paragraph should be devoted to the methodology.

Methodology

In this study Hallbeck's life and work are positioned in the broader context of all the missionary activities in Southern Africa in the first half of the 19th century, as well as the wider ecclesiastical and societal context of the Cape Colony. It incorporates the consideration of theological trajectories that defined the life and work of Hans Peter Hallbeck as leader, superintendent and bishop of the Moravian Mission in South Africa from 1817-1840, based on a rigorous theological-critical analysis of, in particular, primary sources. These sources had to be traced in archives in South Africa, Germany, Holland, England and Sweden. I am especially indebted to the following archives:

- Broederkerk Argief in Genadendal, South Africa (abbreviated as GA);
- Moravian Archives of the Moravian Church South Africa, Moravian Theological Centre, c/o Ascension & Duinefontein Road, Heideveld, Cape Town (abbreviated as MASA);
- Unitäts-Archiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität in Herrnhut, Germany (abbreviated as HA);
- Het Utrechts Archief, Netherlands;
- City Archive of Malmö, Sweden;
- University Archive of Lund, Sweden.

I portrayed and interpreted the life and ministry of Hallbeck in a sympathetic and critical way, bearing in mind that, should Hallbeck have read it himself, he would perhaps not have agreed with all the views expressed, without compromising a fair and reliable portrayal of his life and ministry in the context of his own times. From a contemporary viewpoint it would of course be possible to express criticism against several aspects of the Moravian Mission in the first half of the 19th century, and to question Hallbeck's ministry in particular. No age in world history is the

same, and it is not difficult for one age to critique another. First and foremost for a historian is, however, to delineate as far as possible a picture faithful to the sources and within its own context. The historian's own views and evaluations appropriate (and perhaps bound) to his own time horizon can subsequently play a role. I admit that the fact that I am also involved in mission work in South Africa (albeit in a very different context and age) could have fostered a presupposed sympathy prevalent in this study. On the other hand, for me, as part of the Dutch Reformed ecclesiastical tradition – traditionally very critical of the Moravian Church – the study of Hallbeck resulted in a reappraisal of the contribution the Moravian Mission made to the church and theological history of South Africa.

Perusing the endless number of articles, letters and reports written by Hallbeck and by those he corresponded with, one inevitably acquires an almost interminable range of in-depth knowledge concerning the main character and his theology. A degree of subjectivity becomes therefore unavoidable, especially when the initial sympathy one had felt towards the main character – something that after all had initiated the study – is invigorated during the study of the sources. This degree of subjectivity should however not lead to intentionally withholding or changing key information about the main character. I can testify truthfully that this research tried to portray a comprehensive picture, communicating not only what is flattering to the main character.

The study is not confined to the framework of a mere biography, but intends to be a chronological, historical and theological assessment of Hallbeck's labour within the context of what is identified as the cradle of missions in South Africa. The study will prove that Genadendal can be rightly called the cradle of missions in South Africa. This is not only because Genadendal was the first mission station, but also because of the fact that Genadendal became a model for the other mission stations and societies. This was especially the Genadendal of the Hallbeck era, the period during which most other missionary societies fluxed into the country.

Hallbeck's life and ministry are thus depicted in the wider context of the church history and history of missions in South Africa in particular, and the history of South Africa in general. Special attention is also given to key issues and Hallbeck's contribution in this regard. One can think of issues like slavery, relation to the government, racial dynamics, education, missiology and historiography. Hallbeck was a Moravian, not by birth, but by commitment. By the time he arrived in South Africa, the Moravian Church had acquired a distinctive theology, as well as an established mission enterprise. What were the underpinning theological trajectories of Moravian

theology? What was the reception of these trajectories in Hallbeck's thinking? Did it shape his superintendency and leadership in South Africa? He was, as a matter of fact, an educated theologian, trained at the University of Lund in Sweden.

In the following paragraph the historical and theological trajectories which characterised the Moravian Church of the 18th century are explored – the church that Hallbeck stepped into at the beginning of the 19th century.

Moravian history and theology³²

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- ³² A selection of publications, yet not exhaustive, of works dealing with Moravian Church and Mission history: Joachim Bahlcke and Werner Korthaase eds. *Daniel Ernst Jablonski: Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.
- Joachim Bahlcke and others eds. *Brückenschläge: Daniel Ernst Jablonski im Europa der Frühaufklärung* (Dössel : Verlag Janos Stekovics, 2010).
- S. Baudert, *Herrnhut Brödräfsamlingens Mission Genom 200 Ar*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1932.
- Th. Bechler, *August Gottlieb Spangenberg und die Mission*. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1933.
- Hartmut Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern. 250 Jahre Mission der Brüdergemeine*. Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1981.
- David Craz, *Historie von Grönland enthaltend die Beschreibung des Landes und der Einwohner und insbesondere die Geschichte der dortigen Mission der Evangelischen Brüder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels*. Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers, 1770. 2^e Auflage.
- E. De Schweinitz, *The History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of the Brethren*. Bethlehem Pa.: Moravian Publications Office, 1885.
- Torbjørn Fink, "Herrnhuternes betydning for norsk kristenliv på 1800-tallet." Spesialoppgave I teologi, Universitetet I Oslo, Det teologiske fakultet (Høst, 2010).
- Fritz Geller, *Heilige Einfalt, grösste Kraft: August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Bischof der Brüderkirche, 1704-1792*. Herrnhut: Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925.
- J.E. Hutton, *A History of Moravian Missions*. London: Moravian Publication Office, 1922.
- S.S. Laurie, *John Amos Comenius. Bishop of the Moravians. His Life and Educational Works*. Syracuse: C.W. Bardeen, 1892.
- Karl Friedrich Ledderhose, *The life of Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg: bishop of the Unity of the Brethren*. London: William Mallalieu, 1855.
- A.J. Lewis, *Zinzendorf The Ecumenical Pioneer. A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1962.
- Isaac Le Long, *Godts Wonderen met zyne Kerke, vertoont in een gedenkwaardig verhaal, van meest Boheemsche en Moravische Broeders, die het Pausdom ontweken zynde, nieuwelyks een Evangelische Broeder-Gemeente gesticht hebben*. Amsteldam: Adriaan Wor, en de erve G. Onder de Linden, 1738.
- Johannes Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum A.C. Oder: Grund der Verfassung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität Augsbürgischer Confession*. Barby: Brüdergemeinen, 1789.
- George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*. London: Printed for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1794.
- Will Seymour Monroe, *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.
- Karl Müller, *200 Jahre Brüdermission. 1. Band Das erste Missionsjahrhundert*. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1931.
- Gerhard Reichel, *August Gottlieb Spangenberg: Bischof der Brüderkirche*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1906.
- Hermann Walther Reichel, *David Nitschmann, der erste Bischof der erneuerten Brüderkirche*. Herrnhut: Missionsbuchhandlung, 1922.
- J. Richter, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Mission in Afrika*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1922.
- Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Ritter, *Leben des Freyherrn Johannes von Watteville, Bischofs der evangelischen Brüderkirche: und dessen Gemahlin, Frau Henriette Benigna Justine, Freyfrau von Watteville, gebohrne Gräfin von Zinzendorf*. Altona: Jacob Schultz, 1800.
- Ad. Schulze, *Die Brüdermission in Wort und Bild*. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung der Missionsanstalt der Evangelischen Brüderunität, 1908.

The historiography distinguishes two periods that fundamentally shaped the Moravian Church.³³ The first period concerns the establishment of the 'old' Moravian church, until the beginning of the 18th century when unexpectedly, under the leadership of a German nobleman – Ludwig von Zinzendorf – a new era dawned. Many characteristics of the so-called 'old' Moravian Church found their way into the renewed church.

Johannes Hus, who died at the stake in 1415, is held in high esteem as the martyr theologian that inspired and kindled the ecclesiastical Reformation in Bohemia. His persecuted adherents settled in Kunewalde, North-eastern Bohemia where, on March 1st 1457, they founded the *Unitas Fratrum* – Brethren of the Law of Christ. The name is indicative of their desire to lead a true Christian life, both on a personal and communal level. This date is regarded as the inception of the Moravian Church. The Moravians were Protestant in character, accepting the Bible as the only rule of faith and life, but episcopal in organisation. The *Unitas Fratrum* became the first independent Protestant church. They traced their line of episcopal ordination back to the apostles.³⁴

When the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century confessionally embodied itself in ecclesiastical structures, the Moravians were to enter a second phase in their history. They recognised their theology in the Reformation and thus became part of the movement. Protestant churches all over Europe accepted them. In 1547 a widespread persecution, launched by Ferdinand I, king of Bohemia, inaugurated a next phase in their history. The Moravians were scattered. Many fled to Poland, where they arrived in the midst of fierce controversies between the Lutheran and Reformed Protestants.³⁵ Their mediating position caused the three groups to be forged into one Protestant church at the famous Synod of Sandomir in 1570. The *Consensus Sandomiriensis* adopted the Augsburg (1530), the Moravian (1535) as well as the Helvetic (1564) Confessions.³⁶ However Ferdinand II, king of Bohemia, intensified the persecutions. During the

A. Schulze, *200 Jahre Brüdermission. II. Band. Das zweite Missionsjahrhundert*. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1932.

August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf*. 3 Vol. Barby: zu finden in den Brüder-Gemeinen, 1772-1775.

August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, Bishop and Ordinary of the Church of the United (or Moravian) Brethren*. (Translated from the German, by Samuel Jackson, Esq. With an Introductory Preface, by the Rev. P. La Trobe) London: Samuel Holdsworth, Amen-Corner, Paternoster Row, 1838.

Matthew Spinka, *John Amos Comenius, That Imcomparable Moravian*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967.

Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*. Berlin: Warneck, 1913 (10. Neu bearb. U. Verm. Aufl.). First edition was in 1882.

³³ De Schweinitz, *The History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of the Brethren*, 503.

³⁴ Cf. Johannes Plitt, "Vom Bischofthum der Brüder-Unität in alter und neuer Zeit" (Unpublished, 1835) (HA).

³⁵ De Schweinitz, *The History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of the Brethren*, 339-394.

³⁶ De Schweinitz, *The History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of the Brethren*, 434.

ensuing Thirty Year War (1618-1648) the unity of the old *Unitas Fratrum* was brought to its knees. Even the efforts of the well-known Johann Amos Comenius (Komensky 1592-1670), ordained bishop and also gifted pedagogue, could not hold the church together.³⁷ At the end of the 17th century it seemed like the Moravian Church was done.

The renewal of the 'old' *Unitas Fratrum* in the 1720's is closely associated with Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1764). He received his education in Halle, where Francke was the leading educator,³⁸ as well as at the University of Wittenberg as a student of civil law.³⁹ In Halle he became acquainted with the *Dänisch-Hallische Mission* to India.⁴⁰ A turning point in his life was a visit to the art gallery in Düsseldorf where he was confronted with the painting *Ecce Homo* by Domenico Feti, which depicts Christ crowned with thorns. The subscript in Latin read, translated: *This is how I suffered for you. What are you doing for Me?*⁴¹ Zinzendorf was so touched by these words that he vowed to the Lord to proclaim the Gospel all over the world.

Shortly afterwards he came into contact with remaining families of the old Moravian Church. They were still living in Kunewalde. He made them the offer to reside on his estate in Berthelsdorf, in the eastern parts of Saxony. In 1722 the first families came. A new village was founded and named *Herrnhut*. In 1727 it grew to a community of about 300 people. The mutual differences came to an end on August 13th 1727, when the celebration of the Lord's Supper resulted in congregants confessing their misdoings and asking for forgiveness. In the centuries that followed this event became an important commemorative day in the Moravian calendar. Hallbeck would later observe that this event instigated among the Moravians *the desire to be involved in the expansion of God's kingdom, both among the so-called Christians in Europe as well as among the heathens in distant parts of the world.*⁴²

³⁷ Matthew Spinka, *John Amos Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967); S.S. Laurie, *John Amos Comenius. Bishop of the Moravians. His Life and Educational Works* (Syracuse: C.W. Bardeen, 1892); Will Seymour Monroe, *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900).

³⁸ August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, Bishop and Ordinary of the Church of the United (or Moravian) Brethren*. Translated from the German, by Samuel Jackson, Esq. With an Introductory Preface, by the Rev. P. La Trobe. (London: Samuel Holdsworth, Amen-Corner, Paternoster Row, 1838), 6-9. Translation of: Spangenberg, August Gottlieb. *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf*. 3 Vol. Barby: zu finden in den Brüder-Gemeinen, 1772-1775.

³⁹ Spangenberg, *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, Bishop and Ordinary of the Church of the United (or Moravian) Brethren*, 10-13.

⁴⁰ Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 31.

⁴¹ Ego pro te haec passus sum. Tu vero quid fecisti pro me.

⁴² "... regte sich bald unter den Mitgliedern derselben ein mächtiger Trieb, zur Ausbreitung des Reiches Gottes thätig zu sein ... um das Evangelium sowohl unter den sogenannten Christen in Europa als unter den Heiden in fernen Weltgegenden zu verkündigen" *Nachrichten* (1837), 468. The *Nachrichten* was the Moravian mission journal containing Bible studies and meditations from Herrnhut, as well as extensive reports from the various Moravian mission fields all over the world.

In Herrnhut the orthodox Protestant views prevailed and a strict morality was practised. Official ecclesiastical recognition was received in the early 1730's,⁴³ which provided for the accommodation of their ancient confessional standards and regulations.⁴⁴ The Moravian community quickly expanded and included some of the faithful from Lutheran and Reformed backgrounds. Characteristic of the community was not only its rules and regulations (under direct rule of Christ), but also the sending out of devoted believers with a particular commission. Some were sent to encourage Christians in the 'diaspora,' in particular Protestants suffering in Roman Catholic countries like Moravia, Bohemia and Austria. Others were tasked with awakening the so-called 'name Christians' – the vast numbers of Protestants across Europe who were members of the state churches, but who did not have a living faith and committed Christian lifestyle. The network of the so-called *Diaspora* expanded in such proportions that in 1746 at a synod in Zeist (Holland) the existence of more than 500 Moravian communities could be reported.⁴⁵ Thirdly, missionaries were sent across the oceans, as heralds of the Lamb, Jesus Christ. Zinzendorf was convinced that the proclamation of the Lamb crucified, who gave his blood to save mankind, was the only way to 'repent a sinful heart'. At the time European churches did very little to proclaim the Gospel to the non-Christian world.⁴⁶

The first missionary to be sent from Herrnhut was Leonhard Dober. In 1732 he departed for the West Indian island of St. Thomas.⁴⁷ In 1733 Moravian missionaries reached Greenland⁴⁸ and from there they crossed the Labrador Sea to start a mission in Newfoundland. The first attempt in 1752 was unsuccessful, but they succeeded with their second attempt in 1771. The work in South America started in Surinam in 1735. In 1737, the first missionary was sent to South Africa. Apart from other continents, the Moravians also turned their attention to those areas in Europe not yet Christianized – the areas near the polar circle in Sweden and Finland (Lapland)⁴⁹ and Russia. There were also initiatives in Baltic countries like Livonia. The expansion of the mission work was

⁴³ Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 52.

⁴⁴ The Bohemian Confession of 1535 and the Ecclesiastical Discipline and Order in the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren of 1616.

⁴⁵ Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 121.

⁴⁶ When one compares the mission outreach of the 18th with that of the 19th century, it was indeed little. During the first half of the 17th century some Dutch missionary outreach was done alongside the activities of the DEIC and DWIC. There was even a missionary seminary established in Leiden, Holland, called the *Seminarium Indicum*. Yet following the closure of this seminary in 1633 – due to the fact that the DEIC discontinued their financial support – it seems as if Protestant missionary activity declined more and more during the rest of the 17th century. Cf. Leendert Jan Joosse, 'Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen': een onderzoek naar de motieven en activiteiten in de Nederlanden tot verbreiding van de gereformeerde religie gedurende de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw (Leiden: Groen, 1992), 493-500.

⁴⁷ *Nachrichten* (1837), 469.

⁴⁸ *Nachrichten* (1837), 469.

⁴⁹ *Nachrichten* (1837), 469.

made possible by the vibrant support of the community in Herrnhut and the other Moravian communities in Europe.

In North America the Moravians started mission work in 1735 in Georgia and then moved to Pennsylvania.⁵⁰ They had contact with the Wesley brothers as well as with George Whitefield in Nazareth. Bethlehem was founded in 1741 and became the centre of the mission work in North America. In the same region David Brainerd ministered among the Indians from 1743-1747. Jonathan Edwards' 1749 biography *An Account of the Life of the late Rev. David Brainerd* became a best seller and profoundly influenced the evangelical missionary enterprise. Jonathan Edwards was a missionary among the Indians from 1751-1758 in Stockbridge, from Bethlehem about 200 miles to the northeast.⁵¹

Theological and ecclesiastical suspicion led to the ban of Zinzendorf from Saxony in March 1736. The ban was eventually lifted in 1747. During this decade Zinzendorf i.a. journeyed to St Thomas, England and North America. In 1735 the first bishop of the renewed Moravian Church was ordained – David Nitschmann.⁵² In 1737 Zinzendorf was ordained as bishop as well. Both Nitschmann and Zinzendorf were ordained through the office of a grandson of Comenius, Daniel Ernst Jablonsky,⁵³ thus receiving an ecclesiastically legitimate ordination.

Zinzendorf died in 1760. During the period between 1732 and his death, a total of 312 men and women were sent out to mission fields that ranged from the Arctic to the Tropics. They all came from the Herrnhut community, which totalled about a thousand persons. The missionaries

⁵⁰ *Nachrichten* (1837), 469.

⁵¹ Jonathan Gibson, "Jonathan Edwards: A Missionary?", *Themelios* 36.3 (2011): 380-402. Rachel Wheeler, "Living Upon Hope: Mahicans and Missionaries, 1730-1760" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1998). John E. Smith, Harry S. Stout, and Kenneth P. Minkema, eds., *A Jonathan Edwards Reader* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), xxxvii. Kenneth P. Minkema, 'Jonathan Edwards—A Theological Life,' in San Hyun Lee ed., *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 12. '2 Peter 1:19, to the Mohawks at the Treaty. Stockbridge, August, 1751,' in *The Sermons of Jonathan Edwards: A Reader* (ed. Wilson H. Kimnach, Kenneth P. Minkema, and Douglas A. Sweeney; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 108.

⁵² Hermann Walther Reichel, *David Nitschmann, der erste Bischof der erneuerten Brüderkirche* (Herrnhut: Missionsbuchhandlung, 1922). Paul Peucher, "Inventory of the records of the Papers of David Nitschmann (Bishop) 1728-1756", 2005, <http://www.moravianchurcharchives.org/nitschmann.pdf> (accessed Jul 24th 2013).

⁵³ Joachim Bahlcke and Werner Korthaase eds., *Daniel Ernst Jablonski: Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008); Joachim Bahlcke and others eds., *Brückenschläge: Daniel Ernst Jablonski im Europa der Frühaufklärung* (Dössel: Verlag Janos Stekovic, 2010).

respected him as a father.⁵⁴ He was succeeded by Bishop Johannes von Watteville,⁵⁵ although August Spangenberg⁵⁶ became the leading theologian.

Moravian theology of the 18th century should be linked especially to the names of Ludwig von Zinzendorf⁵⁷ and August Spangenberg. While Zinzendorf shared the Enlightenment's quest for the happiness of the human race, the decisive element was, according to him, religion, more specifically faith in the Christ as revealed in Scripture. Religion is only true if it rests on the divine historical revelation as proclaimed by the Bible. Through the Bible God revealed himself to the human soul within this earthly dimension.⁵⁸ In his criticism of the Enlightenment worldview on the one hand, and on spiritual superficiality and dead orthodoxy on the other, the influence of Pietism should not be overestimated. He was only partially influenced by the German Pietism. In his opinion a corrupted form of Pietism started shortly before Francke's death. Contrary to Francke, Spener represented a healthier kind of Pietism.⁵⁹ Spener's theology – more than that of Francke – echoed classical Lutheranism with the justification and forgiveness of Christ at the centre.⁶⁰ Zinzendorf's emphasis on Christ's sacrifice on the cross – granted to sinners at no cost – evokes Luther's theology. Zinzendorf once, in his typically exaggerated way, said: *Luther and Spener are opposites. I love Spener more, but I am more Lutheran. Spener was a bad theologian, since he revived scholastic theology; but he was nevertheless a sincere saint, Luther however was a great apostle and theologian, but in his life he was not beyond reproach.*⁶¹ Zinzendorf was indeed a true disciple of Luther. Not the pious believer with his struggle for holiness, but Christ as

⁵⁴ Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 89.

⁵⁵ Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Ritter, *Leben des Freyherrn Johannes von Watteville, Bischofs der evangelischen Brüderkirche: und dessen Gemahlin, Frau Henriette Benigna Justine, Freyfrau von Watteville, geborne Gräfin von Zinzendorf* (Altona: Jacob Schultz, 1800).

⁵⁶ Gerhard Reichel, *August Gottlieb Spangenberg: Bischof der Brüderkirche* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1906); David Allen Schattschneider, "Souls for the Lamb: a theology for the Christian mission according to Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf and Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg." (PhD diss, University of Chicago, 1975); Fritz Geller, *Heilige Einfalt, grösste Kraft: August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Bischof der Brüderkirche, 1704-1792* (Herrnhut: Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925); Karl Friedrich Ledderhose, *The life of Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg: bishop of the Unity of the Brethren* (London: William Mallalieu, 1855); Th. Bechler, *August Gottlieb Spangenberg und die Mission* (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1933).

⁵⁷ For a systematic study on Zinzendorf's theology, cf. Arthur J. Freeman, *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (Bethlehem and Winston-Salem: The Moravian Church in America, 1998).

⁵⁸ "...das innerhalb der irdischen Geschichte sich vollziehende Herantreten Gottes an das menschlich Gemüt." Zinzendorf quoted via Lober, *Das Verhältnis des Grafen Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf zur Aufklärung*, 62.

⁵⁹ D. Meyer "Spener, Graf Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine" in Wendebourg ed., *Philipp Jakob Spener – Leben, Werk, Bedeutung*, 110-111.

⁶⁰ D. Meyer "Spener, Graf Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine" in Wendebourg ed., *Philipp Jakob Spener – Leben, Werk, Bedeutung*, 120-121.

⁶¹ Quoted via D. Meyer "Spener, Graf Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine" in Wendebourg ed., *Philipp Jakob Spener – Leben, Werk, Bedeutung*, 122.

the Mediator stood at the centre. There is no holiness without a simple faith in the crucified and resurrected Saviour. He thus also differed from Wesley.⁶²

Unlike the Pietists who emphasised the *conflict of repentance* ('Buskampf'), Zinzendorf and the Moravians had no sympathy for moaning and pity at the foot of the cross. They rather concentrated on the overwhelming gratitude offered by the crucifixion of Christ. They were

"Ever ready
Cheerfully to testify
How our spirit, soul and body
Do in God our Saviour joy."⁶³

A central element of Lutheran theology is the doctrine of justification by Christ on the cross.⁶⁴ The crucifixion, however, was more than just an objective purchase of lost souls. The atonement, according to Zinzendorf, should be appropriated by the sinner through contemplation of the crucified Saviour. A mere intellectual acceptance of the atonement is not sufficient. The heart must be connected to the dying Redeemer. In that moment of connectedness, the power of the cross is experienced.⁶⁵ This emphasis on the slaughtered Lamb expressed itself in what scholarship identified as Zinzendorf's *Blood and Wounds*-theology.

Zinzendorf developed an arsenal of theological metaphorical expressions with regard to the wounds Christ suffered on the cross. As he framed it, the blood of Jesus not only removes the fear of punishment, but also the power of sin. His blood has the power to cool natural lusts. The believer can overcome sin by meditating on the blood of Christ. *We have indeed the great blessing that we are bathed in and swim in Jesus' blood.*⁶⁶ His blood becomes a symbol and vehicle of mystical union with God. To Georg Schmidt in South Africa Zinzendorf wrote: *The blood theology, the eternal sacrifice, the peace through his flesh, the choice of mercy in the nails and in the open side – that is your strength!*⁶⁷

Zinzendorf's *Blood and Wounds*-theology damaged the Moravian reputation and brought them under suspicion. The *Pastoral Letter* issued by the Reformed Church Council of Amsterdam,

⁶² *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, s.v. "Wesley, John (1703-1791)".

⁶³ *Moravian Hymnbook* nr. 646, in Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 73.

⁶⁴ *Confessio Augustana* (1530), Article IV.

⁶⁵ C.D. Atwood "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology", *Journal of Moravian History* 1 (2006): 46.

⁶⁶ The quotes from Zinzendorf are via Atwood "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology", 38-43.

⁶⁷ "die Blut-Theologie, das ewige Opfer, der Friede durch Sein Fleisch, die Gnadenwahl in den Nägelmaalen und in der offenen Seite – das sei deine Kraft!" *Nachrichten* (1836), 484.

branded the Moravians as separatists, corrupted Pietists and fanatics, with a mere outward humility.⁶⁸ Alexander Comrie was convinced that the Moravians were a *Synagogue of Satan* and Theodorus van de Groe called the Herrnhutters *Enemies of Christ*.⁶⁹

The more sober theological direction was confirmed in the systematic theology of Spangenberg, entitled *Idea Fidei Fratrum* and published in 1778.⁷⁰ He emphasized that the doctrinal standard of the Moravian Church was the confession of Augsburg, as accepted by the synod in 1748.

Spangenberg did not utilise the peculiar 'blood and wounds' phraseology or imagery. He kept to more explicitly Biblical phrases and imagery.⁷¹ Spangenberg's *Idea Fidei Fratrum* functioned as a confessional apology for the Moravians during the remainder of the 18th and first half of the 19th century. Apart from the original German, in the Genadendal library a Swedish translation of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* from 1804 is still extant. It clearly belonged to Hallbeck, dating back to the years he first got acquainted with the Moravians in Sweden.⁷²

Spangenberg was born in 1704, the son of a Lutheran pastor. Upon the completion of his tertiary education, he was appointed assistant professor in theology in Halle, but in 1733 he was forced to leave the university due to his allegiances to Zinzendorf. He was involved with the United Brethren as minister, theologian and apologist. He was intensively engaged in superintending the worldwide mission endeavours. For many years he stayed in Pennsylvania to edify the Moravian congregations in the new world. Following Zinzendorf's death in 1760, he was requested to return to Herrnhut, from where he ministered to the Moravian congregations and missions for another thirty years. He passed away in 1792, having served the Moravian Church for sixty years.

The *Idea Fidei Fratrum* is a compendium of the Christian faith and intended to be a consolidation of the doctrinal position of the Moravians wherein Spangenberg moderated the mystical tendencies of Zinzendorf. In the preface Spangenberg emphasized that his work should not be understood as a Confession of Faith of the Congregations of the Brethren. The *Augsburg*

⁶⁸ "Herderlijke en Vaderlijke Brief" (1738).

⁶⁹ LJ van Velen, "Zinzendorfs passie voor verloren zielen" *Reformatorsch Dagblad*, 26 Oct 2010, http://www.refdag.nl/kerkplein/kerknieuws/zinzendorfs_passie_voor_verloren_zielen_1_511183 (accessed Jul 11th 2013).

⁷⁰ Quotations from Spangenberg's *Idea Fidei Fratrum* are taken from: August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum. An Exposition of Christian Doctrine, As Taught In The Protestant Church of the United Brethren, or, Unitas Fratrum, Originally Written In German, by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, With a Preface By Benjamin Latrobe, And An Introduction By Lane A. Sapp*. 4th ed. (Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005).

⁷¹ Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 69-74, 79-80, 135.

⁷² *Idea Fidei Fratrum, eller Kart Begrep uf den Christeliga Laran I de Evangeliska Brodra – Forsamlingarna, Forfattadt af August Gottlieb Spangenberg*. Andra Uplagan (Stockholm, 1804).

Confession of 1530 remained their confessional standard. In the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* Luther is repeatedly quoted,⁷³ but Pietists like Spener or Francke never.

In 1779 Benjamin Latrobe published an English translation. A second edition followed in 1784. Latrobe wrote in its preface: “True it is, that at a certain time, particularly between 1747 and 1753, many of the Brethren, in their public discourses, and in the hymns which were published about that period, used expressions which were indefensible: the Count himself labored to correct both the theory and the language; and he was successful, and they are no more in use among the Brethren. The Brethren’s congregations do not take the writings of the Count, or of any man, as their standard of doctrine; the Bible alone is their standard of truth and they agree with the Augustana, or Augsburg Confession, as being conformable to it.”⁷⁴ Apart from English, translations of the *Idea Fratrum* were made amongst others in Danish, French, Swedish, Dutch, Bohemian and Polish.⁷⁵

Spangenberg’s *Idea Fidei Fratrum* restored the trust in classical Protestant theology. “Of a certainty our posterity must get back their theology from the Moravian Brethren,” a contemporary professor of Spangenberg remarked.⁷⁶ In the foreword of the third English edition: “It restored the faith of many on whom the blight of a proud reason had fallen and delivered Protestant Christianity of the early nineteenth century from the delusions of Rationalism.”⁷⁷ The *Idea Fidei Fratrum* had “a direct and vital effect on the religious life of the period which was in sore need of it: for it had been characterized as ‘a period of dead orthodoxy within the Protestant division of the Church and by a strong wave of aggressive Rationalism without it. The two together had paralyzed Christian growth in grace and outreach in the spread of the Gospel.’”⁷⁸

Spangenberg maintained the Biblical view of man and the authority of Scripture as the Word of God. *If it were possible to combine the capacities of the wisest men in all ages of the world, in order to deliver the human race from their distress and misery, and to lead them to eternal happiness: it would be ineffectual.*⁷⁹ He defended the pessimistic Biblical view on unrepented

⁷³ See f.e. Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 123, 150, 170, 241.

⁷⁴ Preface by B. Latrobe to the second English edition of *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (1784).

⁷⁵ F.e. Danish in 1781 (Andreas Reiersen ed.), Dutch in 1782 (Utrecht: Henricus van Otterloo ed.), Polish in 1802 (Krolewcu: Daniela Krybtosa Kuntera ed.), Swedish in 1804 (Johan A. Carlbohm ed.)

⁷⁶ Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, Foreword 3rd English Edition by J.K. Pfohl (1958).

⁷⁷ Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, Foreword 3rd English Edition by J.K. Pfohl (1958).

⁷⁸ Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, Foreword 3rd English Edition by J.K. Pfohl (1958).

⁷⁹ From Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, Vorbericht: “ja wenn alle klugen und weisen Leute, die je in der Welt gewesen sind, die jetzt noch auf Erden leben, und die bis an den jüngsten Tag seyn werden, ihren Verstand zusammen

mankind: *For although he is become like a field, which spontaneously brings forth nothing but thorns and thistles, he may nevertheless, by Christ, and for Christ's sake, be changed into a soil which produces good fruit. And: Numberless are the sins, which flow from that original corruption... Consequently there is no man who can look upon himself as innocent.*⁸⁰

Eighteenth century Moravian *ecclesiology* should be traced in the work of Spangenberg. In the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* Spangenberg deals elaborately with the doctrine of the church. The rise of the hierarchy in Christ's church had devastating consequences. It resulted in nominal Christianity. A clear distinction is made between so-called Christian religions at the one hand and truly living congregations of Jesus.⁸¹ This was a vital notion in Moravian ecclesiology of the time. God has bestowed mercy upon his church when the Reformation occurred, Spangenberg asserts. Its forerunners *Peter Waldus, Wycliffe, John Huss and the Waldenses, the Bohemian-Moravian Brethren* and its leaders *Martin Luther, Philip Melancton, and their assistants in Saxony; and Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, Martin Bucer and others in Switzerland and France* were a great blessing to the church. Spangenberg deplores the subsequent controversies between Protestants: *had they not separated from each other about obscure questions, which did not belong to the essence of true Christianity, the blessing of their testimony would probably have produced more fruit. Yet even amidst these weaknesses ... we, to this very day, enjoy the blessed consequences of the Reformation.*⁸² The Moravians endeavoured to be *living congregations*. This however was not seen in an exclusive way.

Spangenberg is overtly critical about those who pretend to be the only church: *But when each of these divisions of Christendom, presumes to think of itself, and to assert that it is The Church of Christ, and the only church in which a man can be saved... it then judges itself with great lenity, and others with great severity.* Spangenberg does not deny that *the regulations and constitution are in one more consonant to the Holy Scriptures than in the other; the various errors, in opposition to the doctrine of Jesus, have a freer course in one than in another, that a greater restraint can be laid upon scandalous vices and sins in the one, than in the other. However, we*

brächten, und wollten durch denselben den Weg ausfinden, wie die Menschen aus ihrem Jammer und Elend erlöset, und zur ewigen Seligkeit gebracht werden könnten; so würden sie es damit doch nicht bereiten." English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

⁸⁰ Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 55-56.

⁸¹ "Es ist aber allerdings ein großer Unterschied zwischen lebendigen Gemeinen Jesu, und zwischen christlichen Religionen." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 249.

⁸² "und wenn sie sich nicht über dunkle Fragen, die nicht zum Wesen des wahren Christenthums gehören, entzweyget hätten; so würde der Segen ihres Zeugnisses vielleicht noch mehr Frucht geschafft haben. Doch auch bey diesen Schwachheiten hat sich Gott zu ihrer und ihrer Nachfolger Arbeit in Gnaden bekannt, und wir haben noch heute die gesegneten Folgen der Reformation zu genießen." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 251. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

*may hope in God, that he will bring many a soul who hungers after grace, in each of these divisions of Christendom, into the way of life. For as in the idolatrous times of Elias he reserved seven thousand to himself, who had not bowed their knee to Baal, so also now, though the degeneracy be every where undeniable.*⁸³

The organized ecclesiastical structures, liturgy, rules and regulations (another legacy of Spangenberg) therefore intended to embody the concept of an inclusive living congregation. It was not an expression of denominational ambition. Obviously Moravian ecclesiology no longer cultivated (as in early Zinzendorf time) the Pietist concept of *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* as networks of pious societies in the established churches. Moravian ecclesiology provided for a full-fledged church (*Kirche*) – the Moravian Church.⁸⁴ This ecclesiology underpinned the 1784 textbook for missionaries: *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen*⁸⁵ that Spangenberg had compiled at the request of the Moravian Synod. The work became a cornerstone in the worldwide Moravian Mission. Five years later Johannes Loretz comprehensively considered Moravian theology and ecclesiology in his *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum A.C. Oder: Grund der Verfassung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität Augsburgischer Confession*.⁸⁶

Moravian theology and ecclesiology at the end of the 18th century were determined by the works of Spangenberg and Loretz. A central question of the current research is therefore whether the Moravian Mission at the Cape of Good Hope followed the Spangenberg-Loretz line of thinking? Hans Peter Hallbeck had received university training in Sweden and later in his life joined the Moravian Church. Did he consolidate the Spangenberg-Loretz trajectory of thinking? Were the Moravian mission stations and ministry in South Africa directed by the *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* understanding of ministry and church, or were they embedded in the ecclesiology and theology as argued by Spangenberg and Loretz? In what ecclesiological and theological sense was the

⁸³ “Wenn aber eine jede Abtheilung von dem großen Hausen, den man die Christenheit zu nennen pflegt, von sich denkt und vorgibt, daß sie die Kirche sey, und zwar die einige, in der man selig werden könne ... so urtheilt sie über sich selbst sehr gütig, und über andere sehr hart ... daß die Einrichtung und Verfassung in der einen mehr, als in der andern, der heiligen Schrift gemäß ist; daß allerhand gegen die Lehre Jesu angehende Irrthümer in der einen, einen freyern Lauf haben, als in der anderer; daß den Lastern, sünden und Schanden, in der einen mehr, als in der andern, Ein halt gethan werden kann; u.s.w. Indeß kann man zu Gott die Hoffnung haben, Er werde manche nach der Gnade hungrige Seele in einer jeden Abtheilung der Christenheit auf den Weg des Lebens bringen. Denn wer wollte zweifeln, daß Er in allen Abtheilungen der Christenheit seine Schäflein, die auf die Stimme ihres guten Hirten merken, und Ihm in Einfalt und Wahrheit folgen, obgleich der Beyfall allenthalben unleugbar ist, nicht eben so wol haben könnte, als Er sich in den abgöttischen Zeiten Elia Siebentausend, die ihre Knie vor dem Baal nicht gebeuget hatten, aufbehalten hatte?” Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 253. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

⁸⁴ Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 110.

⁸⁵ Barby, 1784.

⁸⁶ Barby: Brüdergemeinen, 1789.

'cradle of missions' moulded in the time of Hallbeck? These questions will be answered in our research.

In this study a key period in the history of missions in particular and the history of South Africa in general is investigated. During the first half of the 19th century a large number of missionaries and missionary societies fluxed into the country. In order to prepare themselves for their future engagement and tasks, and to receive advice, many of them visited the only mission station that was established during the 18th century: Genadendal. Here Hans Peter Hallbeck resided and ministered as missionary, superintendent and bishop of the Moravian Church. The next paragraph offers a concise overview of the situation at the Cape during the second decade of the 19th century.

Moravian Missionary Activity in the Cape of Good Hope (1792-1817)

When in 1787 the Moravian bishop Johann Friedrich Reichel visited Cape Town on his way back from Tranquebar in India, the possibilities of resuming Moravian mission work was discussed, i.a. with Cape Town Reformed minister, and keen supporter of mission work, HR van Lier. In a letter to the Moravian Church in England (to J. Swertner in Fairfield) Van Lier mentioned the following:

- 100 rixdollars, administered by his society *Bid en Werk (Pray and Work)*, were sent in support of Moravian mission work;
- All efforts of the "Herrnhutters" to start mission work among the "Hottentotten en Kafferen" enjoy his full support;
- He would support all missionaries at the Cape;
- Baron Von Ranzau and Rev Hubert of Amsterdam are of the opinion that the doctrines of the Moravians, as expressed in the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, are in accordance with the Augsburg Confession;
- His uncle Professor Hofstede is still biased against the Moravians, but a visit by Baron Von Ranzau would be helpful, especially if he would acquaint Hofstede with the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* of Spangenberg and the mission histories of Cranz and Loskiel;⁸⁷
- The intercession of a German prince with the Prince of Orange would also be helpful.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*. (London: Printed for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1794) (first edition in German in 1788). David Cranz, *Historie von Grönland enthaltend die Beschreibung des Landes und der Einwohner und insbesondere die Geschichte der dortigen Mission der Evangelischen Brüder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels* (Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers, 1770) (2^e Auflage).

⁸⁸ Hanekom, *Helperus Ritzema van Lier*, 206-207.

The Moravian Synod of 1789 approved the proposal to renew the mission work in the Baviaanskloof, the former name of Genadendal. The negotiations with the DEIC were successful.⁸⁹ Subsequently Hendrik Marsveld, Christian Kühnel and Daniël Schwinn were appointed, and they departed on June 25th 1792 from Holland. The missionaries received a specific instruction by the Political Council on December 19th 1792. They had to go to the Baviaanskloof, to preach the Gospel to the Khoikhoi, to instruct them in the Christian doctrine, to baptize them if they should embrace it, to establish a Christian congregation and to administer the sacraments.⁹⁰ They came across the ruins of missionary Schmidt's house. He was the first missionary sent to South Africa and ministered in the Baviaanskloof from 1737 until 1842, after which the DEIC had requested him to return to Europe (this under pressure of the Reformed ministers at the Cape).⁹¹ The three new Moravian missionaries, who had returned after almost half a century, promised standing under a remaining pear tree planted by Schmidt: *Here we want to stay and here we want to start with the work expecting the same blessings from God's grace, because in this valley the Lord has already visibly shown his mercy.*⁹² With the centenary commemoration in 1836 the congregation sang songs of praise under the same tree, then more than eighty years old.⁹³ The pear tree stood until 1837. A sprout of the same tree was planted on the spot. Hallbeck wrote: *For us this old tree was a monument of the power and grace of God.*⁹⁴

The three missionaries didn't find Khoikhoi living there anymore. However in a nearby Khoikhoi kraal (village) they found the old and almost blind Magdalena (Lena), baptised by Georg Schmidt on April 7th 1742. She still had the Dutch New Testament Schmidt had given her,⁹⁵ preserved in two sheep skins.⁹⁶ With the 50th anniversary of the resumption of the mission work in 1842, it was shown to the congregation.⁹⁷ And with the 50th anniversary of the church building in 1850, the missionary Kölbing wrote: *Lena exclaimed: Thanks be to God! This word touched the brothers in their heart. She was now about 80 years and almost blind; another Hottentot woman however who had learnt to read from her uncle – one of those baptised by Schmidt – read from it the 2nd*

⁸⁹ *Nachrichten* (1837), 473.

⁹⁰ Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 26.

⁹¹ *Geschied-verhaal van Genadendal, de eerste Zending-Statie in Zuid-Afrika van 1737 tot 1806* (Kaapstad: Van de Sandt De Villiers & Co., 1893), 10.

⁹² "Hier willen wij blijven en hier willen wij den arbeid beginnen en gelijke zegeningen der genade Gods verwachten, want in deze valley heeft de Heere Zijne genade reeds zichtbaar betoond" *Geschied-Verhaal van Genadendal, de eerste zending-statie in Zuid-Afrika, van 1737 tot 1806* (Kaapstad: Van de Sandt De Villiers & Co., 1893), 11.

Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 26

⁹³ *Nachrichten* (1822), 53-54.

⁹⁴ "Für uns war dieser alte Baum ein Denkmal der Macht und Gnade Gottes" *Nachrichten* (1840), 247.

⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1837), 473-474.

⁹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1836), 498.

⁹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1845), 402.

*chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew...*⁹⁸ Another person baptised by Schmidt was a Khoikhoi man called Kibido/Cupido, who received the Christian name Jonas. His daughter became the first to be baptised after the resumption of the work: Anna Maria Mauritz on July 19th 1793.⁹⁹

The resumed mission work was thwarted by farmers in the area. The number of congregants and inhabitants though increased. Kölbing wrote in 1850: *The fruits of the labour of the late G. Schmidt were indeed still visible, also in the fact that after the message was spread that the brothers had returned to teach the Khoikhoi, they came from all over to the Baviaanskloof, and that they were not hindered by the threats of the farmers, who told them that they would first be taught by the missionaries but then enslaved and taken to Batavia, nor were they hindered by the fact that they were sometimes deprived of their cattle.*¹⁰⁰

With the transition of the Cape from the DEIC to British rule in 1795, the missionaries had to flee to Cape Town when the advancing farmers threatened to destroy the mission station.¹⁰¹ For the Khoikhoi in the Baviaanskloof this was traumatic. Would the missionaries come back again, or would they have to wait another fifty years for the mission to be resumed? In 1798 the missionaries vented their fear for the colonists, noted by Lady Anne Barnard in her diary: "Their position, they told us, was one of great danger, for the Boers disliked them for having taken the Hottentots away from the necessity of laborious servitude, and 'over and over again,' they told us, 'the farmers had made plots to murder us. The last plot, which was to shoot us with poisoned arrows, we discovered and were able to prevent.' Mr. Barnard was very much interested in this, and promised to speak to the Governor to see what was best to be done for their security."¹⁰² Throughout the last years of the DEIC rule the future of Baviaanskloof was uncertain. Plans to displace them towards the confines of *Caffraria* kept on surfacing. This uncertainty came to an

⁹⁸ "Lena ... riep uit: God wees gedankt! Dit woord ging den broeders door het hart. Zij liet het Nieuw Testament haar door G. Smidt geschonken, halen, dat zij zorgvuldig bewaard had, vroeger had zij veel daarin gelezen, nu was zij omtrent 80 jaren oud bijna blind; eene andere Hottentotsche vrouw echter die van haren oom eenen der gedoopten had leren lezen, las daaruit het 2^{de} hoofdstuk des Evangelies naar Mattheus ..." C. Kölbing, *Kort verslag van het begin der Zending der Broeders onder de Hottentotten tot op de inwijding der Kerk te Baviaanskloof 8 Jan 1800* (1850) (GA).

⁹⁹ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA).

¹⁰⁰ "Het vertoonden zich ook nu, na 50 jaren de vruchten van den arbeid des zaligen G Smidt daarin, dat toen het gerucht zich verspreidde, dat broeders voor hen gekomen waren, om de Hottentotten te leeren, deze van wijd en zijd aankwamen, en zich door praatjes der boeren, dat zij wel eerst geleerd, maar dan tot slaven gemaakt en naar Batavia gezonden zouden worden, nog daardoor, dat hun somtijds hun vee werd afgenomen, lieten verhinderen naar Baviaanskloof te trekken." C.R. Kölbing *Kort verslag van het begin der Zending der Broeders onder de Hottentotten tot op de inwijding der kerk te Baviaanskloof 8 Jan 1800* (1850) (GA); *Nachrichten* (1846), 44-45.

¹⁰¹ *Nachrichten* (1837), 475.

¹⁰² Anne Lindsay Barnard, *South Africa a century ago; letters written from the Cape of Good Hope (1791-1801)* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1910) May 10th 1798.

end when the British took over.¹⁰³ The transition to British rule in 1795 meant a lot for the Baviaanskloof. The British authority granted permission to erect a church building, a watermill and a smithy.¹⁰⁴

In 1798 a fourth missionary arrived with his wife, Joh. Philip Kohrhammer.¹⁰⁵ For the old Magdalena it was a dream come true, to meet a woman from Europe!¹⁰⁶ When Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel had left Europe, they were all three unmarried. Six years later in 1799 Schwinn journeyed to Germany where he married Anna Helliger. On his return to Baviaanskloof in 1800 he took along two brides for his colleagues as well. They were both married on the same day.¹⁰⁷ Kohrhammer worked as missionary until he passed away in 1811. In 1800 Christian Ludwig Rose arrived, appointed as new leader of Baviaanskloof. Rose and his wife already had experience with mission work in Labrador.¹⁰⁸

The missionary Kühnel started with the production of the *Herneuter* knives, which became famous in the colony.¹⁰⁹ During this time the settlement grew fast, and in 1796 it already was the largest town in the colony except for Cape Town. A new church building was consecrated in 1800. Citing Colossians 1:16-17 the document that was laid on the foundation indicated the following:

114 baptised adults

35 baptised children

51 baptismal candidates

100 men enjoying instruction

200 women enjoying instruction

250 school children

36 communicants

5 European brothers and sisters: Hendrik Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn, Christiaan Kühnel, John Philipp Kohrhammer, Eva Dorothea Kohrhammer.

Total: 755 souls.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ Hallbeck, *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present state of the Mission of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope. Written for His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry. Genadendal 14th Nov 1823.* (MASA).

¹⁰⁴ C.R. Kölbing, *Kort verslag van het begin der Zending der Broeders onder de Hottentotten tot op de inwijding der kerk te Baviaanskloof 8 Jan 1800* (GA).

¹⁰⁵ *Nachrichten* (1837), 476.

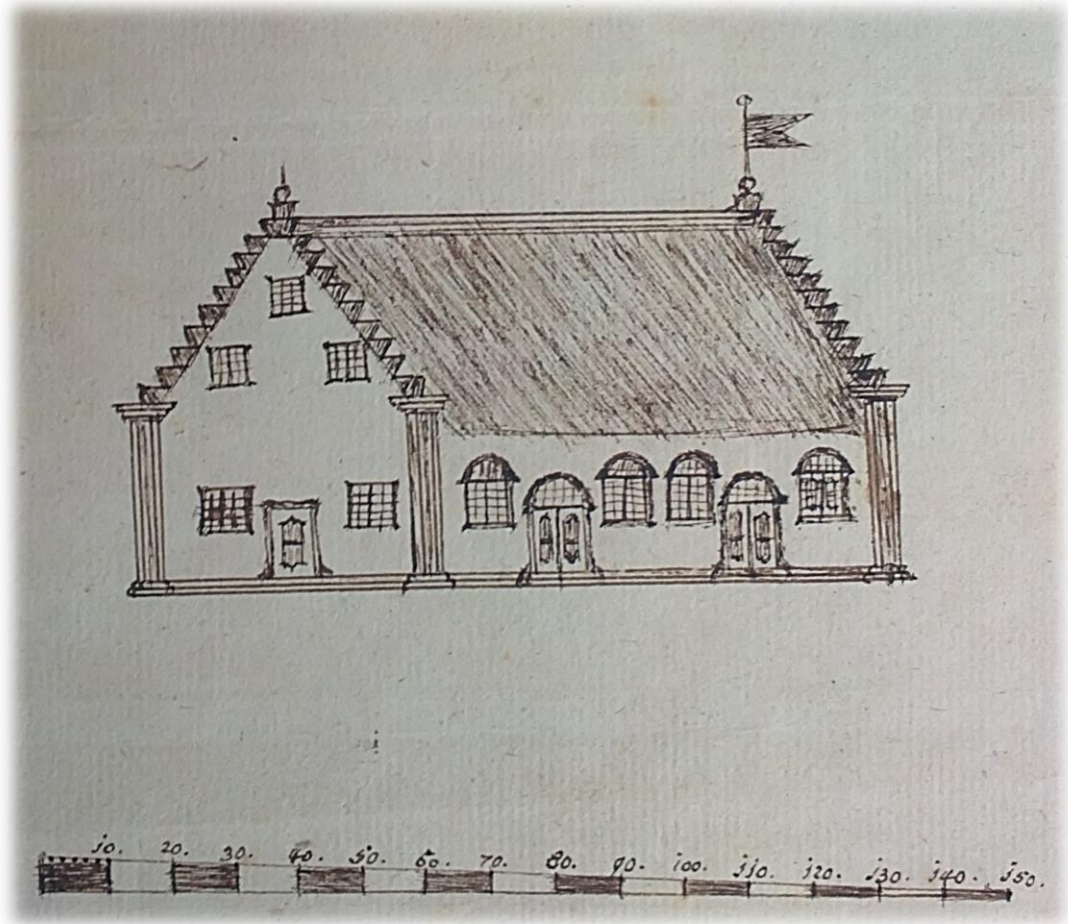
¹⁰⁶ *Geschied-verhaal van Genadendal, de eerste Zendings-Statie in Zuid-Afrika, van 1737 tot 1806*, 31.

¹⁰⁷ *Certificate of marriage between Hendrik Marsveld & Johanna Rachel Schafern* dated May 25th 1800 (GA); *Certificate of marriage between Johan Christian Kühnel & Christina Cornelia Dreslern*, May 25th 1800 (GA); *Nachrichten* (1837), 476.

¹⁰⁸ *Geschied-verhaal van Genadendal, de eerste Zendings-Statie in Zuid-Afrika, van 1737 tot 1806*, 36.

¹⁰⁹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 76.

¹¹⁰ *Document from 1799 for the foundation stone of the new church building* (GA).



Sketch of Genadendal Church built in 1800¹¹¹

In 1802 the Cape reverted again to the Dutch Batavian Republic. Commissioner-General Jacob Abraham de Mist and Governor Jan Willem Janssens, acquainted with the Moravian community in Zeist, visited the mission station. As for the name *Genadendal*, in 1806 Governor Janssens proposed to the missionaries to rename Baviaanskloof. He was very impressed with the work done in the Baviaanskloof. The missionaries welcomed the idea and it was approved by the UEC.¹¹² Henry Lichtenstein, in his *Travels in southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* observed: "How superior is such an institution to those that have been established in other parts of Southern Africa, by English and Dutch missionaries. While the Herrenhutens, wherever they have gone, have excited universal respect".¹¹³ The mission work and stations of the LMS and the SAMS that had also commenced work in the Colony, evidently received a more critical appraisal by Lichtenstein.

¹¹¹ GA.

¹¹² *Nachrichten* (1836), 477; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 99; Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 71.

¹¹³ Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (London: Henry Colburn, 1812-1815), Part 1, 157.

In 1799 the *London Missionary Society* arrived with a group of four missionaries. Their leader, Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp, had letters of recommendation from Latrobe and from the Moravian congregation of Zeist. Following their arrival they first visited Baviaanskloof. Van der Kemp made a thorough inspection of the settlement. He and J Edmond were heading to the Xhosa in the east, whilst JJ Kicherer and W Edwards went to the San in the north.¹¹⁴ Before Van der Kemp left Cape Town, the *South African Missionary Society* was established in 1799. The arrival of the LMS in South Africa marked the beginning of a new era. The Moravians were no longer the only missionaries.

When the British took over the Cape in 1806, one of the conditions for capitulation was that public worship as was in use would be maintained without alteration.¹¹⁵ The British colonial government was even more sympathetic towards the societal mission work than the Dutch Batavian rule.¹¹⁶ Following Rose's death in 1805, the missionary JG Bonatz arrived in 1806.¹¹⁷ In 1807 Johann Adolph Küster and Johann Heinrich Schmitt joined the mission. In 1808 the Moravian missionaries obtained the farm Groenekloof (from 1854 called Mamre) as a grant station, 50 km north of Cape Town.¹¹⁸ The Moravian Mission expanded. Requests to expand to the east could not be followed up. Consequently Dr JT van der Kemp (1747-1811) of the London Missionary Society became the missionary pioneer in the eastern Cape.¹¹⁹ At the same time contact with Herrnhut was severed, because of the disruption caused by the Napoleonic wars in Saxony.¹²⁰ Support came from Zeist and in particular from the Moravian Church in England.

In 1809 Lord Caledon, governor of the Cape Colony, issued the so called *Khoikhoi-proclamation*, according to which Khoikhoi people were not allowed to move around without a pass. This law proved to be an insult to honest people, being jailed as if they were vagabonds. It degraded the social standing of the Khoikhoi at the Cape to little better than that of the slaves. The consequence was that also the inhabitants of Genadendal had to avoid travelling without a pass, and that the missionaries could not admit newcomers without a note from their former master.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 83.

¹¹⁵ Veltkamp, "Meent Borchers. Predikant in Overgangstijd", 85.

¹¹⁶ Veltkamp, "Meent Borchers. Predikant in overgangstijd", 185.

¹¹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1829), 113.

¹¹⁸ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA); *Nachrichten* (1837), 477.

¹¹⁹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 81.

¹²⁰ Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany, while occupied by the French and Allied Armies in the Summer of 1813* (Dublin: R. Napper, 1814).

¹²¹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 112.

The missionaries were sensitive to the consequences of the social, political and economical structures they met within the Cape colonial society: injustice, poverty, oppression, land occupation, hostility, labour practises, etc. The Cape society consisted of slaves, Khoikhoi, people of colour, San, blacks and colonists. The missionaries themselves differed in their attitudes towards these issues. The LMS, in particular Van der Kemp, championed the cause of the slaves and Khoikhoi on the eastern frontier. This resulted in the Black Circuit of 1812, which vindicated many of the accused colonists, but showed the potential influence that missionaries could wield in a colonial cause. The Moravians were not insensitive to the difficulties faced by the Khoikhoi and indeed met with enormous hostility from the farmers. However, their approach was less outspoken and not demonstrative at all.¹²²

Missionaries of the LMS visited Genadendal from time to time. In 1810 Karl Pacalt stayed over. Two years later he founded Hoogekraal near George, which later came to be called Pacaltsdorp.¹²³ In 1812 Johannes Seidenfaden visited Genadendal on his way to the Slang River where he founded a station called Zuurbraak on behalf of the LMS.¹²⁴ Michael Wimmer (stationed at Bethelsdorp and later transferred to Namaqualand), JG Messer and John Campbell also paid visits. The LMS though went through a crisis that threatened its survival in the colony. Two conferences (1814 Graaff Reinet and 1817 Cape Town) in which George Thom took the lead, assessed the situation. After unsuccessful attempts to try and solve the problems, Thom resigned. The directors of the LMS then sent Dr John Philip as superintendent of the LMS in South Africa to consolidate and stabilize the enterprise.¹²⁵

During the same time the Moravian Mission received visitation from England in the able person of Christian Ignatius Latrobe. He was the one to recommend that Hans Peter Hallbeck should be sent to the Cape of Good Hope as superintendent of the Moravian Mission. This is where our account starts.

¹²² R Elphick and H Giliomee (Eds), *The shaping of South African Society 1652-1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1992), 340 ff.

¹²³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 110.

¹²⁴ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 110.

¹²⁵ P.H. Kapp "Dr John Philip se koms na Suid-Afrika en sy werksaamhede tot 1828. Verhandeling ingelewer ter verkryging van die graad MA" (Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1966), 35ff.

Exposition

The research is intended to be a scholarly and original contribution, based on the primary sources, to our knowledge of the Moravian Church and early 19th century intellectual and religious history of colonial society in South Africa. The research presents itself in 15 chapters, depicting Hallbeck as theologian in the context of his time, and Genadendal (more specific the Genadendal of the Hallbeck era) as the cradle of missions in South Africa:

- 1 Introduction
- 2 The visit of Christian Ignatius Latrobe during 1815-1816
- 3 Teacher in four countries, called to the South African mission
- 4 Encountering the context: the establishment of Enon (1818-1820)
- 5 Hemel en Aarde, and Hallbeck's report to the Commission of Enquiry (1821-1823)
- 6 The establishment of Elim (1824)
- 7 Reviewed Rules and Regulations, and the establishment of Silo (1825-1828)
- 8 Challenging times for a superintendent, and devoted to education (1828-1832)
- 9 Awakening in the west and another war in the east (1832-1835)
- 10 Writing the history of the Cape Colony (1835-1836)
- 11 Hallbeck ordained as bishop (1836-1837)
- 12 Extraordinary events in the Cape Colony (1837-1838)
- 13 Liberation of the slaves, the establishment of Clarkson, the inception of a seminary (1838-1839)
- 14 Hallbeck's death (1840)
- 15 Conclusion: Hallbeck in perspective

CHAPTER TWO

THE VISIT OF CHRISTIAN IGNATIUS LATROBE DURING 1815-1816

Introduction

In the previous chapter attention was called to the fact that the Napoleonic wars¹²⁶ disrupted connections between the Cape of Good Hope and Herrnhut. Much assistance for the Cape mission, though, came from the Moravian Church in England during these years.¹²⁷ The fact that the Cape of Good Hope reverted to British control in 1806, and formally became a colony of the British Empire in 1814, obviously favoured Moravian engagement from England. During 1815 and 1816 the Moravian Mission in the Cape Colony received Reverend Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1758-1836),¹²⁸ theologian, musician, artist, writer and influential and respected Secretary of the Moravian Church in England. He took keen interest in the South African mission. He edited the *Periodical Accounts relating to Moravian Missions of the Brethren established among the Heathen* since the first edition was “printed for the Brethren’s Society for the furtherance of the Gospel” in 1790.¹²⁹ Latrobe participated in the founding of the London Missionary Society in 1795. Amongst his friends were influential men like Rowland Hill (1744-1833) of the LMS and the renowned William Wilberforce (1759-1833).¹³⁰ Latrobe took along to South Africa letters of recommendation from the Deputy Secretary for Colonies, Lord Henry Bathurst (1762-1834), as well as from the distinguished parliamentarian and leader of the movement to abolish the slave trade, Wilberforce. Commissioned by the Unity Elders Conference, his visit was to iron out matters at Groenekloof, to establish a third mission station in the interior and in general to inspect the work and provide a substantiated report with recommendations.¹³¹

¹²⁶ On the return journey, Latrobe’s ship harboured at St. Helena, since it had an extensive consignment on board for Napoleon Bonaparte, who was kept prisoner by the British on this island. Latrobe wrote: “He was, no doubt, an instrument in the hands of a just God, to chastise the nations for their apostacy, and laid aside, when his work was done.” C.I. Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816. With some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1818), 379.

¹²⁷ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 121.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek* III, 513 ff. Cf. also the Biographical and General Introduction by F.R. Bradlow in the facsimile reprint of Latrobe’s *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816* (Cape Town: Struik, 1969), 1-44.

¹²⁹ This was the first missionary journal in English and was printed in London. The second volume appeared in 1797 and the third in 1803.

¹³⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 359; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 121.

¹³¹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 121.

Latrobe's visit carried into effect a new and distinct phase in the history of the Cape Moravian Mission. He not only re-organised the mission but also delineated a set of regulations that was destined to shape the Moravian communities in South Africa.

In his report to the UAC he recommended the appointment of a superintendent for the South African Mission. Well acquainted with Hans Peter Hallbeck (1784-1840), at the time leading the Moravian Boys Choir at Fairfield near Manchester, Latrobe played a decisive role in his nomination as superintendent for the South African field – a call that Hallbeck accepted in 1817.



Aquarell of "Missionshaus in Groenekloof", about 1815-1816.¹³²

Latrobe's published South African journal is for a variety of reasons of great significance. Among a number of early 19th century accounts and depictions of the Cape Colony (and beyond its borders),¹³³ Latrobe's *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816*¹³⁴ represents a

¹³² Below the picture the names of the missionaries Bonatz, Schmitt and Fritsch are written. They ministered at the time in Groenekloof: Bonatz (1810-1818), Schmitt (1808-1818), Fritsch (1812-1818). Aquarell painted by Cl Latrobe (HA).

¹³³ For example Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (London: Henry Colburn, 1812-1815); John Campbell, *Travel in South Africa* (London: T. Rutt, Shacklewell, 1815).

Moravian interpretation of the colonial context. Committed to the cause of Moravian missions, he evaluates the country in terms of a theological and historical consideration and reflects as an outsider on such issues as racism, slavery, the social impact of the Christian mission and the potency of the Christian gospel to develop and promote civilization among non-Christian communities. This chapter therefore spends considerable time on Latrobe's insights and experiences in exploring his visitation tour and its theological and historical consequences.

Visit of Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1815-1816): Groenekloof and Genadendal

The immediate purpose of Latrobe's visit was twofold: the difficulties concerning the property rights of the mission station Groenekloof as well as the establishment of a mission station among the black tribes in the east.¹³⁵ He was accompanied by four new missionaries for the South African mission: Clemens and Thomsen (both married), and Stein and Lemmerz (bachelors). He kept a diary, in which he paid attention to the African geology, mineralogy, botany, fauna, flora, wildlife and the people living here. He made a number of drawings, using a camera obscura,¹³⁶ that provided a veritable picture of the South African mission stations in the second decade of the 19th century.¹³⁷ Back in England, he published the circumstantial account of his visit to South Africa in 1818 as a *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816*.¹³⁸

He arrived on December 24th 1815 and was struck by the pleasantness of "Capetown." "The whiteness of its buildings gives it a cheerful appearance; but the low tower of the Calvinist church, surmounted by a pyramidal steeple, is its only prominent feature."¹³⁹ Latrobe was introduced to the deputy colonial secretary, Colonel CC Bird (1769-1861), "through whom permission must be obtained to remain in the colony and to proceed into the country."¹⁴⁰ He also had an audience with the Governor Lord Charles Henry Somerset (1767-1831). Latrobe met an affectionate and supportive governor, who had visited Genadendal in December 1814.¹⁴¹ A long and significant conversation followed, "in which he assured me of his favourable disposition towards our missionaries, and his approbation of their exertions for the improvement both of the

¹³⁴ C.I. Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816. With some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1818). See also *Nachrichten* (1837), 478.

¹³⁵ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, v-vi; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 121.

¹³⁶ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 70.

¹³⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 102.

¹³⁸ Latrobe, C.I. *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816. With some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1818). See also *Nachrichten* (1837), 478.

¹³⁹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 31.

¹⁴⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 35. See also "he promised that letters should be directed to the landrosts of Zwellendam, George, and Uitenhagen, to afford me every facility in my search...", 105.

¹⁴¹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 52, 105.

temporal and spiritual state of the Hottentots and other heathen tribes in this colony, as likewise of his readiness to remove every obstacle, that might impede the prosecution of their labours.”¹⁴²

After the letters of introduction, signed by Bird, were secured, Latrobe departed. It became the most adventurous journey of his life, inciting him to exclaim with the Psalmist: “O Lord! How manifold are Thy works! In wisdom hast Thou made them all: The earth is full of Thy riches!”¹⁴³

He spent time at both Groenekloof and Genadendal and provided compelling depictions of the two mission institutions.¹⁴⁴ The Moravian Mission in the Cape and its apparent success promptly made a deep impression on him. Questioning the enlightened philosophies of his day, he wrote in his journal after his arrival at Groenekloof: “Where is the wisdom of the wise! ... Here is proof by facts, that “the Word of the Cross is the power of God unto salvation to all of them that believe.”¹⁴⁵ Here, he wrote in connection with an argument that often surfaced in the circles of the Moravians to prove and sustain the power and the truth of the gospel, is “seen the effect produced by the preaching of the gospel of a crucified Saviour, unadorned and unaided by human eloquence!”¹⁴⁶ Latrobe, bolstering his statement, thus noted the transformation that reshaped the lives of former “heathen”. He mentions the example of a Khoikhoi confessing the sin of having fallen into drunkenness once again - a matter that was not an issue at all a few years earlier when he has not yet responded to the gospel.¹⁴⁷ The missionaries inspired him: they were “a few plain, pious, sensible, and judicious men, who came hither, not seeking their own profit, but that of the most despised of nations; and while they directed their own and their hearers’ hearts to the dwellings of bliss and glory above, taught them those things, which have made even their earthly dwelling, comparatively, a kind of paradise, and changed filth and misery into comfort and peace.”¹⁴⁸

From Groenekloof the journey took them to Genadendal. At Genadendal the missionaries and their families formed a communal household with shared meals. The daily life at the station was subdivided as follows: half past five in the morning the bell rung, after which the larger missionary family met in the dining room, to read the Bible texts for the day, sing some verses of

¹⁴² Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 36.

¹⁴³ Psalm 104 – Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 5.

¹⁴⁴ For Groenekloof, cf. Latrobe, C.I. *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 43ff; Genadendal, 58ff.

¹⁴⁵ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 41.

¹⁴⁶ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 41.

¹⁴⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 43.

¹⁴⁸ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (1821), 59.

hymns applicable to the reading, and then take a dish of coffee. Breakfast was at eight o' clock. Between twelve and one was lunch. At two there was coffee or tea. Supper was between six and seven, and the whole congregation met at eight in the church for evening worship.¹⁴⁹

"It was truly gratifying and affecting sight," he observed when encountering the broader faith community, "to see so large a number of Christian Hottentots assembled together, and to hear them, with heart and voice, joining in the worship of Him, with whom there is no respect of persons, but whose grace and mercy are free to all of every tribe and nation, who humbly seek his face."¹⁵⁰ Among the inhabitants he thus witnessed a Christian lifestyle and community that made him write: "If some of my Cape friends, who often describe the Hottentots as an incorrigible set of lazy, dirty and ragged creatures, were to see this congregation on such occasions [Lord's Supper] they would at least say, that here facts do not prove their assertion true."¹⁵¹ Latrobe reflected on the work of the missionaries: "Besides the public testimony made of the gospel, the missionaries are diligently employed in visiting and conversing with the heathen in their dwellings. If any come to the missionaries for further instruction... they are called New People, and special attention is paid to them. If their subsequent conduct prove their sincerity, and they desire to be initiated into the Christian Church by Holy Baptism, they are considered as Candidates for Baptism, and, after previous instruction, and a convenient time of probation, baptized. In admitting them to the Holy Communion, they are first permitted to be once present as spectators, and called Candidates for the Communion; and after some time, become Communicants. Each of these divisions has separate meetings, in which they are instructed in all things relating to a godly life and walk. Separate meetings are also held with other divisions of the congregation; with the children, the single men, the single women, the married people, the widowers and widows ..."¹⁵²

In Genadendal something came about that went against established thought patterns and preconceptions at the Cape. Apparently in the eyes of whites and especially farmers the Khoikhoi, slaves and people of colour were an inferior class of people, lacking in civilization and in a corresponding lifestyle. Latrobe could not overlook these social dynamics that shaped the Cape colonial society. This issue surfaced here and there in his journal. For the purpose of the study it is important to pay attention to this. Among missionaries and missionary societies the matter provoked discussion and action. In the next years the Moravian Mission had to deal with it.

¹⁴⁹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 66.

¹⁵⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 63.

¹⁵¹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 75.

¹⁵² Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 72.

Latrobe's reflection on the socio-political dynamics of the Cape colonial society

Shortly after his arrival at Genadendal the missionary Marsveld acquainted Latrobe with the history of the mission since 1792. This included "a detailed account of the troubles which he and his two worthy associates experienced, in the beginning of their labours in this desert, till God sent the English to put a stop to the opposition of evil-disposed people. These misguided men went so far as to hand about a paper, to be signed by the neighbouring farmers, by which they should bind themselves not to supply the missionaries with the necessaries of life, which, at that early period, they could not procure otherwise than by purchase. Some refused to sign the paper, and others were raised up by God, to become their friends. He will reward them for the cup of cold water, given to His servants in that day."¹⁵³

Genadendal's history confronted Latrobe with an anomaly: white Christian colonist farmers went out of their way to undermine and vitiate the Christian mission and therefore the proclamation of the Gospel to a lost people. This frame of mind contradicted a fundamental presupposition of the Christian faith: the equality of all believers. This obviously raised the issues of justice and reconciliation. "I endeavoured to make them understand," as Latrobe told the inhabitants of Genadendal, "that though I by no means meant to justify such encroachment and robbery, yet they might, as Christian people, find some consolation in the reflection, that, had it not been for the occupation of their country by Europeans, they would have remained in gross ignorance and darkness, and been 'led captive by Satan at his will', in the service of sin; the consequence of which, even to the richest and most powerful nation, was misery both here and hereafter. We then explained to them the state of the negroes in the West Indies, who had not only lost their land and liberty, but were carried as slaves into a foreign country; and yet many of those, who had received the gospel, now rejoiced in that, which, to man, seemed the greatest misfortune, because it had been the means of preparing them, by faith in Jesus, for the possession of an inheritance incorruptible and eternal."¹⁵⁴ Latrobe thus offered a theological-historical justification of colonisation at the same time.

Was this line of thinking to play a determining role in moulding of Moravian engagement with similar issues in Cape colonial society? The course of time would tell. First-hand experience made Latrobe aware of the situation. Some farmers offered him an open and favourable reception and treatment. Others responded with hostility. He indeed recorded behaviour of oppression and

¹⁵³ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 84-84.

¹⁵⁴ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 286-287.

even unmerciful violence against the Khoikhoi and slaves.¹⁵⁵ In discussing the necessity of a mission among her people in the interior, Wilhelmina Stompjes, a black Christian inhabitant of Genadendal, pointed Latrobe to the reasons for violent clashes between white and black on what has become known as the border regions. She told him that the Boers had stolen the land from her tribe. “The boers were in fault ...,” she said, “and though she believed, that just now the Caffres might kill the boers for robbing them of their land, they would protect missionaries coming from Genadenthal.”¹⁵⁶ The establishment of Christendom among her people would end all wars.¹⁵⁷

Wilhelmina used to stay on various farms in the eastern Cape, amongst others on the farm of Coenraad Buis.¹⁵⁸ He was a farmer who rebelled against the British colonial government and sympathized with the cause of the black nations. He lived together with three black wives. Yet in 1809 the British officer Richard Collins ordered on behalf of the governor that all blacks had either to leave the colony, or to go to a Moravian settlement (a LMS station was not allowed because of all the criticism against Bethelsdorp). Hence a number of black people arrived at Genadendal with letters from Collins. One of them was Wilhelmina. With her baptism in Genadendal she received the name Wilhelmina.

Deep in the interior, en route to Uitenhage, Latrobe observed: “one may behold the state of degradation, into which the Hottentot nation has sunk, the blame and shame of which lie heavy with some of the former possessors of this land, who first having robbed the aborigines of their paternal inheritance, took advantage of their tame and defenceless state, to thrust them down into the most abject servitude. In this, they are, by some, far worse treated than purchased slaves, who are spared, because if lamed or destroyed by excessive labour or cruel treatment, they cannot be replaced, but at an enormous expense.”¹⁵⁹ In his mind the introduction of Christianity should transform this situation. However, not much could be expected from the first (Dutch) settlers. Neither them, nor “their descendants, had the least notion of providing for posterity. Many answers given to me by boers, otherwise intelligent, proved that their only thought is, “What shall we eat? What shall we drink, and wherewith shall we be clothed? How shall we increase our herds of cattle, and leave to our children a set of fine beasts?”¹⁶⁰ Travelling through the colony in 1816, Latrobe came to the following conclusion: “Religion is generally quite

¹⁵⁵ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 79.

¹⁵⁶ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 70.

¹⁵⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 70.

¹⁵⁸ Or: Coenraad De Buys (1781-1821). *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordenboek*, II 165-167.

¹⁵⁹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 193.

¹⁶⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 91.

out of the question, and its propagation considered as a secondary, if not wholly unnecessary business.”¹⁶¹

He recalled an uncomfortable incident, when the Khoikhoi Lebrecht Aris was verbally insulted by a settler. “This instance,” Latrobe notes however, “was among many, which shows the injustice sometimes done to these poor people, if left without protection to the mercy of boors ...”¹⁶² Latrobe believes that this state of affairs could and should be changed by the Gospel. Their converts are indeed living proof of the change. In the vicinity of the farm Essenbosch between Plettenberg Bay and Uitenhage he recalled remarks made by the local veldcornet. “The Veldcornet expressed his admiration of the appearance and behaviour of our Hottentots, exhibiting, as he said, such a contrast to that of the miserable and neglected race of Hottentots, living among the boors. Nothing was more encouraging and satisfactory to us, than such remarks, nor is there a more convincing proof of the benefit conferred upon this nation, by the introduction of Christianity. It shows the necessity of obtaining more opportunities for planting missions among them, in which Christian instruction and civilization go hand in hand.”¹⁶³

It is thus clear that Latrobe offers a *theological* and *contextual* justification for the mission in the Cape Colony. He is also convinced that a third (and more *structural*) consideration should be added: the positive influence of the British colonial government. Of this he was already convinced when he set foot on shore. “By the favour which the British Government has uniformly shown to the Brethern’s missions, they now remain undisturbed and protected in their civil and religious liberty.”¹⁶⁴ He highly appraises the favourable disposition of the governor towards the Moravian Mission, as they in the eyes of government, “contribute to further the propagation of Christianity, and to introduce industry and civilization among a nation, hitherto considered as the most abject and degraded part of the human race, but whose improvement and welfare” the governor seemed eager to promote.¹⁶⁵ This positive attitude towards the British government is maintained throughout. It became an important and significant marker in his journal.¹⁶⁶

Our attention can now return to Latrobe's journey to the interior.

¹⁶¹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 166.

¹⁶² Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 122.

¹⁶³ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 193.

¹⁶⁴ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 61.

¹⁶⁵ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 105.

¹⁶⁶ See also Latrobe’s participation in the deliberations with the Genadendal Khoikhoi leaders concerning the request for more (paid) captains. Latrobe said: “... the English Government, which has spared you in many ways, on account of your orderly and Christian conduct hitherto, will take for granted, that your demanding more captains proves your degeneracy, and requires other measures to be adopted. The English will hear your proposals with great disapprobation and surprise.” *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 111.

Journey into the interior

Latrobe gave a vivid description of the journey along the coast to the Great Fish River, utmost border of the colony, to the north of the frontier town of Uitenhage.¹⁶⁷ Together with the missionaries JH Schmitt, his wife, JJ Stein and John Melville, Latrobe embarked on this journey. Six Khoikhoi accompanied them: Marcus Moses, Christian Hector, Jeremias Waly, Lebrecht Aris, Johannes Pearl and Leonhard Pearl.¹⁶⁸ The purpose was to inspect the Uitenhage district for a suitable place to start a new mission station.¹⁶⁹ Before their departure, they had received a list of loan-places situated on the Chamtoos and Klein Rivers being the property of the colonial government.¹⁷⁰ Letters of recommendation to the magistrates (*landdrosten*) of Swellendam, George and Uitenhage, signed by the governor, underpinned official endorsement.¹⁷¹

En route, the party called on the mission stations, established by the London Missionary Society. These included Zuurbraak, Hoogte Kraal (near George) and Bethelsdorp (near Algoa Bay). With regard to Bethelsdorp Latrobe was rather disconcerted about the bad state of the station,¹⁷² especially in comparing it with the two Moravian settlements.¹⁷³ He remarked when visiting Bethelsdorp: "We had been willing to believe, that the very unfavourable accounts, given by travellers to Bethelsdorp, were greatly exaggerated, if not altogether false, and that it was not to be credited, that a Society, possessed of such ample means, would suffer any of their settlements to remain in so disgraceful a state ... But I am sorry to say, that as to its external situation, nothing can be more miserable and discouraging."¹⁷⁴ LMS Missionary Van der Kemp's (1747-1811) methods included 'incarnating' the situation and circumstances of the Khoikhoi. Instead of teaching them industry, he shared in their poverty, not using discipline to encourage (in particular) the men to work and the children to go to school.¹⁷⁵ It was indeed Genadendal that

¹⁶⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 116ff.

¹⁶⁸ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 117.

¹⁶⁹ *Nachrichten* (1837), 478.

¹⁷⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 103.

¹⁷¹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 105.

¹⁷² Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 206; Letter Latrobe to Herrnhut, May 20th 1816 in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter*, Part 1, 43.

¹⁷³ Letter Latrobe to Herrnhut, March 5th 1816 in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 43.

¹⁷⁴ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 206.

¹⁷⁵ Du Plessis wrote about Van der Kemp: "We must remember that, according to his own account, he was a convinced deist during the years which preceded his conversion. It cannot be doubted that he was profoundly influenced, at that period of his mental history, by the writings of Rousseau... In his 'Discourse on the Origin of Inequality', Rousseau maintains that the life of the savage is the simplest and most perfect, that civilised communities are all degenerate, [that] wealth [is] a crime." Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 127-128.

made a lasting impression: “After all I have seen of institutions in this country,” he remarked, “I have found none to be compared to Genadenthal for snugness, cleanliness and comfort”¹⁷⁶

In Uitenhage the Landdrost Colonel Cuyler assisted the party greatly, offering them different locations available, which they visited.¹⁷⁷ Among these was a farm next to the Witte River, a tributary flowing into the Zondags River (Sunday River). On their visit to this place, they mistakenly concluded the Witte River to be perennial and opted this land to be the location of the third Moravian mission station.¹⁷⁸ This mistake proved to become fatal to the future mission station’s sustainability and development.

Back in Genadendal, during May 1816, Latrobe received a letter from Colonel Bird on behalf of the governor, informing him that the requested land next to of the Witte River had been assigned to the Moravian Mission.¹⁷⁹

During his sojourn at Genadendal, Latrobe was also instrumental in the re-organising of the faith community. He contributed to the official approval and appointment of overseers (in Dutch: opzieners), which functioned as local police, providing for the maintenance of order.¹⁸⁰ All South African activities, including the Groenekloof mission, were until the time of Latrobe’s visit, controlled exclusively by the *Missionskonferenz* of Genadendal.¹⁸¹ Latrobe now instituted a Helpers Conference (*Helferkonferenz*), with a superintendent as chairman. The Conference consisted of four brethren, including representatives of Groenekloof, similar to those that already existed in Surinam and the West Indies. The Helpers Conference could act locally, but was subjected to the UEC. With the institution of the South African Helpers Conference on January 5th 1816 at Groenekloof, August Clemens was appointed acting superintendent. The members were the four eldest missionaries: Marsveld, Schwinn, Bonatz and Schmitt.¹⁸² The duties of the HC were:

- to call missionaries to the stations and instruct them as to their task;
- to control the finances;

¹⁷⁶ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 107.

¹⁷⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 204, 205.

¹⁷⁸ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 210ff, 240, 291. Karl Müller in his *200 Jahre Brüdermission* (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1931), 189 concludes that the unfortunate location of Enon was chosen mainly for the reason that the Brethren wanted to start with a mission among the Bantu people. Although it is true that the Brethren were looking for a place on or near the borders of the colony, in order to reach the Bantu, they mistakenly held the Witte River to be perennial.

¹⁷⁹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 291.

¹⁸⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 273-275.

¹⁸¹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 103.

¹⁸² *Protocol HC*, Jan 5th 1816 (MASA).

- to consider expansion of the work.

On May 29th 1816 Latrobe was also “requested to draw up rules or statutes, to be read to the congregation, at stated times, and particularly to new people, that they might know what was required of everyone, who desired to become and remain an inhabitant of this place. For this purpose, I had a conversation with all the missionaries,” he wrote, “and heard the remarks of each, made on every subject, connected with the internal and external state of the settlement. From these, and from the regulations of the settlements of the Brethren in Europe, as detailed in Loretz’s *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum*, I compiled a set of rules, suited to the peculiar circumstances of this mission. Having received the approbation of the missionaries, they were communicated and explained, first to the company of overseers, and afterwards, to the whole congregation, and agreed to with thankfulness.”¹⁸³ He drafted a document of eighteen articles, accommodating the existing practical rules of Genadendal, but also utilising the principles of communal life characteristic of Moravian settlements in Europe.¹⁸⁴

Latrobe’s *Regulations* became the core document that not only guided the order and life of the Moravian Christian communities in the Cape Colony, but also expressed and embodied their distinct theology. The underlying theology was deeply embedded in the tradition of the Moravian Church and indeed configured the practice and life of this emerging Christian community in South Africa. In the next decade this document served as the basis for further adjustments and augmentation of the regulations for the South African mission and the faith communities that settled on the mission stations. This significant document should therefore be considered in more detail.

Latrobe’s Regulations for Genadendal (1816)

The first article of Latrobe’s Regulations stressed the voluntary nature typical of the Moravian tradition:¹⁸⁵ “The Regulations of a Congregation of the Brethren are not to be considered as laws, prescribed by Superiors, but as a Brotherly Agreement between the inhabitants of a Settlement

¹⁸³ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 276.

¹⁸⁴ It is not true that these *Rules and Regulations* were only meant to regulate the life of the blacks and coloureds in Genadendal and not that of the missionaries, as Hertzsch asserted. They were binding for everyone staying on the mission station. Cf. Hertzsch, *Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika (1817-1840)*, 46: “Dieses 18 Paragraphen umfassende Dokument regelte ausschließlich das religiöse und weltliche Leben der Schwarzen und Farbigen in Gnadenthal und nicht das der Missionare.”

¹⁸⁵ See e.g. Johannes Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum A.C. Oder: Grund der Verfassung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität Augsburgischer Confession* (Barby: Brüdergemeinen, 1789), 249, 292.

of the Brethren.”¹⁸⁶ The forming of separate and Christian settlements is motivated as follows: to be out of the way – as much as possible – of temptations, and that the preaching of the Word be connected with a beneficial and sustaining church discipline, a living knowledge of Jesus Christ, promoting a godly life among the inhabitants.¹⁸⁷ All regulations should, it is stated, further these objectives and prevent whatever is contrary to the same.¹⁸⁸ This concisely defines the method and approach of the Moravian Mission in the colony. The creation and therefore provision of alternative Christian communities, living together on a mission station was regarded as best practises to sustain the course of the mission.

The second article entrusts the duty to watch over the due observance of these regulations to the teachers and missionaries, “whose admonitions and decisions everyone is bound to obey, as long as they are agreeable to the Word of God, and the rules adopted by the Congregation.”¹⁸⁹

Of great importance is the third article. It deals with the conduct of Genadendal towards the colonial government. The article states that the Genadendal inhabitants see themselves as faithful and obedient subjects under the existing government, and willingly to submit to the laws of the country, in so far as they are not exempt by privileges lawfully obtained. It is considered their duty not only to love and honour the persons in power, but also to endeavour and promote the welfare of the country. They are therefore willing to honour and obey the overseers, who with the approbation of government were appointed to watch over order and regularity at Genadendal.¹⁹⁰

The next article guides inter-relationships: “According to the precept and example of Jesus and his disciples,” it is articulated, every inhabitant “is bound to be kind and friendly towards all men without regard to nation or other circumstances.” All disputes and quarrels, including about religious matters with people of other communities, should be avoided.¹⁹¹ This was, by the way, a strong conviction among the Moravians. In his esteemed *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum*, Loretz made

¹⁸⁶ Hertzsch underestimates the intellectual capability of the mission stations’ inhabitants to make an informed decision to their own advantage when writing: *Die Freiwilligkeit des Einverständnisse der Stationsbewohner kann formal nicht bestritten werden. Niemand wurde gezwungen, in Gnadenthal zu wohnen. Jedoch is zum einen zu fragen, ob die Stationsbewohner angesichts ihres andersartigen kulturellen Hintergrundes die Dimension dieser Ubereinkunft verstehen konnten.* Cf. Hertzsch, *Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika (1817-1840)*, 1999, 47. One should consider that the Khoikhoi were coexisting with Europeans already for more than one and a half century in the Cape Colony.

¹⁸⁷ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 127.

¹⁸⁸ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 1 (GA).

¹⁸⁹ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 2 (GA).

¹⁹⁰ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 3 (GA).

¹⁹¹ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 4 (GA).

the point that the Moravians would rather steer clear of denominational or doctrinal conflict and emphasise the unity in faith.¹⁹²

The following three articles deal with moral issues. Parents and guardians must see that the strictest morality be attended to in the intercourse of children and young persons of both sexes. The forming of improper connections must be avoided in terms of proper regulating of domestic affairs.¹⁹³ Article six prohibits drunkenness, the smoking of Dacha, swearing and cursing, “because it is written that neither adulterers, nor thieves nor drunkards shall inherit the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. 6:9-10.”¹⁹⁴ “Hence it is our desire, not only to avoid all these works of darkness, but never to suffer them in our children, and on all occasions use our best endeavours, to extirpate all these and other wicked habits amongst us.”¹⁹⁵ Therefore, according to article seven, no one is permitted to bring spirituous liquors to Genadendal, and all plays of a mischievous and immoral tendency are prohibited.¹⁹⁶

The Sabbath or Sunday is ordained by God to be a day of rest. Article eight is devoted to the way in which this day should be kept holy, “to improve every opportunity afforded us, to appear before Him in fellowship for edification, and to avoid everything, whereby this holy day must be abandoned.”¹⁹⁷ In the evenings, article nine stipulated, “after the public meetings, every one must remain in his house and not go about visiting in other dwellings, unless compelled by necessity.”¹⁹⁸ The missionary must be notified of all visitors to the community, since he is appointed to examine the passports of such strangers, and is answerable for the good conduct of the visitors.¹⁹⁹

Articles 11-14 provide an exposition of the directives that apply for a person to obtain permission to reside in Genadendal. In building a house and cultivating a garden the advice of the missionary, who has the inspection over buildings and gardens, must be willingly followed.²⁰⁰ Inhabitants should be attentive to cleanliness in their persons, houses and the environs thereof,

¹⁹² Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum*, 19.

¹⁹³ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 5 (GA).

¹⁹⁴ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 6 (GA).

¹⁹⁵ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 6 (GA).

¹⁹⁶ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 7 (GA).

¹⁹⁷ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 8 (GA). “Let rather every one in retirement meditate on the word of God and the useful instructions, which he has heard in Church and School. – Children and young people must conduct themselves quietly and with proper decorum in going in or out of the Church, lest the Congregation be disturbed and offended by their lightmindedness.”

¹⁹⁸ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 9 (GA).

¹⁹⁹ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 10 (GA).

²⁰⁰ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 11 (GA).

and take care that the ditches, watercourses and paths adjoining their houses and gardens be kept open and clean.²⁰¹ If damage is done to property, remuneration to the sufferer is due according to a fair valuation.²⁰² If disputes arise, inhabitants must appeal to the missionaries, in order that such disputes may be settled and love, peace and harmony restored.²⁰³

Articles 15-17 deal with the termination of the agreement of residence at Genadendal. Persons who disregard all good advice and admonitions and repeatedly render themselves guilty of the above mentioned sins and improprieties, shall not be allowed to live amongst the Genadendal community. "If they possess house, garden and plough land, they are at liberty to sell the house, and the fruit found on the land and in the garden to other inhabitants of the place, of which however due notice must be given to the Missionaries."²⁰⁴ "In case the inhabitants of this place remove from hence, and stay away beyond a year without giving any notice of it, and without giving their huts and gardens in trust to someone else, if they remain absent for two years, their huts or houses may be disposed of and the amount reserved for them, and if they have no heirs here, and nothing is heard of them within five years, the money falls to the poor-box."²⁰⁵ All those, who, though they remain on the spot, make no use of their land and garden, forfeit their right thereto, and must expect, that they will be given to another.²⁰⁶

The concluding article (18) provides for the promise in the presence of all the missionaries, to observe these regulations and in all things to follow the precepts of Jesus and his Apostles.²⁰⁷ God is not the author of confusion but of peace.

The Regulations are attuned to the public order and coexistence in Genadendal. In this order, the Christian life is embodied. Latrobe quotes a Lutheran he met: "ever since he had become acquainted with me, he had wondered, how a man of so lively a disposition, could belong to a community so recluse and religious, as that of the Church of the Brethren, in which there were so many checks, by particular rules and regulations, against the ways of the world, and its pleasures

²⁰¹ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 12 (GA).

²⁰² Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 13 (GA). "If any one damages his neighbour's houses, hedges, trees or what he has sown and planted or such damage is done by his children or cattle, he must remunerate the sufferer according to a fair valuation; and if any one commits thefts or other crimes, he must be delivered over to the Magistracy."

²⁰³ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 14 (GA).

²⁰⁴ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 15 (GA). "After having settled their affairs, they are not allowed to remain in Genadendal beyond a certain time fixed by the Missionaries, and no Inhabitant is allowed to shelter them in his house."

²⁰⁵ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 16 (GA).

²⁰⁶ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 17 (GA).

²⁰⁷ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 18 (GA).

and amusements. He added, however, that, in general, he had always found those members of our Church, with whom he had become acquainted, lively and cheerful people, and attentive to the innocent means of making their lives and dwellings on earth comfortable. This led to a consideration of the effects of true conversion of heart ...”²⁰⁸

According to Latrobe these regulations were based on the standard work of Loretz. Although it is clear that the 1816-Regulations were adapted to the situation and context of Genadendal, the *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum* of Loretz should be carefully considered, in order to comprehend the theological and historical trajectories of thinking underlying it and which therefore also had an influence in South Africa.

The *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum* of Johannes Loretz

Johannes Loretz (1727-1798) published the *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum oder Grund der Verfassung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität Augsburgischer Konfession* in Barby in 1789.²⁰⁹ The book would over the years receive editions and translations. For the purposes of this research, the first edition is used. Loretz took to the task of a thorough explication of the *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum* in order to satisfy the need for, as he stated, *an elaborate exposition of the constitution of the evangelical Unity of the Brethren*.²¹⁰ The historical and theological portrayal of the “Brüder-Unität” in the book also reflects an apologetic intention:²¹¹ this *peculiar religious society*²¹² desires that misrepresentations and suspicion be rectified on the basis of the mere truth.²¹³ Founded upon the *doctrine of Jesus and his apostles*²¹⁴ with Jesus as Head of the community,²¹⁵ Loretz argues that the Moravian Brethren as a church are, in their own right,²¹⁶ entitled to, and

²⁰⁸ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 328-329.

²⁰⁹ Loretz, Johannes. *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum A.C. Oder: Grund der Verfassung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität Augsburgischer Konfession* (Barby: Brüdergemeinen, 1789).

²¹⁰ “einer etwas ausführlicheren Nachricht von der Verfassung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 2.

²¹¹ “Meine Absicht hierbei gehet aber nicht weiter, als durch Ausbeugung einiger Begebenheiten, das hervorsteckende in ihrem Charakter, wie sich gleich in ihren ersten Anfängen hervorthat, und nach und nach immermehr entwickelte ins Licht zu stellen, und bei dieser dadurch um so mehr in Stand zu setzen, selbst zu urtheilen; ob der Grund und Zweck, worauf die Evangelische Brüdergemeine stehet, der Lehre Jesu und seiner Apostel gemæß sei? Und in wie fern dieselbe sowohl durch ihre Einrichtungen und Verfassung als durch ihr Verhalten sich ihrem Ziele genähert habe?” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 155.

²¹² “besondere religiöse Gesellschaft” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 6.

²¹³ “genaue und strenge Wahrheit.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 3.

²¹⁴ “Lehre Jesu und seine Apostel” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 1.

²¹⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 1.

²¹⁶ “die Evangelische Brüder-Unität, die sich, wie genugsam bekannt ist, zur Augsburgischen Konfession, als zu dem Lehrsystem, das ihnen Verstand am Evangelium am getreuesten darlegt, unveränderlich bekennt, kann sich also von der Protestantische Kirchen nicht getrennt haben; sondern muss als ein rechtmäßiger Theil derselben billig angesehen und erkannt werden.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 17.

entirely rooted in the evangelical Protestant tradition as it is in particular expressed in the Augsburg Confession.²¹⁷

Loretz notes – and this constitutes a further presupposition – that the living faith in the reconciliation of Christ and the ensuing grateful love for Him and each other, belong to the very the essence of the church, the discipline and the ordering of the community's life.²¹⁸ He continues: *All regulations and institutions are viewed by the Brethren as a means, in order to pursue the solid and ultimate goal.*²¹⁹

After having stated the aim and approach of his book by way of introduction, Loretz devotes the first section²²⁰ to a historic overview: a poignant history, characterised by tremendous suffering and persecution,²²¹ shaped a church, whose origins can be traced to the ancient church of the Apostles, and that surfaced as a distinct community during the 16th century Reformation. They were though *witnesses of the evangelical truth* long before the dawn of the Reformation era.²²² This comprehension of the church's history as a matter of fact constituted a powerful image of orientation and guide for interpretation. The next part is assigned to the renewal of the "Evangelischen Brüder-Unität"²²³ during the 18th century. The church now received a coherent Lutheran identity²²⁴ and profoundly incepted the (Protestant) proclamation of the gospel outside Europe, the "Heidenmission", motivated by a popular exposition of Matthew 28:19.²²⁵ Thus, Loretz remarked, the providence of God determined *that they became a home in the Protestant family for the furtherance of the salvation of humans, a place where the doctrine of Jesus and his apostles is observed sound and pure, and where people should also live accordingly.*²²⁶

A particular premise and persuasion sculpted a peculiar faith community. *They have founded a unity amongst themselves, irrespective of the dissimilarities in the Protestant denominations with regard to prevailing concepts and views, and they have in the strictest way pledged to one*

²¹⁷ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 2, 16ff.

²¹⁸ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 4 "Die besondern Ordnungen und Einrichtungen der Brüder sind also nicht Anmaßungen einer besondern Heiligkeit; sondern Beweise ihrer Mangelhaftigkeit und Unvollkommenheit, die sie erkannten, und deren Folgen dadurch so viel möglich vorzubeugen bedacht waren." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 12.

²¹⁹ "Alle Ordnungen und Einrichtungen werden von den Brüder als Mittel angesehen, ihren eigenen und festen Endzweck zu verfolgen." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 13.

²²⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 31ff.

²²¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 107.

²²² "Zeugen der evangelischen Wahrheit" Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 107.

²²³ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 115ff.

²²⁴ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 136ff.

²²⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 142ff.

²²⁶ "daß sie eine Anstalt in der protestantische Kirche zur Förderung der Seligkeit der Menschen werde, in welche die Lehre Jesu und seiner Apostel lauter und rein erhalten, und darnach gelebt werden solle." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 156.

another, to abide with the doctrine of Jesus and his apostles, and to be committed with all their powers in word and deed to the expansion and propagation of his kingdom.”²²⁷ They entertain openness towards all Christians, regardless of denominational affiliation and they cherish unity. *The Brethren have therefore committed themselves not to make the secrets of the faith an object of rational investigations, but to exploit them towards the enjoyment of godliness.*²²⁸ The Moravians do not lay claim to possess all knowledge and the monopoly on truth. For them, being church, amounts to an unassuming *biblically sound evangelical instruction of a nation in the religion.*²²⁹

The acknowledgment and confession of sin, however, is of paramount importance. *The acknowledgement of our sinfulness is the starting point for the change in a human being.... It leads to a connection with God, and awakens the realisation of the need for a saviour.*²³⁰ The gentile mission confirmed this truth. The corruptive nature of man, Loretz asserts, postulates the inevitability of reconciliation with God.²³¹ Therefore: *Also the Brethren Church wishes to be a proof, that the simple faith in Jesus and his reconciliation still produces also in the present honest, happy and blessed beings, among whom one can find grace and truth, industry and sincerity, rest and satisfaction, unstained love for God and humans, in short, all the virtuous qualities, which the Word of God describes as the fruits of faith.*²³²

It is clear that to Loretz’s mind the decisive feature or attribute of Moravian theology is the fact that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of sinners. This is where the heart of the Moravian Church’s theology beats.²³³ Loretz is convinced that his *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum* is in continuance with the trajectories of that of the highly regarded Spangenberg, the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* and the shorter version *Hauptinhalt der Lehre Jesu zum Unterricht der Jugend in den Evangelischen Brüder*

²²⁷ “Sie haben aber unter sich eine Union gestiftet, wodurch sie sich, der Verschiedenheit der in den Protestantischen Kirchenabtheilungen nach obwaltenden Arten von Begriffen und Ausdrücken ungeachtet, auf das genaueste mit einander verbunden haben, die Lehre Jesu und seiner Apostel auf das treulichste zu treiben, und die Ausbreitung und Förderung seines Reiches durch Wort und Werke sich aus allen Kräfte angelegen sein zu lassen. Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 17-18.

²²⁸ “Die Brüder haben sich also mit einander verbunden die Geheimnisse des Glaubens nicht zum Gegenstande der vernünftigen Forschungs zu machen, sondern zum Genusse der Gottseligkeit anzuwenden.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 19.

²²⁹ “schriftmäßige Evangelische Unterricht eines Volkes in der Religion.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 24.

²³⁰ “Die Erkenntniss unser Schuldigkeit ist also der Punkt von dem die Veränderung des Menschen ausgeht. ... Sie führt auf die Verbindung mit Gott, und erweckt das Gefühl von der Nothwendigkeit eines Heilands.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 25.

²³¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 28..

²³² “Auch die Brüdergemeine wünscht ein Beweis zu sein, dass der einfältige Glaube an Jesum und seine Versöhnung noch heut zu Tage rechtschaffene, frohe und selige Menschen mache, bei denen man Gnade und Wahrheit, Fleiß und Treue, Ruhe und Zufriedenheit, ungefärbte Gottes und Menschenliebe, kurz, alle die tugendlichen Eigenschaften finden könne, die uns das Wort Gottes als Früchte des Glaubens bezeichnet.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 29

²³³ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 24-25.

Allgemeine, the Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism of Luther.²³⁴ The structure, order and discipline of the community should therefore be an unambiguous and intrinsic articulation of the theological and historical trajectories represented by these theologians and confessional documents.²³⁵

The second section of the *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum* deals with the very nature of the Christian life, which is of course a practical expression of the theology and history that have been expounded in the first section. If the 1816 Regulations for Genadendal was based on Loretz's argued exposition, it follows that the theology and approach unique to the Moravian Church (as outlined by Loretz) thus also underpinned the structure and order inherent to Genadendal. The second section of Loretz's book should therefore also be carefully scrutinised, in order to determine to what extent the 1816 Genadendal Regulations compared with the approach and structures of the Moravian Church globally.

The Moravian constitution in comparison with the 1816 Regulations

Structure and order are thus theologically and historically motivated. Loretz begins with an exposition of the "Äusere Constitution der Evangelische Brüder-Unität."²³⁶ He interprets the church as an association, a collegiate, since all denominations and their members belong to the Evangelical Fraternity. Despite the fact that locally and regionally drafted rules and regulations apply, they are all based on the same doctrine and serve the same object.²³⁷ Three main ecclesiastical structures, led by the Elder's Conference, characterise the faith community. A "Helfer Departement" or Helpers Department supports and cares for the course of everyday life in the community. An "Aufseher Departement" (Overseers Department) protects and administers or executes the constitution, rules and regulations in the community. The "Diener Departement" (or Servants Department) sustains and supports the community.²³⁸ Synods, as an expression of renewal and unity, play an important role to maintain the significance of this threefold structure.²³⁹ The Elder's Conferences are responsible to convene synods. As such, the Elder's Conferences are bound by the principles and ordinances of the church.²⁴⁰ One would thus expect the same structures in the Cape Mission.

²³⁴ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 201ff.

²³⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 172ff.

²³⁶ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 185.

²³⁷ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 185.

²³⁸ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 193.

²³⁹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 186.

²⁴⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 197.

In the next paragraph Loretz explains the “Kirchendienst” or the services in the church. He distinguishes in this regard between Bishops,²⁴¹ the Senioribus civilis,²⁴² preachers or presbyters,²⁴³ deacons²⁴⁴ and acolytes,²⁴⁵ all of whom serve the community in a particular way. The different *choir divisions* provide for a diversity instituted in the community, and certainly serve the desired order among them as well.²⁴⁶ The elder’s colloquium forms the direction or board of the community.²⁴⁷

The whole constitution and discipline of each faith community is vested in the teaching of Jesus Christ and his apostles.²⁴⁸ And, is articulated at each place where the community lives together in terms of an *established brotherly covenant and agreement*.²⁴⁹ Such a public agreement contains a number of key stipulations. Loretz deals with each of them.

1. The relation of the community with regard to religion is the first article.²⁵⁰ The faith community’s religion and religious practises are based on the Old and New Testament, as well as the Augsburg Confession. This cornerstone determines the doctrine and life of the community.²⁵¹

2. Secondly, Loretz points out that the *Reasons for and order of the constitution of the community*²⁵² are founded upon following Christ and his apostles. No person is forced to concede. It is a voluntary agreement, which leads to an order that is maintained and administered by the respective structures, e.g. the elder’s colloquium, the Helpers Conference, the councils, etc. The 1816 Regulations, accordingly, considered itself not to be laws, “prescribed by Superiors, but as a Brotherly Agreement between the inhabitants of a Settlement of the Brethren.” They must serve the discipline of the church, “a living knowledge of Jesus Christ, and a godly life among the inhabitants.”²⁵³ In Genadendal, the persons appointed to watch over the regulations, is “entrusted to the Teachers and Missionaries, whose admonitions and decisions every one is bound to obey, as long as

²⁴¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 221ff.

²⁴² Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 225.

²⁴³ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 226ff.

²⁴⁴ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 228ff.

²⁴⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 229.

²⁴⁶ “Chorabteilungen” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 230ff.

²⁴⁷ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 235.

²⁴⁸ “Die ganze Verfassung und Discipline” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 240.

²⁴⁹ “errichtlicher brüderlicher Vertrag und Einverständnis.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 240.

²⁵⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 241ff.

²⁵¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 242.

²⁵² “Von den Grunden und Ordnung der Gemeinverfassung” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 247ff.

²⁵³ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 1 (GA).

they are agreeable to the word of God, and the rules adopted by the Congregation.”²⁵⁴

This line of thinking also surfaces in the last article. It provides for the promise made by the applicant in the presence of all the missionaries, to observe these regulations and in all things to follow the precepts of Jesus and his Apostles.²⁵⁵

3. The third issue addressed by the constitution explicates the relationship to the government and authorities.²⁵⁶ The *Brüder-Unität* keeps authorities in high estimation, in adherence to Romans 13. Authorities are servants of God and must therefore be obeyed.²⁵⁷ The same persuasion is followed by the 1816 Regulations. Also in the third article, it requires of inhabitants of Genadendal to conduct themselves “as faithful and obedient subjects under the existing Government, and willingly to submit to the laws of the country, in as far as we are not exempt by privileges lawfully obtained. – We consider it as our duty not only to love and honour the persons in power placed over us, but also to endeavour to promote the welfare of the country, where our lot is cast. – We likewise are willing to honour and obey the Overseers, who with the approbation of Government are appointed to watch over order and regularity here at Genadendal.”²⁵⁸

4. The fourth matter dealt with by Loretz’s constitution, relates to office bearers and the relation of the faith community towards them, and vice versa.²⁵⁹ The presupposition is that God is the Giver or Benefactor of the servants and labourers. Therefore, the community should receive and acknowledge these church servants pursuant to an *internal vocation of grace*.²⁶⁰ No office will take over the work of another, but rather serve one another in love. Discharge from the office and service is conducted with the consent, trust and blessing of the community.²⁶¹ Except for “Teachers and Missionaries, whose admonitions and decisions everyone is bound to obey, as long as they are agreeable to the Word of God, and the rules adopted by the Congregation,” the Genadendal Regulations of 1816 do not have any further reflection on office bearers.²⁶²

5. In the following articles the emphasis shifts to the commitments, relationships and obligations which members are expected to make.²⁶³ The elder’s collegiate supervises

²⁵⁴ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 2 (GA).

²⁵⁵ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 18 (GA).

²⁵⁶ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 261ff.

²⁵⁷ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 262.

²⁵⁸ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 3 (GA).

²⁵⁹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 264.

²⁶⁰ "innern Gnadenberuf." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 265.

²⁶¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 267.

²⁶² Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 2 (GA).

²⁶³ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 267ff.

those entering the community of faith and becoming a member²⁶⁴ Loretz spends profound attention to the position of children, which are likewise redeemed and saved through the holy blood of Christ.²⁶⁵ Parents must take care for children. And, the education and schooling of children receive a pivotal position in the constitution.²⁶⁶ Consequently, it is of great importance *that the youth is reared in the knowledge of the truth leading towards salvation, according to holy Scripture, and that in a way appropriate to their hearts and level of comprehension, so that the knowledge of Jesus is planted in them since their youth, and so that they not only appropriate the facts of salvation to their minds, but especially to their hearts.*²⁶⁷ Teaching should include reading, writing and counting, *and the boys should also be educated in the basics of the Latin language and Geography, History and Art, and the girls in all different sorts of feminine occupations.*²⁶⁸ Children are not to be left alone. Their development and sexuality are strictly controlled whilst mixing or unnecessary exposure to temptations should be avoided.²⁶⁹ Only members of the community can own property. Moving cannot occur without official permission. Real estate transactions must be in accordance with the applicable legislation.²⁷⁰ Requirements and responsibilities of social-ethical nature, e.g. in connection with the protection of property, crops, the prohibition of the development of monopolies, security, peace, etc. are also elaborated on.²⁷¹

In a number of Genadendal Regulations these issues were incorporated or raised as well. Regulation 5 stipulates that the “strictest morality be attended to, in the intercourse of children and young persons of both sexes.”²⁷² Improper connections should be avoided.²⁷³ However, no reference is made to the education and schooling of children.

Regulations 11 – 17 guide domestic affairs. Rules related to the obtaining of land, a garden and the erection of a house are dealt with in Regulation 11. Should permission to

²⁶⁴ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 267.

²⁶⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 272.

²⁶⁶ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 273.

²⁶⁷ “daß die Jugend in der Erkenntniß der Wahrheit zur Gottseligkeit, nach der heiligen Schrift, auf eine dem Herzen und ihre Begriffen zupassende Weise gründlich unterrichtet werden mögen, damit die Erkenntniß Jesu in ihren von Jugend auf gepflanzt werde, und sie die Heilswahrheiten nicht nur mit dem Verstande und Gedächtniße fassen, sondern auch vornehmlich für ihr Herz anwenden lernen.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 273-274.

²⁶⁸ “und die Knaben wenigstens in den Anfangsgrunden der Lateinischen Sprache und Geographie, Historie und Zeichnen und die Mädchen aber in allerlei weiblicher Arbeit unterrichtet.” Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 274, see also 309ff.

²⁶⁹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 276, 312ff.

²⁷⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 287.

²⁷¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 283.

²⁷² Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 5 (GA).

²⁷³ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 5 (GA).

reside in Genadendal be terminated, and if such people “possess house, garden and ploughland, they are at liberty to sell the house, and the fruit found on the land and in the garden to other inhabitants of the place, of which however due notice must be given to the Missionaries.”²⁷⁴ In the case of inhabitants moving away from Genadendal, without giving their huts and gardens in trust to someone else, their property may “be disposed of and the amount reserved for them, and if they have no heirs here, and nothing is heard of them within five years, the money falls to the poor-box.”²⁷⁵ If inhabitants make no use of their land, they forfeit their right thereto.²⁷⁶ All the inhabitants, Regulation 12 stipulates, “must be attentive to cleanliness in their persons, houses and the environs thereof, and take care, that the ditches, watercourses and paths adjoining their houses and gardens be kept open and clean.”²⁷⁷ If someone damages the “neighbour’s houses, hedges, trees or what he has sown and planted or such damage is done by his children or cattle, he must remunerate the sufferer according to a fair valuation.”²⁷⁸

6. The final matter broached by Loretz treats the mutual relation of the members.²⁷⁹ In this regard, many social-ethical precepts, with a biblical weft and origin, drawn particularly from the Pauline letters, are outlined.²⁸⁰ The public and Christian character of marriage and raising children are also at issue.²⁸¹ The Genadendal Regulations of 1816 do not include allusion to marriage. The way in which disputes have to be settled is stipulated.²⁸²

In conclusion, the comparison between Loretz and the 1816 Regulations indicates clear similarities. There are also notable omissions in the Regulations, e.g. on marriage and the education or schooling of children in Genadendal.

Loretz devotes, following a paragraph on the use of the lot among the Moravians,²⁸³ a further exposition of the education and schooling of the Moravian youth,²⁸⁴ the last few pages are

²⁷⁴ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 15 (GA).

²⁷⁵ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 16 (GA).

²⁷⁶ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 17 (GA).

²⁷⁷ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 12 (GA).

²⁷⁸ Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 13 (GA).

²⁷⁹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 284ff.

²⁸⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 284ff.

²⁸¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 297ff.

²⁸² Latrobe, *Regulations of the Congregation at Genadendal*, Regulation 16 (GA).

²⁸³ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 303ff.

dedicated to the heathen mission, as supervised and carried out by the Moravian Church. Heathen, according to him, are people who have no knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, belonging to *the lowest classes of men ...*²⁸⁵ The Moravian Church, based on the conviction that it should exist in gratitude and love for the gift of the Saviour, followed the example of the apostles and thus acted according to the mission command as recorded in Matthew 28. Being the cause of the Lord,²⁸⁶ who shed his blood for us,²⁸⁷ Loretz wrote, nothing could prevent the church's missionaries from fulfilling the command – neither danger, cold, heat, exhaustion, persecution, nor death. Loretz does not shrink back to a fundamental question of his time: did the Christian mission in fact have a positive impact? Should the people to whom the Gospel was proclaimed, and who were accommodated in the Christian Church, not have been left in a happier state of life they were living in?²⁸⁸ Loretz argues that the Gospel changes people for the better. *The effort therefore to uplift the knowledge of our fellow humans, and to be instrumental in their salvation, is not in vain and is not too low for any human race, to be occupied with.*²⁸⁹ The result is not only a saved person, but also a better person. This is proved by the history of the mission. First generation Christians are good citizens of the state.²⁹⁰ The mission starts, however, with Christ. *One should start with the Gospel of accomplished reconciliation of all humans through his suffering and death, and also in what follows this should continue to be the main doctrine.*²⁹¹ In this regard he refers to the influential book by Spangenberg: *Von der Arbeit der evangelischen Brüder unter der Heiden.*²⁹²

This concludes our overview of the *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum*. The historical and theological trajectories underlying the book were analysed. As such, the book serves as an important reference point for the elucidation of the contribution of Hallbeck as superintendent of the Moravian Mission at the Cape, as will be argued in the subsequent chapters. Apart from that, the 1816 Genadendal Regulations could be compared with the constitution and order Loretz had offered and discussed. It was indeed no exaggeration when Latrobe noted that the 1816 Regulations were based upon the *Ratio Disciplinae* of Loretz. Obviously the context of Genadendal was accommodated in the Regulations. We can therefore assume that the

²⁸⁴ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 309ff.

²⁸⁵ "zu den niedrigsten Klassen der menschen" Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 233.

²⁸⁶ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 324.

²⁸⁷ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 325.

²⁸⁸ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 325.

²⁸⁹ "Die Bemühung also, unsern Mitmenschen bessere kenntniße hinzubringen, und zu ihren Heile beförderlich zu sein, ist nicht vergeblich und keine Menschenart zu gering, diesen Fleiß an sie zu wenden." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 329.

²⁹⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 330.

²⁹¹ "daß ist mit dem Evangelium von seiner durch Leiden und Sterben vollendeten Versöhnung alle Menschen anzufangen, und auch im Fortgange sie als Hauptlehre anzusehen." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 333.

²⁹² Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 333.

Genadendal Regulations were aligned with the way in which Moravian communities in Europe, Britain, Ireland, North America as well as the Moravian missions across the world, structured and established themselves as Christian communities. Genadendal (and Groenekloof) were no exceptions, and not inferior to the rest of the Moravian communities.

Now we can return to the consequences of Latrobe's visit. He compiled a report and recommended that the Cape mission should receive a talented superintendent to lead it. The question was who could be appointed as superintendent? Who would be able to lead the mission in the new colonial context? To find the right person, he looked to England.

Latrobe's report to the Unity Elders Conference

In his report to the UEC Latrobe advised – after his visitation to the Cape – that a superintendent, well versed in English and acquainted with the English culture, should be found for the Cape mission. Appropriate communication with the British colonial government was mandatory for the effective functioning of the mission, as this proved to be difficult for the German or Dutch missionaries.²⁹³ The UEC approved of this proposal, and Hans Peter Hallbeck was chosen to become the new superintendent of the Cape mission. Born and educated in Sweden, he was at the time a respected leader and teacher in the congregation of Fairfield, near Manchester. Latrobe was familiar with him, and knew that he, fluent in English, made a suitable candidate for the 'new' colonial Cape of Good Hope. The lot offered an affirmative answer,²⁹⁴ and Hallbeck consequently decided to submit to the call²⁹⁵ as superintendent of the Moravian Mission in South Africa and left Fairfield at the end of May 1817. The voyage took him first to Herrnhut, and from there to the Cape of Good Hope.²⁹⁶

The Christian establishment at Genadendal, its regulations and order, would be familiar to the new superintendent Hans Peter Hallbeck. These were characteristic of a theological and ecclesiastical tradition he also related to. The historical and theological guideline was that of Spangenberg and Loretz, underpinned by an 18th century interpretation of Lutheran theology, with the emphasis on the cross and the significance of the vicarious atonement of Christ. This emphasis would have an effect in the immediate everyday life of the new believers. In the coming years, Hallbeck would enhance this approach in the Cape Moravian faith communities.

²⁹³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 130.

²⁹⁴ *Protocol UAC* March 27th 1817 (HA).

²⁹⁵ *Protocol UAC* May 13th 1817 (HA).

²⁹⁶ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 34ff.

Who was this young man that worked in England? Where did he come from? What education did he receive? The next chapter is dedicated to Hallbeck, the main character of this study. We will restrict ourselves to a biographical overview of Hallbeck's life until he arrived at the Cape in 1817. For this purpose use was made of archival material from both South Africa²⁹⁷ and Europe (Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands).²⁹⁸ As has been shown in the introduction, Hallbeck is not unknown in the historiography of the Moravian Church in South Africa. In terms of his standing in the Moravian community, he in 1817 not only demonstrated the skills and competencies required by the Latrobe report, but indeed also met the requirements demanded to be a missionary of the Moravian community. Loretz reflected on the last: a missionary must have a living testimony, which encompasses self-denial and the knowledge of the depth of his personal lostness,²⁹⁹ in order to testify truthfully of the experienced healing through the blood of Christ.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Archive Genadendal; Moravian Archives of the Moravian Church South Africa at the Moravian Theological Centre, c/o Ascension & Duinefontein Rd, Heideveld, Cape Town.

²⁹⁸ Unitaetsarchiv der Brüdergemeine, Herrnhut, Germany; Stadsarkivet Malmö, Sweden; Riksarkivet Lund, Sweden; Universitetsarkivet Lund, Sweden; Het Utrechts Archief, Netherlands (comprising all archival material of the Zeister Zendingsgenootschap).

²⁹⁹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 335.

³⁰⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 336.

CHAPTER THREE

TEACHER IN FOUR COUNTRIES, CALLED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION

Introduction

The main positive outcome of Latrobe's visit to South Africa was the goodwill towards the Moravian Mission he secured among the Cape colonial government in general and the Governor Lord Somerset in particular.³⁰¹ When Hallbeck arrived in 1817, he could continue as superintendent on this favourable basis. The goodwill became visible in the fact that permission was given to build a church in Groenekloof.



*Pencil sketch of Groenekloof church building (February 1822)*³⁰²

³⁰¹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 50, 422, 508.

³⁰² HA.

Other endeavours were less successful however, like to obtain exemption for the stations from military quartering, and the issue of property rights. A direct consequence of his visit was also that the bonds between the South African mission and the Moravians in Great Britain were strengthened.³⁰³ Latrobe's advice to Herrnhut that they should appoint as superintendent in the Cape someone able to speak English and acquainted with the English culture, led to Hallbeck's call to South Africa. By then he was already staying a couple of years in Ireland and England.

With the arrival of Hallbeck, the Moravian mission had two decades of experience and was firmly rooted in South Africa. It had all potential to expand. And this happened from the moment Hallbeck arrived, with the mission at the Witte River at the brink of being established. There was a team of more than ten Moravian missionaries in South Africa, the wives and widows not even included.³⁰⁴

Hallbeck's youth in Malmö and education in Lund

The Malmö City Archive holds historic records that disclose interesting facts about the Hallbeck family. These inform us that Hans Peter was born on March 18th 1784 in House nr. 621 at the corner of Engelbrektskatan and Larohegatan, in the direct vicinity of the St. Petri Church,³⁰⁵ where he was baptised, according to Anshelm, two days later.³⁰⁶ Although throughout his life he wrote his name as *Hans Peter*, it was entered in the Birth Records as *Hans Petter*.³⁰⁷ However, an entry of his name at the death of his father in 1809 in the *Bouppteckningar och Arfskiften i Malmö* confirms the spelling Hans Peter.³⁰⁸ A further peculiarity should be clarified in connection with the correct spelling of his name. At the end of the 19th century, Hallbeck's youngest daughter Emma Renata stated that her father started to write his surname differently – Hallbeck instead of the original Hallbäck – from the time he joined the Moravian Church in Germany. With this spelling – causing a more German pronunciation – he wanted to indicate that he had found a new family in the Moravian Church, whilst his own family in Sweden strongly disapproved of this

³⁰³ *Nachrichten* (1819), 296-297.

³⁰⁴ *Nachrichten* (1819). In the *Verzeichniß* at the beginning the following names are mentioned: the couples Hallbeck, Clemens, Bonatz, Marsveldt, Schmitt, Peterleitner, Fritsch, Beinbrecht, Thomsen, Lemmerz, Stein. Furthermore the bachelors Hornig, Hofmann, Schulz. Furthermore the widows Kohrhammer, Schwinn.

³⁰⁵ *Birth Records* (Parish Archive, in Stadsarkivet Malmö), Fire Insurance Records, Estate Inventories (Stadsarkivet Malmö).

³⁰⁶ Carl Anshelm *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck der erste schwedische Missionar in Afrika* Part 1, 3. German translation (by Helene Marx) of: Carl Anshelm, *Biskop Hans Peter Hallbeck: den förste svenske missionäre i Afrika* (Lund: CWK Gleerups Förlag, 1927).

³⁰⁷ *Birth Records*, March 20th 1784 (Parish Archive, in Stadsarkivet Malmö).

³⁰⁸ *Bouppteckningar och Arfskiften i Malmö* (page 1386), Stadsarkivet Malmö.

step.³⁰⁹ How Emma Renata had arrived at this explanation is not clear. What is certain however is that in the city registers of Malmö Hans Peter's surname was spelled from his birth as Hallbeck, and likewise did his father and grandfather spell it during the 18th century.³¹⁰ It is evident therefore that it was not Hans Peter who changed the spelling of his surname. A change in spelling did occur in the family – in that Emma Renata was right – but it was done by Hans Peter's uncle Carl. Already in the registry of the University of Lund in the year 1802, Carl had his surname spelled *Hallbäck*. The very next entry shows Hans Peter's name, with his surname *Hallbeck*.³¹¹ By the way, Hallbeck and his uncle were more or less of the same age and studied together in Lund. Why Carl had changed the spelling of his surname, I did not further investigate.

The Hallbeck family was sincere, traditional Lutheran Protestants, and were devoted members of the Lutheran State Church of Sweden. Hans Peter's father Jacob was a cooper, a trade in which the family had engaged for some generations. His grandfather Paul was master of the cooper's guild.³¹² Grandfather Paul had 18 children, in three consecutive marriages, as death took away the mothers of his children one after the other. Hallbeck's father was the eldest son from the first marriage. His mother, Martha Christina Stockmann, died in 1788 at the age of 32 of child birth when Hans Peter was only four years old. She had given her husband four children in four years' time. His mother's will stipulated that her sons Hans Peter and Nils would inherit a full set of clothes, from head to foot, as soon as they have become journeymen. This indicates that the parents envisioned Hans also to become a cooper. Nils died before he turned two of a cough, just like his sister Petronella. Of this marriage's offspring only Hans Peter and his sister Johanna would reach adulthood.

His father remarried after a year with the widow Anna Britta Gottschick. Two more children, Pål and Märta, were added to the family. In 1790 two of Hans Peter's uncles – more or less of the same age as his – came to stay with the family. They then moved to a (probably bigger) house a

³⁰⁹ According to Schneider she told it to him. Hermann Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbecks under Einer aus ihr* (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung: 1907), 14. Schneider also wrote: *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars* (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung: 1925).

³¹⁰ Birth, marriage and death records from the parish archives; School records giving the dates of entry and departure of Hans Peter; Fire insurance records; Estate inventories of Hallbeck's father, mother, and siblings who died in Malmö. With Hans Peter's father's death in 1809, his surname is also still recorded as Hallbeck (Stadsarkivet, Malmö).

³¹¹ *Kansliet 1666-1930 D1;4* – January 12th 1801 (Universitetsarkivet, Lund).

³¹² *Tunne-Bindare Embetes- Embets-Bok Uti* – Malmö. AHR – 1764 No. 1 (Stadsarkivet Malmö).

few blocks away in the Rundelsgatan.³¹³ Hallbeck's stepmother Anna Britta reached the age of 80 and died in 1839, a year before his own death.

At school it soon became clear that Hans Peter was a good student and perhaps not destined to become a cooper. He was therefore sent – together with his two uncles – to the local gymnasium or Latin school to receive a classical education, providing the opportunity for entering university education. Since the family was not affluent, Hallbeck made some money by catching and selling songbirds.³¹⁴ He passed the final examination in 1800. The next year he enrolled – together with his uncle Carl (born 1782) – in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University in Lund, intending to study theology.³¹⁵ In Lund Hallbeck stayed with relatives.³¹⁶

Not much of his student life in Lund was documented. The annals of the *Skånska Nationen*, kept in the Archives of the University of Lund, enclose a few interesting references, since Hallbeck obviously was a member of the *Skånska Nationen* (the Scanian Nation). At Swedish universities *nations* were student associations to which all students belonged, often grouped according to the province they originated from. Since Malmö was a city in the province of Scania (Skåne), Hallbeck thus held membership of the *Skånska Nationen*.³¹⁷ According to the *Skånska* sources, Hallbeck, as part of the academic activities of the *Nation*, held an oration in Latin *About famous men in the 16th century*. It was evaluated as excellent both with regard to his knowledge of history as to the Latin language. This obviously confirms that his university training was based upon a classical curriculum. The *Skånska* sources also reveal some of his teachers. He studied with Johan Lundblad, professor of Roman (Latin) eloquence and poetry, and Wilhelm Julius Leche, teacher of modern languages. Furthermore, he had lessons from Magister Åberg, who was probably an older student rather than a formal academic teacher.³¹⁸

³¹³ House #108-109 in the Rundelsgatan (Stadsarkivet, Malmö). I am indebted to Anette Sarnäs and the other personnel of the Malmö City Archive (Stadarkivet) for assisting me in finding many interesting facts about Hallbeck's family surroundings. They rendered an excellent service before, during and after my visit to Malmö.

³¹⁴ *Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern* (1840), in Archiv der Brüder-Unität, Herrnhut (HA). Although this document starts with the phrase "der sel Vater" it was most probably written by Hallbeck's wife, to which the phrases at the end of the document testify: "Als mein sel. Mann" and "Wir wurden am 20 July in Neusalz getraut". She wrote it probably primarily for her children shortly after his death in 1840, dealing with the presumably lesser well known part of Hallbeck's life, namely the period before he was called to South Africa.

³¹⁵ *Skånska nationen* B 2:3 (1802) (Universitetsarkivet Lund, Sweden).

³¹⁶ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 5.

³¹⁷ *Skånska nationen* A1 A;3, 240 & B 2:3 (1802) (Universitetsarkivet Lund, Sweden).

³¹⁸ *Skånska nationen* B 2:3 (1802) (Universitetsarkivet Lund, Sweden). I am indebted to Fredrik Tersmeden and the other personnel of Universitetsarkivet and Riksarkivet in Lund, Sweden for providing an excellent service in assisting me finding the relevant references to Hans Peter Hallbeck.

Anshelm quotes Henrik Reuterdahl to prove that theology was rather rational in those days: one had to make assignments, first from the Catechism, then from Wöldecke's Compendium.... The soul did not receive nourishment at school... Bible exegesis was dry, boring, modernistic.³¹⁹ Did he encounter Moravians during his student years? One of the well-known Lutheran preachers, whose sermons Hallbeck attended, was Henric Schartau (1757-1825).³²⁰ He steered clear of the rationalistic moralism, typical of the preaching of his times, emphasising the justification of the sinner before God. Influenced by the theology of JA Bengel (1687-1752), he distinguished himself as an advocate of 'Erweckungstheologie.' Yet at the same time he often warned against the harmful theology and objectionable influences of the *Herrnhutare*, denouncing them as a sect. The Moravians were active in Lund. One of them was Ebbe Bring. His preaching was neither characterised by rigid orthodoxy, nor by the spiritual weakness of modernism. Professor Lemcken, who taught Dogmatics, had sympathies with the Moravians. This also applied to Professor Anders Hylander (1750-1830).³²¹

Hallbeck was impressed by Schartau's preaching and shared the view that the *Herrnhutare* were dangerous heretics. Later in his life he admitted that in his youth he detested everything that was not truly Lutheran in doctrine or church order.³²²

Hans Peter is not enlisted in the 1803 *Scanian Nation*, which indicates that his studies at the university ended after three years. Nowhere in archives it is recorded whether Hallbeck ever took examinations. This is probably because these were not obligatory for theological students, since it was expected that they would be examined by the ecclesiastical authorities when ordained. Theological students were allowed to apply for ordination only after they have reached the age of 25.³²³ Since Hallbeck was still too young, he, for the time being, opted for teaching, as did many other (theological) students. The future proved that this decision would lead Hans Peter's destiny in a very different direction, compared to his uncle and fellow student, Carl, who eventually was ordained in the Swedish Lutheran Church.

³¹⁹ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 5.

³²⁰ See Michelsen, A Schartau, Henrik, in *New Schaff-Hertzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* Vol X, 227.

³²¹ In a letter in 1820 to his brother (probably his uncle Carl Hallbäck, who studied together with him in Lund), Hallbeck still referred to this Prof Hylander (Hallbeck Official Correspondance 1820-1823, GA).

³²² Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbec*, Part 1, 5-7.

³²³ Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern (1840), in Herrnhut Unitäts-Archiv (HA).

Teacher among the Moravians in Göteborg (1803-1810)

Mediated by Professor Anders Hylander, Hans Peter was employed in 1802 as a private teacher for the Björkfeldt family. This family was connected to the Moravian Society in Göteborg. According to Anshelm, this came as a shock to Hallbeck.³²⁴ He was at the time convinced that the Moravians were *a sect of dangerous heretics*.³²⁵ But now that he got acquainted with them personally, things started to change. He accompanied his pupils to the church services, in order not to create a wrong impression. In 1802 a fire destroyed a substantial part of the city, including the church hall, school and parsonage of the Moravian Society. The Society was deeply affected. The spirit in which they dealt with this devastating setback made a deep impression on Hallbeck. He reviewed his prejudices against them.³²⁶ Many years later he asked himself, looking back, what would have happened to him without the careful spiritual guidance of the Brüdergemeine.³²⁷

The following year his teaching responsibilities were increased. The local Moravian pastor, Ephraim Stare, appointed him as teacher in the Moravian school in Göteborg, where he was to stay for the next seven years. He distinguished himself as an excellent educator.³²⁸ Exposed to the Moravian community, he became more and more conversant with their way of Christian living. However, most influential on him was Rev Stare, where he enjoyed lodgings. Hallbeck later wrote that Pastor Stare treated him very wisely. When he would have sensed in his company the slightest attempt of proselytising, certainly he would have turned his back on the Moravians.³²⁹ Stare allowed Hallbeck access to his extensive library. Hallbeck started to study the history of the United Brethren, especially those books that were critical about them.

Having been requested by Stare to accompany the children of some Göteborg families who had completed their education in Christiansfeld on their return journey, he travelled to Denmark in the spring of 1804.³³⁰ Christiansfeld was renowned for its school of exceptional quality and many prominent families in Sweden sent their children to this Moravian institution in Denmark. Hallbeck was highly impressed with the establishment as well. The Christian love, friendliness and

³²⁴ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 10.

³²⁵ "eine secte gefährlicher Ketzler" Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern, 1840 (HA).

³²⁶ Anshelm *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 10.

³²⁷ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 9.

³²⁸ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 13.

³²⁹ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 13.

³³⁰ H.G. Schneider, *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars*. 3rd ed. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925, 12; Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Oct 14th 1818 (HA).

hospitality made a deep impression on him. After this journey he decided to join the Moravian Church. This was a decisive moment in his life.³³¹ On June 4th 1807 Hallbeck was accepted as member into the Göteborg Moravian Society.

Hallbeck's years in Göteborg (1803 – 1810) would become formative for his theological development. In letters, dating from this period of his life, and cited by Anshelm, it is evident that Hallbeck associated with the accepted theology of the Moravian community. His understanding of the doctrine of repentance and the nature of true Christian faith changed drastically. Until that time, he did not know the experience of joy caused by the knowledge of being a child of God. He later noted that this was due to the way repentance was explained to him as a student. The repentance of a sinner consisted of a systematic progressive development, during which the soul had to remain for a considerable period in a state of utter despair, before one receives the right to apply the promises of the Gospel to oneself. Hallbeck wrote that although he was really worried, he however believed that his despair had not reached that level of intensity yet expected to precede the certainty of the forgiveness of sin. But his whole conception started to change after having heard a Moravian sermon about Psalm 22:27(26): "the poor shall eat and be satisfied: they who seek the LORD will praise him: May your hearts live for ever!" The preacher explained that the habit of digging in your own misery is not according to the Gospel. It was as if on that day the Gospel started to shine in Hallbeck's life. Hallbeck noted that it was the first day in his life that he could say with certainty that the Saviour belongs to him and he to Him.³³²

In 1805 he wrote, *Yes, Him, the Crucified who is representing us at God's right hand, and Him alone and his powerful intercession, I have to thank for everything. He, the Advocate, has protected me ever since, otherwise I would have perished already long ago. Because when I look at myself, he emphasizes, and what a poor, and from the start corrupted heart I have, I realise that I cannot exist for a single moment in his presence. But the faithful Friend of sinners, thus he considered Jesus Christ to be, our Advocate in God's presence, has helped me thus far. And when I think of the future, in view of my unpredictable and shivering heart, whether I would be able to stay faithful to my Pitier, then it is always my consolation: Christ is at the right hand of God and He is pleading for us. He will know well also in future, as until now how to help through his weak and often disobedient child, he interprets inner experience, that cannot do anything itself.*³³³

³³¹ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 14.

³³² Jens Vahl, "Hans Peter Hallbeck", *Nordisk Missionstidskrift* (1895, II), 157. Cf. Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 14.

³³³ "Ja, Ihm, dem Gekreuzigten der uns nun zur Rechten Gottes vertritt, Ihm allein und Seiner kräftigen Fürbitte habe ich alles zu Verdanken. Er, der Fürsprecher, hat mich bisher bewahrt, sonst wäre es schon lange mit mir aus gewesen.

A year later he observed: *when I think about future and the shivering instability of my heart, whether I will be able to stay faithful to my Redeemer, then I always have this comfort: Christ is seated at the right hand of God and He represents us. He will manage also in future to help his weak and often disobedient child that cannot do anything himself, just as He has done to this day.*³³⁴

For him, childlike faith is the key. *With sadness and to my own humiliation I see every day and hour how endlessly I have failed in everything,* he observes in 1807. *Yet, I give thanks to the Saviour! Amidst all the necessary worries about myself I have still not lost faith in Him. I may as a child share everything with his heart and experience in this his mighty consolation. O, it is indeed something totally different,* he continues, *to lament ones misery to the Saviour and to be consoled by Him than to find consolation through one's own deeds deemed righteous, about which one exhausts and tortures oneself in vain.* He then contrasts sin and reconciliation in the language of his faith tradition: *... surely we have nothing emphasizing the devastating influence of sin clearer to us than the true evangelical doctrine. There is nothing that penetrates so powerfully through bone and marrow than the view of the Crucified and his bloody love for sinners. But this does not leave us in our misery, this informs us straightaway where we have to find refuge. The whole image of our Saviour dying on the cross preaches just as clearly his boundless love for sinners as it communicates the hideousness of sin.* The weight of his argument is theologically on the cross. *Silently He calls from the cross to all poor sinners, more penetrating than during his entire earthly life: Come to Me! The great Gospel,* he insists, *and nothing else is my comfort when I experience my misery, because I am encouraged through it, to go straight to the Saviour with the confidence that He, who had already done so much for me, will also accomplish all the rest.*³³⁵

Denn wenn ich auf mich sehe," he emphasises, "und was für ein armes, von Grund aus verdorbenes Herz ich habe, so finde ich daß ich nicht einmal einen einzigen Augenblick vor Ihm bestehen kann. Aber der treue Sünderfreund," thus he considered Jesus Christ to be, "unser Anwalt vor Gottes Angesicht, hat mir bis hierher geholfen. Und wenn ich in Gedanken an meine Unbeständigkeit bebenden Herzens an die Zukunft denke, ob ich meinem Erbarmen wohl treu bleiben könne, da ist das immer mein Trost: Christus ist zur Rechten Gottes und vertritt uns. Er wird wohl auch in der Zukunft, wie bisher seinem schwachen und oft ungehorsamen Kind," he interprets inner experience, "das selbst nichts kann, durch zu helfen wissen." Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 16.

³³⁴ "Und wenn ich in Gedanken an meine Unbeständigkeit bebenden Herzens an die Zukunft denke, ob ich meinem Erbarmen wohl treu bleiben könne, da ist das immer mein Trost: Christus ist zur Rechten Gottes und vertritt uns. Er wird wohl auch in der Zukunft wie bisher seinem schwachen und oft ungehorsamen Kind, das selbst nichts kann, durchzuhelfen wissen." Letter Hallbeck to Predigerkonferenz Herrnhut, May 18th, 1806 (HA).

³³⁵ "Mit Wehmut und mir zur Demütigung sehe ich täglich und stündlich wie unendlich ich in allem versagt habe" "Doch, dem Heiland sei Dank! Bei allem Nötigen Kümmer über mich selbst habe ich noch nicht das Vertrauen zu Ihm verloren. Ich darf mich kindlich über alles an Seinem Herzen aussprechen und erfahre dabei Seinem mächtigen Trost. O, es ist doch etwas ganz anderes," "seine Not dem Heiland zu klagen und sich von Ihm trösten zu lassen als den Trost durch eigengerechte eigene Taten zu suchen, unter denen man sich doch immer vergeblich müht und plagt." "... Sicher gibt uns nichts, was uns die Furchtbarkeit der Sünden so deutlich vor Augen stellt wie die reine evangelische Lehre. Nichts dringt wohl so mächtig durch Mark und Bein wie die Anblick den Gekreuzigten und seiner blutigen Sünderliebe. Aber sie läßt uns nicht in der Not stecken, sie sagt uns im gleichen Augenblick, wohin wir uns wenden sollen. Die ganze Gestalt unseres am Kreuze sterbenden Heilandes predigt ebensoviele von Seiner schrankenlosen

By now he was also familiar with and interested in the Moravians' missionary enterprise. Stare was instrumental in raising Hallbeck's interest in the worldwide mission work. Stare was a true friend of the mission, and in his library Hallbeck had access to the best missionary literature, amongst others the hand written *Nachrichten der Brüdergemeine*. Rev Stare also received on a regular basis visits from missionaries, on their way to or from the global mission fields. Especially due to the Napoleonic wars many missionaries on their way to Germany travelled via the Baltic Sea. So it happened that two leading Moravian missionaries, Verbeek and Forestier, visited Göteborg in April 1808. Hallbeck met them and their accounts made a profound impression on him.³³⁶ Later in 1829 Stare would found the *Swedish Missionary Society* in Göteborg, the very first missionary society in Sweden.³³⁷

Hallbeck wrote to Herrnhut, communicating his willingness to serve the Lord and added: *I am willing to go, wherever He will call me, even if it was to the most distant places.*³³⁸ Apart from his work as a teacher, he also preached and gave pastoral care to the lunatic asylum in Göteborg.³³⁹ This did not imply that Hallbeck had already received ordination. Loretz points out that the conduction of preaching and pastoral care did not depend on ordination, neither on formal education.³⁴⁰

Hallbeck started to preach in different churches when he was teacher in Göteborg. He especially assisted the Lutheran Rev Norlander, who sympathized with the Moravians. In order to preach, he first needed the consent of the bishop. This went fluently, since the local bishop Wingard also sympathized with the Moravians. Hallbeck preached in Göteborg not only in Swedish, but also in German. Rev Stare gave a favourable attestation concerning Hallbeck's preaching to the UEC in Herrnhut.³⁴¹ Hallbeck clearly indicated that he experienced the calling to preach God's Word from the pulpit: *I know of nothing else that is so extraordinary good for all humans in each class*

Liebe zu den Sünderen wie von der Grauenhaftigkeit der Sünde." "Stillschweigend ruft er vom Kreuz herab, eindringlicher als je in seinen Erdenleben, allen armen Sündern zu: "Kommt zu mir!" Die große Evangelium, und nichts anderes ist mein Trost beim Gefühl meines Elends, weil ich dadurch ermuntert werde, gradeweg zum Heiland zu gehen in der Zuversicht, daß Er, der schon soviel für mich getan hat, auch all das Übrige vollbringen wird." Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 17.

³³⁶ Carl Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt. I. Hans Barndoms- och Ungdomstid samt Untländska Missionsverksamhet* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1930), 10.

³³⁷ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 15 (footnote 61).

³³⁸ "Ich bin bereit, dahin zu gehen, wohin Er mich rufen will, wäre er auch zu den fernsten Gegenden." *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine* (1804), 775; *Nachrichten* (1805), 331, in: Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 15.

³³⁹ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 19.

³⁴⁰ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 226ff.

³⁴¹ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 16-17.

*of society and in all circumstances, than the Word of the cross. I am convinced that this Word will never stay without blessing, also when one doesn't see the fruits immediately.*³⁴²

Two years later, in a letter to Herrnhut, he requested ordination in the Moravian Church. It is not without reason that this happened in the same year his father passed away.³⁴³ The latter's wish was that he should become pastor in the church of his homeland.³⁴⁴ It seems as if Hallbeck's parents never really understood and appreciated his step to join the Moravians. In Herrnhut, however, the lot – as it was used in decisions like these – gave a negative answer. In order not to dishearten Hallbeck he was advised to move to Herrnhut, Germany. A position was offered to him as teacher in Grosshennersdorf, near Herrnhut. On May 28th 1810 Hallbeck left Göteborg, 26 years of age.³⁴⁵

By now Hallbeck had, in addition to his classical theological and philosophical education, also the experience of several years of teaching, preaching and pastoral work, as well as in-depth theological knowledge based on personal studies. Anshelm believed that his theology was by now firmly rooted by a *healthy, old Lutheran and ecclesiastical piety... internalised by the ardent Moravian theology.*³⁴⁶

From Germany to Ireland and England

During the subsequent three years – Hallbeck was now working as teacher in Grosshennersdorf – the Unity Elders Conference (UEC) in Herrnhut considered different callings for Hallbeck, since they recognised in him a talented and faithful person. They thought of a position as pastor in one of the congregations in Germany, or director and house father of one of the boys' schools. They also considered positions outside Germany, like sending him as guardian of the bachelors' choir in Christiansfeld. However, the lot did not approve any of these considerations. On December 1st

³⁴² "Denn ich finde nichts, was so außerordentlich gut für jede Klasse von Menschen in allen nur denkbaren Lage paßte wie das Wort vom Kreuz. Ich bin auch davon überzeugt, daß dies Wort nie ohne Segen bleibt, wenn man auch nicht gleich die Früchte gewahrt" Letter Hallbeck to Preachers' Conference, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 17-18.

³⁴³ *Bouppteckningar och Arfskiften i Malmö* (1809-1811), 1386 (Stadsarkivet Malmö). Schneider isn't correct when writing that Hallbeck's father passed away in 1807. Cf. H.G. Schneider, *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars*. 3rd ed. (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925), 14.

³⁴⁴ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 19.

³⁴⁵ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 20.

³⁴⁶ "gesunde, alte lutherisch-kirchliche Frömmigkeit... von herrnhütischer Innerlichkeit durchwärmt" Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 21.

1812 he was accepted as *acolyte* in the Moravian Church.³⁴⁷ He now held an ecclesiastical office. Obviously he preached in the neighbourhood.

In 1813 a call came to head the Moravian school in Gracehill, Ireland, an institution of academic standing and consequence.³⁴⁸ Hallbeck accepted the offer and the lot gave a favourable answer. The journey would take him north to the Baltic Sea, right across the war zone occupied by French and Allied armies engaged in the Napoleonic-Russian wars. Hallbeck kept a journal of his travels, describing his journey from Grosshennersdorf (near Herrnhut) to Gracehill in Ireland. The larger part of the journal is devoted to the journey between Grosshennersdorf and the harbour city Stralsund on the coast of the Baltic Sea. The remaining part of the diary covers the rest: the voyage to Sweden, the visit to his mother and family, the visit to Göteborg where he was teacher for many years, the voyage to England, the journey through England, and the eventual arrival in Ireland. The journey from Grosshennersdorf to Stralsund – normally just a few days – lasted a few months, travelling mostly on foot with many zigzags to avoid the dangers.³⁴⁹

This journey became a life threatening experience because he was confronted with the march of Napoleon's armies on their way back from Russia. Saxony was heavily damaged because of Napoleon's armies heading to Russia in 1812 and returning in 1813. Apart from all the atrocities he witnessed – the retreating French army of about 200,000 soldiers were almost dead because of the war and the icy climate in Russia – Hallbeck's own life was in serious danger several times because of the ongoing skirmishes between the French at the one hand and the Russians and Prussians at the other. Added to this was the danger of the marauding Russian soldiers. "I had had such hair-breadth escapes," he observed, "as might induce even an Atheist to acknowledge the existence of a Divine Being ..."³⁵⁰

Due to the war Hallbeck experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining a passport allowing him to travel to Stralsund. The suffering and anguish of soldiers moved him. He remarked: "To give an adequate description of the deplorable condition of the poor victims, who escaped the

³⁴⁷ *Protocol Unitäts Aeltesten Conferenz* (UAC) Dec 1st 1812 (HA).

³⁴⁸ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 23.

³⁴⁹ Departing from Hennersdorf Hallbeck travelled through Swerta (a small Saxon village), Greisenberg (the first Silesian town), Laubau. Here he tried to acquire a passport to travel to Hamburg, but in vain. He changed his planning to try and get a passport to Stralsund. From Laubau he went to Bautzen, Naumburg, Bunzlau, Gnadenberg, Nitschwitz, Jauer, Hohenfriedeberg, Mohensdorf, Freyburg, Burkersdorf, Leatmansdorf, Bielau, Gnadenfrey, Reichenbach, Peterswaldau, Schweidnitz, Nimptsch, back to Gnadenfrey, Breslau (capital of Silesia), Arau, Wohlau, Gulau, Zullichau, Croisen, Frankfort, Berlin, Anclam, Greisswald, Stralsund. Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany, while occupied by the French and Allied Armies in the Summer of 1813* (Dublin: R. Napper, 1814).

³⁵⁰ Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany, while occupied by the French and Allied Armies in the Summer of 1813*, 40-41.

spears of the Cossacks, and the no less formidable ravages of the frost, would be as difficult to the writer, as it would prove disgusting to the reader. Some of them, though emaciated with hunger, and covered with rags, were still able to march, though not to carry their arms, but thousands were conveyed in waggons, and exhibited a most pitiable spectacle by the shocking appearance of their wounds and frozen limbs, which, in many instances, were in a putrid state from want of care and attention. Many are even said to have lost their senses by the intenseness of the cold. To complete the general distress, a contagious fever made dreadful havoc in the French army, and thousands of the inhabitants of the countries, through which it passed, fell victims to this fatal disease.”³⁵¹

Arriving at Stralsund was a huge relief: “Here I began to breathe freely, for being now under Swedish government, and on the shore of the Baltic, I had no reason to fear any further obstruction from hostile powers.”³⁵² Little did he realise that the narrowest escape from death still awaited him, when a huge summer storm hit their ship on the Baltic Sea. Was it not for God’s providence allowing eight additional sailors to travel with them on the frigate, they would not have been able to manage the vessel and reach the harbour of Ystadt. On Swedish soil Hallbeck first visited his parental home in Malmö, after which he travelled to Göteborg. From there he sailed to Harwich, proceeding via Fulneck and Fairfield to board a ship at Liverpool heading to Ireland.

Hallbeck’s *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany* depicts the young theologian as a pious young man, realising his dependence on the Saviour in everything. Re-considering the dangerous journey, he realised the extraordinary protection of the Lord, quoting a verse from Isaiah: “Do not be afraid; you will not suffer shame. Do not fear disgrace; you will not be humiliated.” (Isaiah 54:4) Hallbeck writes: “When considering all these things, I feel, on the one hand, excited to praise and adore the mercy of our all-sufficient Saviour, and on the other hand, I am deeply ashamed at the unbelief and want of confidence, which at times arise in my heart.”³⁵³

³⁵¹ Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany, while occupied by the French and Allied Armies in the Summer of 1813* (Dublin: R. Napper, 1814), 6.

³⁵² Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany, while occupied by the French and Allied Armies in the Summer of 1813*, 43.

³⁵³ Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany, while occupied by the French and Allied Armies in the Summer of 1813*, 40-41.

Hallbeck published this diary in 1814 in Dublin with the purpose of creating awareness among the Moravians in England and Ireland about the deplorable state Saxony was left in after Napoleon's marches.³⁵⁴

In Gracehill, besides his managerial duties as head of the school, he also taught the classical languages Greek and Latin.³⁵⁵ Yet his stay in Ireland did not last long. After little more than a year he was called to the position of principal or house father of the Moravian Brothers' Choir in Fairfield, close to Manchester, England. He arrived there early in 1815.³⁵⁶

Fairfield presented a challenge to the young educator and minister. The Brothers' Choir was in disarray. When Hallbeck left Ireland, he envisaged that the root of the problem could be linked to the introduction of the steam engine, which negatively impacted on the economic activities of the institution. However, after a short period of time, he realised that the situation was far more complicated to only contribute to the modern industrial revolution. There was no brotherly unity, and a lack of Biblical spirituality was evident. On a daily basis Hallbeck started to teach the young men, not only reading, writing and mathematics, but also about God's wondrous deeds in the history of the United Brethren, in order to foster a love for Christ and his church. Things started to normalise and the Brothers' House grew in numbers again.³⁵⁷ To bridge the financial demands, Hallbeck, with the consent of Herrnhut, started a successful weaving enterprise.

On March 27th 1815 Hallbeck was ordained as *deacon* by the English bishop Thomas Moore.³⁵⁸ According to Loretz, deacons were responsible for preaching and education, as well as visitation of the sick and care for the poor. In addition deacons offered assistance in the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. Deacons were ordained in terms of this specific charge and dedication.³⁵⁹ While staying in Fairfield he preached in several towns in the neighbourhood.³⁶⁰

It was here in Fairfield that he received the call to South Africa. Latrobe was convinced that Hallbeck was of suitable quality to meet the requirements of the post of superintendent of all

³⁵⁴ Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Journey through part of the North of Germany, while occupied by the French and Allied Armies, In the Summer of 1813*, by the Rev. H.P. Hallbeck, Travelling from Great Hennersdorf, in Upper Lusatia, to Gracehill, in the County of Antrim, in Ireland (Dublin: R. Napper, 1814).

³⁵⁵ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 24..

³⁵⁶ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 25.

³⁵⁷ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 30-36.

³⁵⁸ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 35.

³⁵⁹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae*, 228ff.

³⁶⁰ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 23-27.

Moravian missions in South Africa. Already during his days in Göteborg Hallbeck had met Moravian missionaries on their way from America and other distant countries to Herrnhut, and already then he had remarked that he would not object to becoming a missionary far away would the Lord lead his life in that direction.³⁶¹ At this stage he was – apart from his mother tongue Swedish – already well versed in German and English. Four years in Great Britain had made him well acquainted with the English language and culture. In South Africa he would soon also master Dutch, the lingua franca by then in the colony, also spoken in the Moravian missionary settlements. Apart from his university studies, he also had considerable experience by now as a teacher and musician.

Called as superintendent to South Africa

Hallbeck left Fairfield in May 1817. He first travelled to Herrnhut to prepare himself for the task. There was another reason for the journey to Herrnhut. It was considered wise for Hans Peter to marry before he left for South Africa. The marriage of missionaries was not only a matter of personal choice - the opinion of the Unity Elders Conference was vital as well.

As a matter of fact, the UEC gave Hallbeck more than one option. He could either depart directly from England, or first come to Germany. They asked him whether he preferred to marry a young woman from the English Moravian congregations, or whether he would be more partial to marry a German girl. Hallbeck opted for the latter and therefore travelled to Herrnhut. But, on arriving in Germany, circumstances seemed to have changed. Hallbeck came with the message that lately a lady, the wife of one of the leaders of the Moravian Church in England, had indicated that she would very much like him to marry her daughter. The UEC was a bit hesitant, they wondered whether this young woman of noble descent would manage to adapt to the primitive circumstances in South Africa. It was decided to consult the lot, which gave a negative answer. Consequently the UEC proposed a German lady, but Hallbeck objected. His view was that the proposed bride had not received enough qualifying education required for the task they were called to fulfil in South Africa. A second proposal by the UEC was prevented by the lot. In the third place a young teacher from the Moravian school in Neusalz was proposed: Johanna

³⁶¹ Hertzsch' remark "Was Hallbeck dazu bewog das Angebot anzunehmen, geht nicht aus den Quellen hervor" is untenable. Since Hallbeck's stay with Rev Stare in Göteborg he more than once indicated towards Herrnhut that he would not object to be called into the world wide mission of the Moravians. He was feeling the urge to spread the Gospel that made such a positive impact on his own life, and discerning also the talents and interest in that work within himself. (See in this regard Anshelm, Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck, Part 1, 15.) Cf. Johanna Hertzsch, "Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans-Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika (1817-1840)" *Unitas Fratrum. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeine* 49/50 (2002): 235.

Christiana Beck. She was born January 9th 1790 and by then 27 years old. The lot gave a positive answer, and both Hallbeck and Johanna were willing. The marriage took place on July 20th 1817 in Neusalz.³⁶² This was less than a month after their first encounter.

A woman's perspective on this Moravian tradition is reflected for example in the words of sr Tietze, colleague of sr Hallbeck in Genadendal: *In December 1821 my husband received a call to the mission in South Africa and at the same time the proposal to marry me... We were engaged on December 14th, and already on 28th of the same month we were married. Although we were unknown to each other – we could not remember that we had seen one another before – nevertheless we forged a bond together, to be faithful as poor children to the Saviour in every respect and to love each other heartily to the end.*³⁶³ This tradition of the Moravian Church to be directly involved with the partner choice of their ministers, did not always work out well, especially not when the personal view points were not taken into consideration. Hallbeck's marriage proved to become a happy one. He could hardly have found a better and more faithful spouse. His letters testify that they lived together happily.

Voyage to South Africa

Hallbeck and his wife left with two other brothers, Johann Friedrich Hofmann and Gottfried Hornig, and one sister, Anna Luisa Wünsche³⁶⁴ – all of them called for the mission in South Africa. They travelled via Altona (Hamburg) and England.

The voyage to Cape Town in 1817 was an experience Hallbeck would never forget. The passage to South Africa was on the ship *Duke of Marlborough*. Apart from the missionaries and seven other passengers, the ship was loaded with animals (horses, donkeys, dogs, pigs, goats, chicken etc.). In a letter to relatives in Sweden Hallbeck observed that it looked like the ark of Noah.³⁶⁵ On November 7th the ship crossed the equator. For the first time in his life Hallbeck experienced the traditional 'baptism of Neptune' – a cascade of cold water poured over him. From his letters it is

³⁶² *Protocol UEC* March 31st 1817 & Jun 6th 1817, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 37. See also *Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern*, 1840 (HA).

³⁶³ "Im December 1821 erhielt mein Mann einen Ruf zum Dienst der Mission in Südafrika und zugleich den Antrag, mit mir in die Ehe zu treten ... Wir wurden am 14. December mit einander verlobt, und schon am 28. desselben Monats war unsere Trauung. So fremd wir uns auch waren – den wir erinnerten uns nicht, einander gesehen zu haben – so machten wir doch sogleich einen Bund mit einander, als arme Kinder dem Heiland in jeder Hinsicht treu zu folgen und uns bis ans Ende zärtlich zu lieben." *Nachrichten* (1840), 795.

³⁶⁴ She was sent to become the wife of the missionary br Georg Friedr Stein in Groenekloof (since 1854 called Mamre). They were engaged on Dec 21st 1817, the day the company arrived at Groenekloof. *Nachrichten* (1819), 817-818.

³⁶⁵ Letter Hallbeck, Nov 5th 1817 in: Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 39.

clear that he closely observed the weather patterns and natural phenomena, monitoring also the activities of the sailors. The voyage was not uneventful: they were hit by a hurricane for two days. It lasted 11 weeks and 1 day from Plymouth to Cape Town, shorter than average, because of the hurricane blowing them at fearful speed in the right direction. For the rest Hallbeck's maiden journey to Africa was most agreeable. They received every day fresh milk and bread and there was only one day without fresh meat – and that on request of the passengers. The only less positive thing was that the other passengers in the cabin were not religiously minded, and objected to the request of the Moravian company to hold a daily prayer hour. It was only tolerated on Sundays. Nevertheless Hallbeck read loudly from the *Nachrichten* to the Moravian company, and that was tolerated since the other people could not understand German.³⁶⁶

They anchored on December 17th 1817 in Cape Town, 80 years after the first Moravian missionary, Georg Schmidt, arrived at the Cape. Cape Town was by then a city of about 18 thousand inhabitants, half of them Europeans, and the majority of the rest slaves. The population of the whole colony comprised of about a one hundred thousand people.³⁶⁷

The Hallbeck party first visited Lord Charles Somerset, governor of the colony, on his magnificent estate called Newlands and presented him with a letter of recommendation written by Latrobe. Somerset was acquainted with both Latrobe and Genadendal. Hallbeck remembered his remarks and reported them in a letter to Hüffel six months later: *Genadendal is a wonder of God. Everyone who knows the character of the Khoikhoi, has to be astonished to see such a community.*³⁶⁸ After the meeting with Somerset, they were fetched by a brother from Groenekloof, being the (Moravian) mission station nearest to Cape Town.³⁶⁹ Here they were welcomed on December 21st with overwhelming joy. Hallbeck wrote: *To be surrounded all of a sudden by a large crowd of people, who were seated only a few years ago in darkness, and now singing melodical hymns for the living God ... is emotionally just too overwhelming.*³⁷⁰ From there they departed to Genadendal, a journey of four days.³⁷¹ The inhabitants awaited and welcomed

³⁶⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Dec 19th 1817 (HA).

³⁶⁷ Hans Peter Hallbeck *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress & Present State of the Missions of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope* (1823), in Moravian Archives of the Moravian Church South Africa, Moravian Theological Centre, c/o Ascension & Duinefontein Rd, Heideveld, Cape Town (MASA).

³⁶⁸ "Gnadenthal is ein Wunder Gottes ... Wer den Character der Hottentotten kennt, muss erstaunen, ein solches Dorf zu sehen." Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jan 27th 1818 (HA).

³⁶⁹ Groenekloof was 6 German miles north of Cape Town (ca. 55 km / 34 miles).

³⁷⁰ "Sich auf einmal in der Mitte einer Menschen-Menge zu sehen, die vor wenig Jahren in der Finsterniß saßen u. die jetzt in melodischen Lobegesängen des lebendigen Gotte einstimmen, indem ihre blicke tiefe Andacht besprechen, ist fast zu viel für's Gemüth." Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jan 27th 1818 (HA).

³⁷¹ About 20 German miles (ca. 135 km / 84 miles) from Cape Town. Letter Hallbeck probably to his brother Paul Christian, May 29th 1818 in: Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 47. *Nachrichten* (1819), 818.



Pencil sketch of Groenekloof, probably around 1820.¹

¹ The church building at Groenekloof was inaugurated in 1818, so the pencil sketch cannot be older than 1818. The name "Mamre" also appears on the sketch in another handwriting, probably noted later to avoid confusion. Noted below the sketch: "1. Schuppen u. Weinkeller. 2. Schule. 3. Wohnhaus. 4. Stall 5 Gottesacker 6. Kraal od. Dorf 7. Gemeinlager und Laden" (HA).

them at a distance from the town: *It is indeed impossible to describe the emotions, overwhelming and shaking your heart with such a joyful scene,*³⁷² Hallbeck wrote.

Genadendal became the home of Hallbeck and his family. In April 1819 Hans Peter wrote about the Genadendal church: *This place, where now long rows are sitting in devoted concentration... not many years ago used to be the hiding place of wild animals or perhaps the scene of pagan atrocities.*³⁷³ And, referring to Psalm 133, he observed, that *all the brothers and sisters here are doing well, and we experience daily – glory be to God – how good and pleasant it is, when brothers live together in unity.*³⁷⁴

In the Cape Colony, that Hallbeck would traverse from west to east and south to north, his interest in the fauna and flora also flourished. He collected species for Herrnhut's Museum of Naturalia (*Naturalienkabinett*) in Niesky.³⁷⁵ In a letter from 1818, Hallbeck describes how he went out to catch butterflies while the other brothers were having their siesta. He already had 60 butterflies ready to be sent to Niesky. However, the intensity of his workload prevented him from pursuing this 'hobby' in earnest.³⁷⁶

Their first child – Charlotta Gustava – was born on May 26th 1818. Johanna suffered from postnatal depression. Hallbeck informed Hüffel that his wife struggled with “Nervenfieber” (neurosis or depression), because the delivery took so long, and that she could not endure the crying of the child.³⁷⁷ Seven children were born to Hans Peter and his wife Johanna Christiana. The following children were recorded in the Genadendal annals:

Charlotta Gustava Hallbeck born May 26th 1818

Paul Theodor Hallbeck born May 21st 1819³⁷⁸

Carl Wilhelm Hallbeck born October 14th 1820

Johanna Caroline Hallbeck born October 21st 1822

³⁷² “es ist in der That eine Unmöglichkeit, einem andern die Gefühle zu beschreiben, die bei dieser feierlichen Scene das Herz bestürmen u. erschüttern.” Letter Hallbeck to Hopf, Febr 24th 1818 (Het Utrechts Archief).

³⁷³ “Stelle, wo jetzt die langen Reihen in anbetender Andacht sitzen ... vor nicht langen Jahren der Schlupfwinkel wilder Thiere oder vielleicht der Schauplatz heidnische Gräuel war” Letter Hallbeck to Frühauf, Apr 19th 1819 (Het Utrechts Archief).

³⁷⁴ “Übrigens sind alle hiesigen Geschw. wohl, u. wir erfahren Gottlob täglich, wie fein u. lieblich es ist, dass Brüder einträchtig bei einander wohnen.” Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jan 12th 1819 (HA).

³⁷⁵ Latrobe also mentions that he was collecting curiosities (like a collection of the horns of animals peculiar to South Africa) to present to the College of the United Brethren at Niesky, Saxony. Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (1821), 341.

³⁷⁶ Letters Hallbeck to Hüffel, Febr 23rd 1818 & Apr 29th 1818 (HA).

³⁷⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jul 6th 1818 (HA).

³⁷⁸ Also noted as May 19th 1819. In his letter to Herrnhut, Hallbeck mentions May 21st. Hallbeck to Cunow, Aug 9th 1819 (HA).

Henriette Pauline Hallbeck born March 24th 1826³⁷⁹

Emma Dorothea Hallbeck born May 27th 1829

Emma Renata Hallbeck born November 29th 1832³⁸⁰

Emma Dorothea, at the age of only nine months, passed away on February 21st 1830. She was buried in the *God's Acre*, the cemetery at Genadendal, which missionary Rose had laid out according to the pattern of the one in Herrnhut. This included an arch at the entrance with the words *Gezaaid in Zwakheid (Sown in Weakness)* and *Opgewekt in Kragt (Resurrected in Strength)* observable upon entering and leaving the cemetery respectively.

Genadendal in 1817

At the time of Hallbeck's arrival, Genadendal consisted of long rows of houses, built next to streets parallel to the river, with on the northern side a rectangular open space with huge oak trees and poplars, surrounded by the church, schoolhouse and houses of the missionaries. Seven missionary families worked at Genadendal. Behind the parsonages were the mission's gardens and the cemetery. Further up the slopes were farmlands and pasturage. Hallbeck wrote to reassure his family in Sweden: *we know nothing here about the hardships missionaries normally have to live with. Our houses are clean and neatly furnished, and we have abundance of everything life demands. Our farmlands produce the most beautiful wheat, of which a great part is exported to England. Eighteen thousand vines in two vineyards produce for us excellent and enough wine for daily use. Peaches, pears and apples are so abundant, that part of it has to be given to the pigs. A big garden supplies our table with vegetables throughout the year...*³⁸¹

During Hallbeck's residence at Genadendal the institution and town developed steadily. Towards the end of his ministry in 1838 there were eighteen buildings on the church square, including the church, nursery school, training college, houses, two mills, tannery, smithy etc. From its

³⁷⁹ See also Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 4th 1826 (HA).

³⁸⁰ All these names are noted in a book containing the birthdays of especially the missionary families in the Genadendal Archive, except that of Emma Dorothea Hallbeck, most probably because she had passed away at a very early age. She is buried in the Genadendal cemetery.

³⁸¹ "Ich brauche kaum zu erwähnen, daß wir wenig oder nichts von Entbehrungen wissen, die Missionare meistens durchmachen müssen. Unsre Wohnungen sind sauber und hübsch möbliert, und wir haben Überfluß an aller Notdurft des Lebens. Unsre Acker bringen den schönsten Weizen hervor, von dem ein großer Teil als Saatgut nach England geschickt wird. Achtzehntausen Weinstöcke in zwei Weingärten liefern uns guten und ausreichenden Wein as tägliches Getränk. Pfirsiche, Birnen und Apfel haben wir in solchem Überfluß, daß ein Teil den Schweinen gegeben werden muß. Ein großer Garten versieht unsern Tisch mit frischem Gemüse das ganze Jahr hindurch." Letter Hallbeck probably to his brother Paul Christian, May 29th 1818 in: Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 48.



Gnadenaler Missionsplatz um 1800 (Rechts die alte Kirche)

The way Genadendal looked like, when Hallbeck arrived.¹

¹ HA.

beginning in 1793 to 1840, the year of Hallbeck's death, the population increased to approximately 2,200.

First educated theologian in the South African Moravian Mission

At the time of his arrival in South Africa, Hallbeck not only internalised the practical theology of care and faith of early 19th century Moravian 'tent maker' missionaries ('Handwerkermissionaren'), but as an exception he had also enjoyed university education. Like Latrobe, he was one of few. Within the Moravian tradition (since Zinzendorf) the emphasis was not on the provision of theological education for missionaries, but rather on practical training. Hallbeck, as missionary to the Cape of Good Hope, thus stood in a different line in Moravian thinking – the line that goes back to the learned Comenius, the line that received profound explication in the 18th century theologian Spangenberg, and would find continuation in Hans Peter Hallbeck of the South African Mission.

Among the first wave of missionaries sent out by Zinzendorf in the 1730's and 40's, there was no theologian or previously ordained person. They were carpenters, tailors, cobblers, butchers, millers, etc. Often the fact that they had experience in these crafts made it easier for them to enter their destinations. The colonies were in great need of craftsmen, not having to import commodities like clothes, knives or furniture from Europe at high prices. In the Caribbean the plantation owners welcomed the craftsmen in their regions, and had to take their preaching into the bargain. The missionaries in the 1730's were sent out without much prior preparation, whether theological, missiological or even financial. Herrnhut was poor and did not have much to offer. In Herrnhut Zinzendorf had erected a house for the unemployed brothers who came to stay there. There they were taught trades in order to make a living. They were also taught to write and a bit of theology, medicine, nursing, geography and languages. In the 1720' and 30's Herrnhut received an influx of people from Bohemia. Manpower was available. And although theological know-how often lacked, that was not all that was needed on the mission field. More important was faith and perseverance, and the willingness to sacrifice. This is reflected in a letter once sent from Jamaica, requesting to send more German peasant young women for the work, since the English women on Jamaica were too spoiled and domineering.³⁸²

The traditional pattern among the Moravians was that people from among the supporting ranks who felt that they had a call to the mission, offered themselves to the UEC at Herrnhut. They

³⁸² Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 172.

received no special training, but their motives and spiritual condition were carefully weighed. If the lot approved, they were ordained and sent out.³⁸³ They did not receive an elaborate theological training. Spangenberg had written a textbook for missionaries in the 18th century: *Instruction for the Brothers and Sisters who serve the Gospel among the Heathen*,³⁸⁴ which gave them guidance. Spangenberg was a theologian himself and had much experience as he had done mission work among the 'Indians' in North America.

Zinzendorf however had strong anti-intellectual tendencies. His suspicion against erudition became part of the Moravian 'DNA' for many decades to come. Zinzendorf reacted very much against the Enlightenment optimism with regard to the human intellect. In his article "'Ohne Kopf und Ungescheid' – Vernunfts- und bildungsfeindliche Tendenzen bei Zinzendorf" Peter Vogt compares Zinzendorf's views with the views of his younger contemporary Immanuel Kant.³⁸⁵ Kant stated that *Aufklärung* embodies the exodus of mankind out of his self-inflicted tutelage. Tutelage is the inability of mankind to use his own mind without being led by something else. Only in trusting the power of his mind mankind will find its destination and salvation. *Sapere aude* – dare to think! Contrary to this Zinzendorf was convinced that mankind's critical mind was of no help on the way to his destination, rather an obstacle. Where Kant regarded mankind's problem to be his pupillage, Zinzendorf instead pointed to mankind's arrogance towards God.

Zinzendorf had developed a deep distrust against the strive towards erudition. Over and against that he promoted childlike simplicity. This was – as Vogt explains – no mere anti-intellectualism. Zinzendorf distinguished between a God-given intellect and the mere human mind. The aberration of the human mind is caused by the fall in sin. The latter caused the mind to lose its power and clarity. The human mind is especially no longer able to know and understand God according to his true being. God's reality lies beyond the reach of the human mind. Zinzendorf used in this regard the example of a mouse, living in a hole in the cellar of a royal castle, and discussing with another mouse the architecture of the castle, the character of the king, his policies on economy and the state... This seems ridiculous, and so is a theology based on the human mind. With logical arguments one can neither prove God nor the necessity of faith. Consequently Zinzendorf called not the mind, but the heart the 'religious organ' of believing man. The mind should be subordinated to the heart. Philosophy cannot understand the blood

³⁸³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 48.

³⁸⁴ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (Barby, 1784).

³⁸⁵ Peter Vogt, "'Ohne Kopf und Ungescheid' Vernunfts- und bildungsfeindliche Tendenzen bei Zinzendorf" in *Unitas Fratrum. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeine* (2006), 57/58, 169-182.

and wounds-theology, referring to 1 Corinthians 1:23. The scandal of the cross is an offense to the human intellect.

Until here Zinzendorf had set forth the classical Protestant view as it is also found with Luther, over and against Humanism (f.e. contra Erasmus), Rationalism, Enlightenment, and the Aufklärung of Immanuel Kant. However subsequently in his formulations and figures of speech Zinzendorf pushed this matter beyond classical Protestant parameters, creating an atmosphere of anti-intellectualism. This was connected to the derailment of his so called blood and wounds-theology. In his overreaction he stated that erudition was superfluous. The only thing that mattered was the heart's acquaintance with the Saviour. In this regard Matthew 11:25 played a crucial role for Zinzendorf: "At that time Jesus said, "I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and learned, and revealed them to little children." Zinzendorf pointed to the fact that the Greek word used for little children or minors is *nepioi*, a word that can also be translated with 'idiot'. Idiots are according to Zinzendorf people without a mind. Also referring to Psalm 73 where the poet calls himself a *brute beast* before God, Zinzendorf stated that we must become idiots before God. We must become decapitated beings – without a head. In the 1740's Zinzendorf carried this idea to the extreme by instituting an 'Order of the Little Fools' within the Moravian community, being 'headless and un-erudite' believers. In the Herrnhut Archive there is even an illustration dating from the period of the so-called *Sifting Time*, depicting a human whose head is replaced with a side-wound of Jesus.³⁸⁶

Although Zinzendorf himself was a very learned man, his very critical utterances with regard to academic training fostered an allergy against universities and theological training among many Moravians for at least a century. Against this anti-intellectual background one can imagine that Hallbeck's theological erudition was not counting in his favour the day he arrived at Genadendal and met his future colleagues. And when shortly after his arrival his colleague August Clemens described him as a very erudite man, this was not meant to be a compliment.³⁸⁷ It actually counted against him.

³⁸⁶ Vogt, "Ohne Kopf und Ungescheid' Vernunfts- und bildungsfeindliche Tendenzen bei Zinzendorf", 179-182.

³⁸⁷ Letter Clemens, May 12th 1818, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 50.

Ministering to the heathen – a dream come true

Already during his Göteborg years, Hallbeck had expressed the desire to serve the Lord and his kingdom in the mission among the heathen. In South Africa his dream became true. It is important to realise that mission work was deeply rooted in Moravian theology. A theological doctrine that deserves to be discussed in this regard, is certainly that of predestination.³⁸⁸

Zinzendorf had real problems with the doctrine of predestination as it was explained by some Calvinists. He disliked the stated positions of contemporary theologians in the Netherlands with regard to the scope of Christ's reconciliation. For Zinzendorf one thing was clear: Christ died for the sins of the whole world and this proclamation had to characterise the preaching of the Gospel. This featured of course against the background that Zinzendorf was just as convinced of the reality of hell and eternal punishment as revealed in Scripture. The doctrine of predestination featured especially in the *Pastoral Letter* issued by the clergy in Amsterdam in 1738, warning Protestants that the *Herrnhutters* were a dangerous sect. The *Pastoral Letter* also reached the Cape Reformed clergy, and attributed to the fact that Georg Schmidt was requested to leave the colony. Zinzendorf was obviously very dissatisfied with the letter, claiming that what was written in it about the Moravians and their view on predestination was based on a lamentable misunderstanding.³⁸⁹

Zinzendorf's criticism on predestination should be viewed in the context of the Enlightenment at the one hand and ultra-orthodoxy at the other, causing Reformed people on the basis of this doctrine to conclude that the heathens – like the Khoikhoi at the Cape – were not predestined to become Christians. For a number of Reformed people at the Cape this doctrine started to function as an excuse not to conduct mission work among the heathens. This is apparent for example from a conversation Latrobe had with a settler during his visit to the colony: "A loquacious countryman, who had come in to spend the night, treated us with his opinions on the state of the Hottentots and Caffres, whom he considered as the Canaanites of this land, destined to be destroyed by the white people, who were the Israelites of God!" Latrobe then continues: "It

³⁸⁸ Cf. Jared Scott Burkholder, "Disenfranchised Awakener: Anglo-Moravians, Religious Competition, and Evangelical Identity in the Mid-Atlantic Colonies" (PhD diss, University Iowa, 2007); George W. Forell ed., "Concerning the Simple meaning and the Great Idea of the Lord's Prayer: Second lecture of Nicolaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, Bishop of the Church of the Moravian Brethren" and "Concerning the Proper Purpose of the Preaching of the Gospel: Third lecture of Nicolaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, Bishop of the Church of the Moravian Brethren", from *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion, preached in Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the Year 1746* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973).

³⁸⁹ August Spangenberg, *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, Bishop and Ordinary of the Church of the United (or Moravian) Brethren* (London: Samuel Holdsworth, 1838), 246-249.

is strange, that the same notions haunted the brains of many wicked fanatics in North America, about seventy years ago, who, on that account, opposed the Missions of our Church among the Indians, as may be seen in Loskiel's History."³⁹⁰

Zinzendorf himself was convinced of God's election in the sense that God had predestined some souls from among the whole human race to be saved. In every nation there are a few selected spirits – *Candace-souls* (Acts 8:27) – who are in need of the truth of the Gospel to be preached to them. For that reason he sent his missionaries across the world in search of these chosen people.³⁹¹ God's election functioned as a powerful incentive to do mission work.

In his *Idea Fidei Fratrum* Spangenberg also deals extensively with the doctrine of predestination. Like Zinzendorf he warned against an abuse of this doctrine. The Bible is crystal clear about the fact that God wants all of mankind to repent and be saved: *We may confidently affirm, that God would have all men to be saved. He has shown the most fervent desire, and the most earnest will that we all should be saved.*³⁹² As with all other doctrines discussed, Spangenberg stays very close to the jargon of Scripture. He does this intentionally: *We are very liable to err, if we do not keep punctually to the Scripture, in our thoughts and expressions concerning Election, or that gracious resolution of God, in favour of one or more persons, by which he grants him or them some special prerogatives in preference to others.*³⁹³ Spangenberg provides many applicable quotations from Scripture. So he calls the fact that Jesus Christ gave himself up as a sacrifice for men the effect of an *eternal decree of God*, referring to Acts 2:34, Luke 22:22 and 1 Peter 1:20.³⁹⁴ *That God, who before the beginning of the world, saw that mankind, created after his own image, would fall, had from eternity formed the purpose of helping them by his beloved Son. This purpose of his is also called, the counsel of God concerning our salvation.*³⁹⁵ Nevertheless Spangenberg warned against far reaching speculations about God's thoughts, beyond what the Bible reveals:

³⁹⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 417.

³⁹¹ Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 88.

³⁹² "so kann man die Frage: ob Gott alle Menschen selig machen wolle? Mit einem getrosten Ja beantworten. Es ist bey Ihm das allerbrünstigste Verlangen, und der allerernstlichste Wille, daß wir alle sollen selig werden." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 117. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

³⁹³ "Wenn man von der Erwählung, in so fern man einen von Gott über einen oder mehrere Menschen gefaßten gnädigen Beschluß, wodurch ihm oder ihnen ein gewisser Vorzug vor andern gegeben wird, dadurch versteht, an und für sich etwas denkt und äußern soll; so kann man leicht fehlen, wenn man nicht pünctlich bey der Schrift bleibt." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 90. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

³⁹⁴ "einem von Ewigkeit her gefaßten Rathschluß Gottes" Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 79. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

³⁹⁵ "Gott, der von der Zeit der Welt gesehen hat, daß die nach seinem Bilde erschaffenen Menschen fallen würden, hat von Ewigkeit her den Vorsatz gefaßt, ihnen durch seinen lieben Sohn wieder zu helfen. Dieser sein Vorsatz heißt auch der Rath Gottes von unserer Seligkeit" Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 92. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

*Therefore, it is in no wise good to dispute with others about what the first, second, and third thought of God might have been, when the salvation and redemption of fallen man became the object of his attention.*³⁹⁶ He emphasizes that God's election for the people of Israel in the Old Testament, and for people from all nations in the New, did not arise from any inherent good in them, but rests only on God's sovereign love and mercy. He quotes 1 Corinthians 1 to prove this: *But God chose the foolish things of the world to shame the wise; God chose the weak things of the world to shame the strong. He chose the lowly things of this world and the despised things – and the things that are not – to nullify the things that are, so that no one may boast before him.*³⁹⁷ Referring to texts like Ephesians 1:3-4 and 2 Thessalonians 2:13 he also stresses that election forms the foundation for faith, and not vice versa. Spangenberg emphasizes that we cannot go into an argument with God. *It is very evident, that God does permit the Gospel to be preached to a particular nation, in a particular place, to a particular family, and even to an individual; and again, that he does not allow the same privilege to another nation, in another place, to another family, and to another individual. The reason of this is known only to himself; all we know is, that it doth not depend upon the merits of works: for 'Who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed to him again?' (Romans 11:35)*³⁹⁸

Furthermore it is important to realise that the reason why some people go to hell, is very different from why others are saved: *'All that believe on the Son of God, shall not perish, but have everlasting life; but he that believeth not shall be damned.'* *But it is their own fault; they will not; neither, at the last day, will they be able to say, We would gladly have been converted, but God refused us. But although these are the cause of their own destruction, yet on the other hand, we cannot say of those who are saved, that the good which they have experienced is owing to their own endeavors, nor can they ascribe it to themselves. But it is the grace of God in Christ Jesus alone to which they are indebted for their salvation.*³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ "Es ist daher gar nicht gut, darüber mit andern zu streiten, was Gottes erster, und zweyter und dritter Gedanke gewesen sey, da Ihm das Heil und die Errettung der Menschen anlag." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 92. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

³⁹⁷ 1 Corinthians 1:27-29. Cf. Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 87.

³⁹⁸ "Es ist ganz offenbar, daß Gott einem Volke, einem Orte, einer Familie, einer Person, das Evangelium predigen läßt, und einem andern Volke, einem andern Orte, einer andern Familie, einer andern Person, läßt Er solches nicht predigen. Die Ursachen davon sind Ihm allein bekannt, und wir wissen nur so viel, daß es dabey nach dem Verdienst der Werke nicht geht: denn wer hat Ihm etwas zuvor gegeben, daß Ihm wieder vergolten würde? Röm. 11,35." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 90. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

³⁹⁹ "Alle, die an den Sohn Gottes glauben, sollen nicht verloren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben; wer aber nicht glaubet, der soll verdammt werden. Es ist aber ihre eigne Schuld: sie wollen nicht, und sie werden an jenem Tage nicht sagen können: Wir hätten uns gern bekehrt, aber Gott hat sich uns versagt. Wie aber diese Leute an ihrem eigenen Verderben selber schuld sind: so kann man auf der andern Seite von denen, welche selig werden, nicht sagen, daß das Gute, welches ihnen wieder fährt, aus ihnen selbst herkäme, oder daß sie solches sich selber zuzuschreiben

Spangenberg concludes that believers can have surety about their eternal salvation, because of the fact that it is based on God's election. Mortification of the old self and sanctification are not prerequisites for election, but they are the fruits of election. God's sovereign election is a source of joy and comfort for the believers, *especially if we add the words of Christ, (John 10:27) 'My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, And I give unto them eternal life and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand.* At the same time Spangenberg warned against an abuse of the doctrine of election: *For if any man should presume to think, I am now a sheep of Christ, and therefore I cannot fail, I shall certainly be saved; and if at the same time he should be light-minded, indulging himself in such things as are not agreeable to the mind of Christ; such a one would deceive himself... Whoever therefore will apply these words, which stand on one side of the seal of God, to himself: 'The Lord knoweth them that are his'... let him also consider what stands upon the reverse of the seal of God, and 'Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.'*⁴⁰⁰

The missionaries in South Africa did their work also with this conviction. They were driven by the divine reality revealed in Scripture that *God does not take pleasure in the death of the wicked* (Ezekiel 18:23).⁴⁰¹ About the Thembu it is said for example: *Both the fact of mankind's great misery and sinfulness, as well as the mercy of the Saviour wanting to adopt them as his children and grant them eternal salvation, since He had shed his blood as ransom for lost sinners, were preached to them.*⁴⁰² And in the events leading to the start of the Thembu mission, Hallbeck saw how the provident God predestined everything in such a way for them to come into contact with the Gospel: *I live in the confident hope, that also this uneventful happening is part of the wise governance of our beloved Lord, to prepare this people for the kingdom of God.*⁴⁰³ Hallbeck also

hätten; sondern allein der Gnade Gottes in Christo Jesu haben sie ihre Seligkeit zu verdanken." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 93. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

⁴⁰⁰ "zumal wenn man dazu nimmt die Worte Christi, Joh: 10,27. U.s. Meine Schafe hören meine Stimme, und ich kenne sie, und sie folgen mir, und ich gebe ihnen das ewige Leben, und sie werden nimmermehr umkommen, und niemand wird sie aus meiner Hand reißen ... Denn wenn einer denken wollte: ich bin nun einmal ein Schäflein Christi, darum kann es mir nicht fehlen, sondern ich werde gewiß selig werden, und er wäre dabey leichtsinnig, und hielte sich solche Dinge zu gut, die dem Sinn Christi nicht gemäß sind, der würde sich selbst betrügen ... Wer sich also die Worte zu Nutze machen will, die auf der einen Seite des Siegels Gottes stehen: Der Herr kennet die Seinen, und wer von sich glaubt, mein Name ist im Himmel angeschrieben; der soll auch bedenken, was auf der andern Seite des Siegels Gottes stehet: Es trete ab von der Ungerechtigkeit, wer den Namen Christi nennet." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 94. English translation from edition Winston-Salem: Calvary Moravian Church, 2005.

⁴⁰¹ "daß Er keinen Gefallen am Tode des Gottlosen hat" *Nachrichten* (1833), 602.

⁴⁰² "denen sowol das große Verderben und die Sündigkeit der Menschen, als auch die Barmherzigkeit des Heilandes, sie alle zu Seinen Kindern anzunehmen und ewig selig zu machen, weil Er Sein Blut zum Lösegeld für die verlorren Sünder vergossen habe, vor Augen gestellt wurde" *Nachrichten* (1830), 551.

⁴⁰³ "ich lebe der getrosten Hoffnung, daß auch dieses traurige Ereigniß nach der weisen Regierung unsers lieben Herrn mit dazu gehört, dieses Volk zum Reiche Gottes vorzubereiten." H.P. Hallbeck *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also *Nachrichten* (1828), 803. How to deal with God's election as revealed in the Bible, was something that also occupied the minds of the missionaries in South Africa. The Genadendal Library contains f.e. the book of Ely Bates *Arminians and Calvinists*. (London: Longman, 1811).

noted on an occasion of many colonists attending a church service among the Khoikhoi in Genadendal, that God's election is not based on the social standing of a people, but a matter of pure grace: *Who could guess 30 years ago, that these poor despised Hottentots would organize such a feast and such a pleasure for the Europeans and their children ... So God has chosen the ignoble of the world, the despised.*⁴⁰⁴

In a mission context the *repentance* of the sinner obviously received the emphasis in preaching, although well aware of the fact that in the end all repentance is the fruit of God's election, and not an achievement of the convert. Hallbeck thought along the same theological lines as is evident from the following citation: *It is certain that the hour of God's merciful visitation has come for the inhabitants of this region. Therefore it is necessary to labour, as long as the Saviour summons us for this task, offering his grace.*⁴⁰⁵ In line with the Moravian theological tradition he preached the Gospel to those longing for it, conscious of the fact that also in this remote corner of the world there were people whom God had elected unto salvation. Although the main focus of the Moravian mission was on the indigenous peoples of Africa, also neighbouring farmers and colonists attended the Genadendal church services together with Khoikhoi congregants. Also among them God had his elect.

Conclusion

Hans Peter Hallbeck stemmed from a traditional family, member of the State Church of Sweden and suspicious of everything that was not clear-cut Lutheran. The Moravians were also active in Sweden. Through his studies in Lund and especially after being accepted as teacher for Moravian families in Göteborg, Hallbeck got better acquainted with them. Through the wise coaching of the Moravian Rev Stare, through reading many books from his library, and even more through their personal and communal lifestyle, Hallbeck started to love and appreciate the Moravians. This eventually led to the decision to join them. During his Göteborg years Hallbeck went through an intense spiritual development. This led to his request to Herrnhut to be accepted into the clergy of the Moravian Church. This did not happen straightaway, but in the following years he was ordained first as acolyte and later as deacon. He continued to serve the Moravians as teacher, first in Germany, thereafter in Ireland and England. From here he was called to become

⁴⁰⁴ "Wer hätte vor 30 Jahren ahnen können, daß die armen verachteten Hottentotten den Europaern u. ihre Kindern solche Feste bereiten, solchen Genuß gereichen ... So hat Gott das Unedle vor der Welt u. das Verachtete erwählet." Letter Hallbeck to Frühauf, Apr 19th 1819 (Het Utrechts Archief).

⁴⁰⁵ "Es ist gewuss, dass die Stunde der Gnaden-Heimsuchung auch für die Einwohner dieser Gegend geschlagen hat. Darum ist es nöthig zu arbeiten, weil der Hld uns dazu aufruft u. uns seine Gnade dazu anbietet." Hallbeck quoted this with approval from the missionary Schmitt: Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 20th 1820 (HA).

superintendent of the South African mission. With his arrival there, he became the first *erudite* Moravian missionary in South Africa, something rather unusual in the Moravian missionary tradition. This, in addition with the fact that other missionaries were much older and more experienced than he, made it not an easy task to start as leader of the whole Moravian enterprise in South Africa. In the subsequent chapter we will zoom in on this task, which was not only to maintain the current work, but also expanding it with new mission stations.

To minister among the heathen – it was for Hallbeck a dream come true. It was not only a romantic or philanthropic dream, but firmly rooted in Moravian and classical Lutheran Protestant theology, which Hallbeck had made his own. Also at the southernmost tip of Africa God had his elect, and the missionaries believed that through the providence of God they were sent there to reach out to them and preach to them the Gospel of salvation.

CHAPTER FOUR

ENCOUNTERING THE CONTEXT: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENON (1818-1820)

Introduction

In Hallbeck the Moravian Mission received a superintendent fully proficient in English. This would prove of enormous help in all official dealings and arrangements with the colonial authorities, especially regarding the establishment of new mission stations, property rights, and the strategic positioning of the Moravian Mission in the colonial society⁴⁰⁶ In Cape Town he forthwith established a platform of understanding and negotiation with the governor and officials. He was thus in a position to lead the Moravian Mission in the colony. He had a clear vision of his commission, which is explicated in the first paragraph of this chapter.

A major and immediate issue that claimed his attention as superintendent was the establishment of a new mission station North-east of Uitenhage. The initial steps had already been taken by Latrobe to commence with work in the vicinity of the Witte River. This initiative had to be materialised. The rest of this chapter is devoted to the establishment of the new mission station that eventually received the name Enon. Hallbeck's involvement in the establishment of the new institution exposed him to the challenging context in which he had to work in coming years.

Hallbeck's understanding of his commission

How did Hallbeck see his commission? Ignatius Latrobe – as indicated in an earlier chapter – had instituted a *Helpers Conference (HC)* for the South African mission. The purpose of the HC was to coordinate the mission as a joint endeavour. The most experienced missionaries were appointed to this central board. August Clemens acted as the first chairman of the HC, until the arrival of Hallbeck. As superintendent he henceforth had to chair its meetings. He had to keep the *Protocol* or minutes, as well as to prepare copies, which had to be sent to Herrnhut.⁴⁰⁷ Before Hallbeck's arrival the HC met on a quarterly basis, but henceforth at least on a monthly basis. As a rule, the

⁴⁰⁶ Before Hallbeck arrived, there was no missionary in either Genadendal or Groenekloof who was fluent in English. There were two brethren (Peterleitner and Schmitt) who had wives of English descent, probably selected for them to act as the needed interpreters. Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 112.

⁴⁰⁷ The copy sent to Germany was always signed by all members present. *Protocol HC*, Jan 8th 1818 (MASA & HA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 14th 1824 (HA).

meetings were started and closed with the singing of a hymn as well as everyone kneeling down in prayer.⁴⁰⁸

Leading for the first time the HC on May 19th 1818, Hallbeck explicated his objectives as superintendent. These objectives were aligned with the expectations of the UEC in Herrnhut. In the *Protocolle der Helfer Konferenz fürs Ganze in Süd-Africa* they were listed as follows:

- Making more use of indigenous helpers, therefore training and ordination of local workers;
- Geographical expansion, in order that the dispersed heathen on the farms should be gathered by the stationing of missionaries outside the stations, and so to limit the influx of new people to the stations;
- Making sure that the services during the week were held at such a time that did not interfere with the daily work in the different trades;
- Growth in depth;
- The stationing of a missionary in Cape Town, and probable opening of a mission post, especially to work among the slaves and help prevent them from turning towards Islam;
- In the last place the UEC implored Hallbeck to win the trust of his South African colleagues with love, and to labour in peace and unity, their eyes focused on Christ, together in the work of the Lord. Then the Lord would not withhold his blessing.⁴⁰⁹

In six points he framed his vision. The education and eventual ordination of local Christians and congregants, was an important matter. There was a need for properly ordained local workers. The first missionary in South Africa, Georg Schmidt, came as a lay missionary. He was only ordained by way of letter a few years later. This history in a way continued to haunt the Moravians in South Africa. Ordination was a problem. Some people did not view them as real clergy, because of the way in which they were ordained. When the HC requested advice on the question whether unordained brethren were also allowed to accept new members into the congregation, Hallbeck had a clear view on this: *Acceptance into the congregation is just as much an ecclesial formality as profession of faith, and in no episcopal church will it be allowed to have this formality done by someone not ordained.* Hallbeck continues by stating that especially in England and its colonies it is very important to keep the ordination in honour, in order not to be

⁴⁰⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Febr 23rd 1818 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Febr 3rd 1834 (MASA & HA).

⁴⁰⁹ *Protocol UEC*, Jul 29th 1817 (HA); *Protocol HC*, May 19th 1818 (MASA & HA).

viewed as Dissenters.⁴¹⁰ Hallbeck realised that the Moravians' right of existence as a church in the Cape Colony was at stake. Nevertheless the UEC decided differently, allowing – in case an ordained brother was not present – an un-ordained brother to execute this task.⁴¹¹ Due to circumstances however, the training of indigenous people to help in the ministry and to be ordained was something that only started to materialise many years later. In the first years of his South African ministry, it was especially the establishment of a third mission station in the eastern Cape that demanded his attention. To this topic we will turn now.

Hallbeck was fully committed to the proclamation of the gospel to those who have not yet heard it. In April 1819 he informed Frühauf to the effect of the preaching of God's Word: *In short the Word of God and his reviving Spirit continues to give form and life to the dead bones* (alluding here to Ezekiel 37).⁴¹² This was aligned with the view of Spangenberg. Mission had everything to do with compassion with the heathen, who, whilst living in the works of their flesh without the knowledge of Christ, are heading towards eternal damnation. Spangenberg wrote in his *Idea Fidei Fratrum: Who are those, who, according to the Scripture, shall not inherit life everlasting, or come into the kingdom of God, but shall be damned? In the first place, it mentions those, who live in manifest works of the flesh, who do not turn from them to God, nor receive JESUS in faith, but die in their sins.*⁴¹³ He then quotes Galatians 5:19-21, where the apostle writes that such people shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Without faith in Christ there is no future for humans, in fact they are spiritually dead already. Missionaries should therefore never exalt themselves, but constantly be aware of their own status – being poor sinners as well. Hallbeck adhered to this conviction: *to the glory of the Saviour I can say, that we live together in undisturbed peace, and being conscious of our poverty we regard it as merciful to be allowed to serve the work of God here.*⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁰ "Aus dem Protocoll der Helfer Conferenz wirst du sehen, dass wir gerne den Rath der U.A.C. haben wollten, wie es bei der Aufnahme in d. Gemeinde zu halten ist, ob dieselbe auch von einem unordinirten bruder gehalten werden kann. Die Aufnahme in die Gemeinde ist doch eben so wohl eine kirchliche Handlung, als die Confirmation, u. in keiner bischöflichen Kirche wurde es erlaubt seyn, letztere Handlung durch einen nicht ordinirten halten zu lassen. In England u. dessen Colonien kommt es mir besonders wichtig vor, dass wir die Ordination in Ehren halten, um nicht als Dissenters angesehen zu werden." Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Apr 29th 1818 (HA).

⁴¹¹ *Protocol HC*, March 1st 1819 (MASA & HA).

⁴¹² "Kurz das Wort Gottes u. sein lebendigmachenden Geist fährt fort, den todten Gebeinen Gestalt u. Leben zu geben." Letter Hallbeck to Frühauf, Apr 19th 1819 (Het Utrechts Archief).

⁴¹³ "Von welchen Menschen sagt uns den nun die Schrift, daß sie das ewige Leben nicht ererben, und nicht ins Reich Gottes kommen, sondern verdammt werden? Sie nennt uns ... die Leute, die in offenbaren Werken des Fleisches leben, sich von denselben nicht bekehren, Jesum im Glauben nicht annehmen, sondern in ihren Sünden sterben." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 271.

⁴¹⁴ "Zum Preise des Hlds kann ich sagen, dass wir in ungestörter Liebe zusammen wohnen, u. beim bewusstseyn unserer Armuth es als Gnade achten, bei dem hiesigen Werke Gottes dienen zu dürfen." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Dec 20th 1819 (HA).

In the following 22 years Hallbeck's vision was embodied in a captivating way. Under his leadership the Moravian Mission in South Africa was expanded with a number of new stations, and the missionaries made a unique contribution to the configuration of the societies in which they ministered. The first milestone in this regard was the establishment of Enon.

Establishment of Enon⁴¹⁵

Immediately following Hallbeck's arrival, preparations for the establishment of the new station on the Witte River in the Uitenhage district needed his dedicated attention as superintendent. Joh Heinr Schmitt of Groenekloof⁴¹⁶ was appointed head of this new station, accompanied by three unmarried missionaries, JG Hornig, JF Hoffman and JG Schulz, and the widow ED Kohrhammer. Artisans from Genadendal also joined the party with their families as well as Wilhelmina Stompjes,⁴¹⁷ amounting to a total of 19 people. Wilhelmina belonged to the people of chieftain Gaika (Geika) and she had always treasured the wish in her heart to share the Gospel with her people.

The journal of their journey by ox wagon to the eastern Cape was published in the *Nachrichten*.⁴¹⁸ Travelling in South Africa differed considerably from transportation in Europe or England. Travellers slept over on farms, if lodging was offered. Moravian missionaries became acquainted with hospitable farmers, like Du Preez, whose farm was located a few days east of Swellendam.⁴¹⁹ And a generous reception was guaranteed on Cornelius Snyman's farm Tygerfontein.⁴²⁰ Occasionally the farmers overloaded the missionaries with victuals like bread and meat. From time to time however, they would engage with farmers who were extremely hostile towards them. This treatment was part and parcel of the missionaries' situation in the colony. Needless to say the missionaries would also find accommodation at mission stations like Zuurbraak,⁴²¹ Hoogte Kraal (Pacaltsdorp) and Bethelsdorp.⁴²²

⁴¹⁵ Hans Peter Hallbeck. *Narrative of a Visit made in 1819, to the New Missionary Settlement of the United Brethren, Enon, on the Witte Revier. In the District of Uitenage, South Africa* (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1820).

⁴¹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1820), 11.

⁴¹⁷ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 105.

⁴¹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1820), 21-38.

⁴¹⁹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 27.

⁴²⁰ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (1821), 191.

⁴²¹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 26.

⁴²² Hallbeck visited Bethelsdorp in Oct 1819. Cf. *Nachrichten* (1820), 190.

The weather conditions, namely draught, rain, heat or cold, had a big impact on their journey. Flooded rivers often caused delays to their trek and⁴²³ numerous fatalities were reported when people tried to cross the flooded rivers. En route they sometimes hunted game, or wild geese and ducks, in order to obtain meat.⁴²⁴ Furthermore, travelling in South Africa typically involved dangerous encounters with wild animals like snakes, elephants, buffaloes, lions, leopards (called tigers by the missionaries), hyenas (called wolfs by the missionaries).⁴²⁵

On their way there, the missionaries received the news that some black tribes had invaded the colony, consequently they knew that they had a difficult task ahead and that they were at risk.⁴²⁶ With their arrival in Uitenhage, having travelled for almost two months, Magistrate Cuyler received them. The missionaries gave him a letter written by Latrobe, who had visited the region in 1816⁴²⁷ and had deliberated with Cuyler on behalf of the Moravians with regard to the establishment of a new mission station at the Witte River.⁴²⁸ In addition to the land availed by the government as a so-called grant station, the Moravian Mission intended to purchase the neighbouring farm of the family Scheepers as well. Landdrost Cuyler mediated in this regard.⁴²⁹

Before embarking on their journey from Uitenhage to the Witte River, Cuyler equipped the missionaries with another twelve rifles, as a means of protection against wild animals.⁴³⁰ It was indeed a wild country. In 1818 elephants were still roaming the region.⁴³¹ The missionaries and the Khoikhoi set traps to protect themselves, the dogs and the cattle from predators.⁴³²

The new station on the Witte River was established in April 1818 on the farm that belonged to the family Scheepers.⁴³³ The mission station initially experienced a period of rapid growth. A number of Khoikhoi families - 60 by October 1818⁴³⁴ - moved from Genadendal to Enon, since Genadendal had only limited arable and grazing lands at its disposal, which at that time, due to a draught that burdened the region, could not sustain the need. The new station provided relief in

⁴²³ *Nachrichten* (1820), 23.

⁴²⁴ *Nachrichten* (1820), 23.

⁴²⁵ *Nachrichten* (1820), 27.

⁴²⁶ *Nachrichten* (1820), 30.

⁴²⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (1818).

⁴²⁸ *Nachrichten* (1820), 36.

⁴²⁹ Hallbeck, *Narrative of a Visit made in 1819, to the New Missionary Settlement of the United Brethren, Enon*, v (foreword written by CI Latrobe).

⁴³⁰ *Nachrichten* (1820), 37.

⁴³¹ On July 8th 1818 the missionaries ran across a herd of forty elephants, half an hour away from the station. Cf. *Nachrichten* (1820), 587, 597.

⁴³² *Nachrichten* (1820), 590.

⁴³³ Letter J.S. Cuyler (magistrate of Uitenhage) to Hallbeck, Dec 28th 1819 (GA).

⁴³⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Oct 14th 1818 (HA).

this regard.⁴³⁵ Schmitt wrote to Hallbeck that they expected to have more than a hundred occupants at the station before the end of 1818.⁴³⁶ In the report of mid-1819 more than 150 inhabitants are mentioned.⁴³⁷ Residents of Bethelsdorp also rather wanted to reside in the station at the Witte River,⁴³⁸ but upon learning that missionary Messer of Bethelsdorp was discontented, they were sent back.⁴³⁹

Concerning the rapid growth in numbers, Hallbeck wrote: *How long our brothers on most of the other mission stations had to wait, before they saw such fruits on their work!*⁴⁴⁰ And despite the threat of wild animals, one senses an atmosphere of optimism that accompanied the inception of this new mission station, still unaware of the fact that a life-threatening crisis would soon overshadow the thriving establishment. In good spirits Hallbeck wrote in November 1818: *Notwithstanding all the difficulties, unavoidable with the cultivation of a new place, it seems as if a lovely congregation will blossom in the middle of this elephant-wasteland.*⁴⁴¹ The missionaries were amazed by this animal's power, its ability to throw a horse like a ball through the air.⁴⁴² But elephants were not the only danger. Once an inhabitant had to defend his life against a wild pig.⁴⁴³ Another time the missionaries marvelled at the beauty of a tiger's skin (leopard), which a Khoikhoi came to show them.⁴⁴⁴ Wolves (hyenas)⁴⁴⁵ or lions⁴⁴⁶ often killed the cows and horses.

Hallbeck departed to the Witte River early in 1819. However, not far from Swellendam, a Khoikhoi carrying a letter from Schmitt, informed Hallbeck of robberies and murders committed by invading and roaming black people.⁴⁴⁷ These reports were confirmed by the magistrate Van Kervel at Georgetown, alerting Hallbeck to a new war on the eastern border, and he was forced

⁴³⁵ *Nachrichten* (1820), 595-596.

⁴³⁶ *Nachrichten* (1819), 72.

⁴³⁷ *Nachrichten* (1820), 39.

⁴³⁸ For example a lady who was baptized by the missionary Messer in Bethelsdorp. Cf. *Nachrichten* (1820), 597.

⁴³⁹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 599.

⁴⁴⁰ "Wie lange haben unsere Brüder auf den meisten andern Missionsposten warten müssen, ehe sie solche Früchte ihrer Arbeit gesehen haben!" *Nachrichten* (1820), 671-672 in: *Tagebuch des Bruders Hans Peter Hallbeck, von seiner Reise aus der Tafel-Bay unweit der Capstadt nach Algoa-Bay, Uitenhagen, Enon, und zurück nach Gnadenenthal, im Jahr 1819.*

⁴⁴¹ "Daß bei allen Schwierigkeiten, die beim Anbau eine neuen Ortes unvermeidlich sind, es doch den Anschein hat, daß mitten in der Elefanten-Wüste eine liebliche Gemeine aufblühen wird." Hallbeck to Frühauf, 2nd 1818 (Het Utrechts Archief).

⁴⁴² *Nachrichten* (1824), 871.

⁴⁴³ *Nachrichten* (1820), 598.

⁴⁴⁴ *Nachrichten* (1820), 604.

⁴⁴⁵ *Nachrichten* (1820), 580; *Nachrichten* (1839), 731.

⁴⁴⁶ *Nachrichten* (1820), 581.

⁴⁴⁷ "Allein in der Gegend des Kafferkeul-Flusses jenseit Swellendam, traf ich einen Hottentotten mit einem Brief von Br. Schmitt, welcher mir die erste Nachricht von den Räubereyen und Mordthaten mittheilte, welche die Kaffern am Witterevier begangen haben." *Nachrichten* (1819), 646.

to turn back.⁴⁴⁸ His first journey to the *Unterland* had to be cancelled. The eastern regions of the Cape Colony used to be called the *Unterland*, whilst the region closer to Cape Town was called the *Oberland*. Hallbeck wrote: *Hoards of Xhosas have apparently already burst into the colony, to rob and commit murder.*⁴⁴⁹ Evidently the new station was exposed and vulnerable to tension, violence and war between the colony and the black nations north of the border.⁴⁵⁰

Outbreak of war

The mission institute was thus pulled into the border war tensions. It was comprehensively reported in the *Nachrichten*.⁴⁵¹ Initially the blacks stole the oxen of the neighbouring farmer. *Their main purpose is to steal, but they will also murder if they encounter resistance*, the missionaries informed their readers.⁴⁵² Then the depressing news, that farms and outposts on the eastern border were being attacked, reached the station. A while later, in February 1819, footprints of intruders were seen in the station's gardens. Cattle belonging to the Khoikhoi were also carried off. The Khoikhoi were dependant on milk for daily dietary needs and the loss of their cattle severely threatened their existence.⁴⁵³

The missionaries realised it was time to request help from Magistrate Cuyler in Uitenhage. However, the two Khoikhoi travelling by horse could not reach Uitenhage since the Sondags River was swollen due to recent rains.⁴⁵⁴ The situation became tenser with reports that attacking groups of blacks were murdering people and burning farmsteads in the region. A servant (of German descent) of farmer Scheepers fell into their hands and was stabbed to death.⁴⁵⁵ Shortly afterwards Scheepers' farmstead was also incinerated. It was a time of fear: *From this we can gather, that this nation is serious to pull our region into their territory again, and when this would happen, it would, for us, have very saddening consequences. However the Lord can still prevent their attack.*⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁴⁸ *Nachrichten* (1819), 646, from a letter Hallbeck wrote to Latrobe in London on Feb 27th 1819, informing him of the situation on the eastern border; Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, March 25th 1819 (HA).

⁴⁴⁹ "Horden von Kaffern sollen schon in die Colonie eingebrochen seyn, um zu rauben u. morden." Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Dec 15th 1818 (HA).

⁴⁵⁰ *Nachrichten* (1819), 636-649.

⁴⁵¹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 596.

⁴⁵² "Ihre eigentliche Absicht ist zu rauben; sie morden aber auch, wenn sie darin Widerstand finden." *Nachrichten* (1821), 25.

⁴⁵³ *Nachrichten* (1819), 638.

⁴⁵⁴ *Nachrichten* (1819), 639.

⁴⁵⁵ *Nachrichten* (1821), 31.

⁴⁵⁶ "Hieraus ist zu erkennen, daß es die Nation mit Ernst darauf anträgt, unsre Gegend wieder zu ihrem Gebiet zu ziehen; und wenn dieses geschähe, so würde es für uns von den traurigsten Folgen seyn. Der Herr kann aber ihren Anschlag zu nichte machen" *Nachrichten* (1821), 34.

Eventually the station itself was drawn into the war. Early in April a commando of 570 men, farmers and Khoikhoi from the Swellendam district, led by Cobus Linde, stayed overnight at the station, on their way to the north.⁴⁵⁷ A few days later, on April 14th 1819, almost exactly a year after the missionaries had arrived, the Xhosas brutally murdered nine Khoikhoi men from the station, who were guarding the cattle, before stealing them.⁴⁵⁸ The station had to be evacuated and the people sought refuge in Uitenhage. With only a limited number of guns the station was not able to defend itself against the attacks of the Xhosas. For the missionaries it was rather awkward to have guns, not only as a means of protection against wild animals, but also against the attacking Xhosas. Hallbeck had advised the brethren rather to flee than to engage in bloody skirmishes.⁴⁵⁹

Hallbeck had to inform the Helpers Conference, reading from the letter sent by the leader at the Witte River, Br Schmitt: *Reading from a letter from Br Schmitt dated Uitenhage 20 Apr., from which we were regretted to read that, after the Xhosas had taken away all the cattle and murdered nine men of the inhabitants of the Witte River, our missionaries had no other choice, than to flee to Uitenhage with those entrusted to their care.*⁴⁶⁰

This event – the murder of members of the faith community – made an indelible impact. It was remembered and mentioned by Hallbeck in the commemorative document that was laid under the foundation stone of the first church of Enon, in 1821. He wrote: *Following the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1818 on the 7th day of the month April... missionaries of the Evangelical Brother Church... started a mission at the Witte River, and after the missionaries with her Congregation of 150 persons had to go through heavy trials through the robberies and murderous deeds of the Xhosas (nine esteemed Khoikhoi were murdered, the cattle taken away and the houses burnt)...*⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁷ *Nachrichten* (1821), 47.

⁴⁵⁸ *Protocol HC*, May 3rd 1819 (MASA & HA); “An der Mittwoch nach Ostern, am 14ten April, häufte sich ein Unglück auf das andere. Alles Horn-Vieh wurde von den Kaffern weggenommen, und die Häuser und Hütten wurden niedergebrannt, und neun Hottentotten wurden auf grausame Weise ermordet.” *Nachrichten* (1820), 39, 167. The 9 men were not just killed, but murdered in a gruesome way: “Die Mörder hätten sich nicht damit begnügt, ihnen den tödtlichen Stich zu geben, sie hätten dieselben mehrmals durchstochen und einigen von ihnen den Leib mit dem Mordwerkzeug aufgerissen.” *Nachrichten* (1821), 49f.

⁴⁵⁹ *Protocol HC*, March 1st 1819 (MASA & HA).

⁴⁶⁰ “Ein brief vom br Schmitt d.d. Uitenhage 20 Apr. Wurde mitgetheilt, woraus wir mit Leidwesen sahen, daß nachdem die Kaffern alles Vieh weggenommen u. 9 Männer von den Einwohnern Wittereviere ermordert hatten, unsre Geschw. genöthigt waren, mit den übrigen ihrern Pflëgbefohlenen nach Uitenhage zu flüchten.” *Protocol HC*, May 3rd 1819 (MASA & HA).

⁴⁶¹ “Nadat in’t Jaar onzes Heeren Jesu Christi Achtien Honderd Achtien op den zevenden dag des Maands April... Zendinge der Evangelische Broeder Gemeente... eene Zending aan’t Witrevier aangevangen hadden, en nadat de Zendinge met hare Gemeente van 150 personen in’t volgende Jaar 1819 door de Rooveryen en Moord daaden der Kaffers zware beproevingen uitgestaan hadden (9 waardige Hottentotten wierden vermoord, het vee weggenoomen en de Huizen verbrand) ...” *Document in Cornerstone of Enon Church March 12th 1821* (GA).

In the *Nachrichten* of 1820 a lengthy report was published, taken from letters written by brother and sister Schmitt regarding the destruction of Enon.⁴⁶² They made mention of the fact that the Xhosas had mutilated the bodies of the nine men murdered.⁴⁶³ They also took all clothes and rifles from them.⁴⁶⁴ Upon receipt of the devastating news, a painful lament ascended from the mission station, brought about by the bereaved wives and children. A devotion on Psalm 81:14-15, published in the *Nachrichten*, reflected on the incident: *We in our times need not have to be afraid to be oppressed by enemies or to be made slaves – referring to the events of this psalm. But the Saviour can also bring over us other difficult and pressing circumstances, when we do not obey Him and when we do not go on his ways, as we have already experienced.* But we also read: *We can be certain, He will keep his oath... and He will not abandon his work; the blessing of the loving Saviour will show itself in our congregations, in our work amongst Christians and pagans, in all our endeavours.*⁴⁶⁵

With hindsight it can be said that Hallbeck and his colleagues underestimated the risks and endangerments when they decided to establish a station at the Witte River. A year before the attacks Hallbeck wrote in a letter to Herrnhut: *About the vulnerability due to the feared attacks by the Xhosas I am not really worried ...*⁴⁶⁶

The destruction of the Witte River Station (after its reestablishment called Enon) is one of the few instances in the worldwide Moravian Mission history where converts were murdered and the missionaries had to flee. Although rare, it is not so that the Moravians were oblivious of this possible threat. It was a risk almost every missionary embarking from Europe was aware of in the back of his mind. Two decades later Hallbeck wrote a poem, from which I quote a few verses, to illustrate this point:

⁴⁶² *Nachrichten* (1820), 165-178.

⁴⁶³ *Nachrichten* (1820), 168.

⁴⁶⁴ *Nachrichten* (1821), 50.

⁴⁶⁵ "Wir haben wol zu unserer Zeit nicht zu befürchten, daß wir von Feinden gedrückt und zu Slaven gemacht werden, aber der Heiland kann andere schwere und drückende Umstände über uns kommen lassen, wenn wir Ihm nicht gehorsam sind und nicht auf Seinen Wegen gehen, wovon wir auch schon Erfahrungen gemacht haben ... Wir können gewiß darauf rechnen, Er wird Seinen Eid halten ... und Er wird Sein Werk nicht liegen lassen; der Segen des lieben Heilandes wird sich in unsern Gemeinen, bey unsrer Arbeit unter Christen und Heiden, bey allem unserm Thun und Lassen zeigen." *Nachrichten* (1820), 48.

⁴⁶⁶ "Ueber die Unsicherheit wegen der befürchteten Anfälle von d. Kaffern bin ich nicht sehr besorgt." Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Apr 29th 1818 (HA).

About the Life of a Pilgrim

Whoever loves father, mother, daughter, son,
more than Me, not to mention
the deceiver of the world, receives no wage
and my servant cannot be.

Therefore nothing is keeping us back:
we depart and venture on the Lord's Word.

He who sacrifices everything,
house, friends, children, brothers,
for my service - it is a gain -
he receives so much more,
so He speaks, and because He speaks
one follows Him eagerly and with joy.

Whoever wants to save his present life
he can lose it,
whoever willingly embark, and keeps only silent
him I will lead for certain.
So He promises – and that gives courage
accepting the calling to be a witness.

Deterred by the discomforts of a pilgrim
lured by the love for the heimat,
the call of the Master: follow me!
sounds in our ears.
His example makes us willing
to join the holy battle.

If fear in the heart stirs up
then the Master tells:
I am with you, wherever you are
and that again perks us up.

Because his presence makes easy
what flesh and blood will hardly dare.

If the poor weak heart shivers
looking at our little ones
then the Saviour takes our pain
and teaches us not to cry anymore
Whoever takes his hand
will leave in comfort to that alien land.

The Lord loves to save all sinners
from the yoke of sin
and alas! how many are still bound
in its chains of servitude.
Therefore we not shun whatever discomfort
and eagerly go after these sinners.

With the Saviour there is no discrimination
whoever wants to come to Him
from East and West and North and South,
he will be accepted.
Therefore we cross the wide ocean
and shout loud: come all of you.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁷ "1. Wer Vater, Mutter, Tochter, Sohn, Sprich/Sprech nicht der Weltverführer Mehr liebt als mich, krigt keinen Lohn, Und kann nicht sein mein Diener. Darum hält uns nichts: - wir gehen fort Und wagens auf des Herrn Wort.
2. Wer aber alles giebt dahin. Haus, Freunde, Kinder, Brüder Um meinen Dienst dem ists Gewinn Er kriegts vielfältig wieder
So sprach Er auch, und weil Er sprach Folgt man Ihm gern und freudig nach.
3. Wer hier sein Leben retten will Der kann es leicht verlieren, Wer's willig wagt, und ist nur still Den will ich sicher führen.
So ers verheisst – und das giebt Kraft Zu dem beruf der Zeugenschaft.
4. Schreckt uns der Pilgers Ungemach Lockt uns der Heimat Liebe, Des Meisters Zuruf: Folg' mir nach! Belebet unsre Triete [?]
Sein beispiel macht auch uns bereit Zu ziehen in den heiligen Streit.
5. Regt sich im Herzen bangigkeit So spricht zu uns der Meister Ich bin bei Euch, wo Ihr auch seid Und das macht wieder dreihter... [?] Denn seine Gegenwart macht leicht. Was Fleisch und blut beschwerlich daucht [?]
6. Bebt uns das arme schwache Herz Beim Blick auf unsre kleinen Der Heiland bindert [?] unsere Schmerz Lehrt uns nicht mehr zu weinen Wer ge... sie in seine Hand Und gehn getrost ins fremde Land.
7. Der Herr will von der Sünde Joch Gern alle Sünder retten Und ach wie viele schwachten noch In ihrem Dienst und Ketten. Darum scheuen wir kein Ungemach Und gehen gern den Sündern nach.
8. Beim Heiland ist kein Unterschied Wer nur zu ihm will kommen Aus Ost und West und Nord und Sud, Der wird auch angenommen. Darum gehn wir über's weite Meer Und rufen laut: Kommt alle her." Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Von Pilgersinn* (HA).

One can conclude that the reality of (possible) suffering and death was part and parcel of the Moravian theology and missionary outreach.

Retreat to Uitenhage

The Enon community of 155 inhabitants had no choice but to retreat to Uitenhage. The magistrate, Cuyler, sent five ox wagons to assist in the evacuation.⁴⁶⁸ The missionaries portrayed Cuyler as a person who acted as a caring father to them, and Hallbeck referred to him and his spouse as *the noble magistrate and his gracious wife*.⁴⁶⁹ He offered (free of charge) rooms in a government building for the missionaries, while the Khoikhoi built straw huts on a nearby elevation.⁴⁷⁰ He also made a building in his garden available to be used for the church services. Special care was taken of the widows and children of the murdered Khoikhoi men.⁴⁷¹ Support for the missionaries and their flock was also given by the English missionaries in Bethelsdorp.⁴⁷²

The colony was now in a state of war. On May 5th 1819 the son of the governor, Captain Somerset, arrived on horseback to lead commando's against the Xhosas. He had war experience in Spain, and was also involved in the battle of Waterloo.⁴⁷³ On August 30th the governor himself arrived in Uitenhage. He informed the brothers that Hallbeck was also on his way from Cape Town, hoping to arrive soon in Algoa Bay. Beginning 1819 at least 99 men from Genadendal and 28 from Groenekloof were recruited to join the colonial forces.⁴⁷⁴

The fact that all the rivers in the region were swollen prevented the Xhosas from taking the stolen oxen into the interior. They did however drive them into the flooded Fish River, where more than a thousand cattle drowned and were washed away.⁴⁷⁵ After a month the missionary Hofmann visited the station for the first time again. He found it devastated, not only because the Xhosas had burnt it down, but also because the elephants had stripped the gardens in their absence.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁶⁸ *Nachrichten* (1820), 40.

⁴⁶⁹ "...dem edlen Landdrost u. seiner liebenswürdigen Gemahlin." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Nov 5th 1819 (HA).

⁴⁷⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Nov 5th 1819 (HA).

⁴⁷¹ *Nachrichten* (1821), 58.

⁴⁷² *Nachrichten* (1821), 870.

⁴⁷³ *Nachrichten* (1821), 60.

⁴⁷⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, March 25th 1819 (HA).

⁴⁷⁵ *Nachrichten* (1821), 40.

⁴⁷⁶ *Nachrichten* (1820), 41, *Nachrichten* (1821), 62.

The reaction of the Enon congregation to all the atrocities was moving. Wilhelmina observed that it was painful to her, that her nation was doing such evil things... A Khoikhoi said: *I pray that the Saviour will have mercy on these poor people and will also make them share in his saving Word.*⁴⁷⁷ When in later years (1822) the first black convert received holy baptism in Enon, it was reported by the missionaries with much gratitude: *...the first fruit from this nation.*⁴⁷⁸

In the middle of October the colonial forces managed to bring the war to an end, and shifted the border to the Keiskamma and Kat Rivers.⁴⁷⁹ The Enon community could move back. Bird, the deputy secretary of the governor, who visited Uitenhage at the same time, promised the assistance of the government for the erection of a palisade around the station at the Witte River.⁴⁸⁰ He also promised to send a number of Khoikhoi currently fighting against the Xhosas to help in rebuilding the station.⁴⁸¹

Hallbeck, being the superintendent, did what he could to reach the congregation as soon as possible.⁴⁸² After his failed attempt in February, he tried again in August 1819. This time he travelled by ship from Cape Town to Algoa Bay, since, as he wrote in a letter, the situation in the colony was too precarious to travel over land.⁴⁸³

Hallbeck's journey to the eastern Cape in 1819

Hallbeck compiled a journal of 50 pages covering his first visit to the eastern Cape. It was published in the *Nachrichten* the next year as a *Tagebuch des Bruders Hans Peter Hallbeck, von seiner Reise aus der Tafel-Bay unweit der Capstadt nach Algoa-Bay, Uitenhagen, Enon, und zurück nach Gnadenthal, im Jahr 1819.*⁴⁸⁴ In 1820, with the help of Latrobe in London, this journal was also published in an English translation: *Narrative of a Visit made in 1819, to the New Missionary Settlement of the United Brethren, Enon, on the Witte Revier. In the District of Uitenhage, South Africa.*⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁷ "Es thue ihr sehr leid, daß ihre Nation so böse Thaten verübe ... ich bête zum Heiland, daß Er sich über diese armen Menschen erbarmen und auch ihnen sein seligmachendes Wort geben wolle." *Nachrichten* (1821), 41.

⁴⁷⁸ "als Erstling aus dieser Nation hier in unsrer Gemeine." *Nachrichten* (1824), 559.

⁴⁷⁹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 191.

⁴⁸⁰ Report by Hallbeck to the HC, 1819 (HA & MASA). Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 136.

⁴⁸¹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 673.

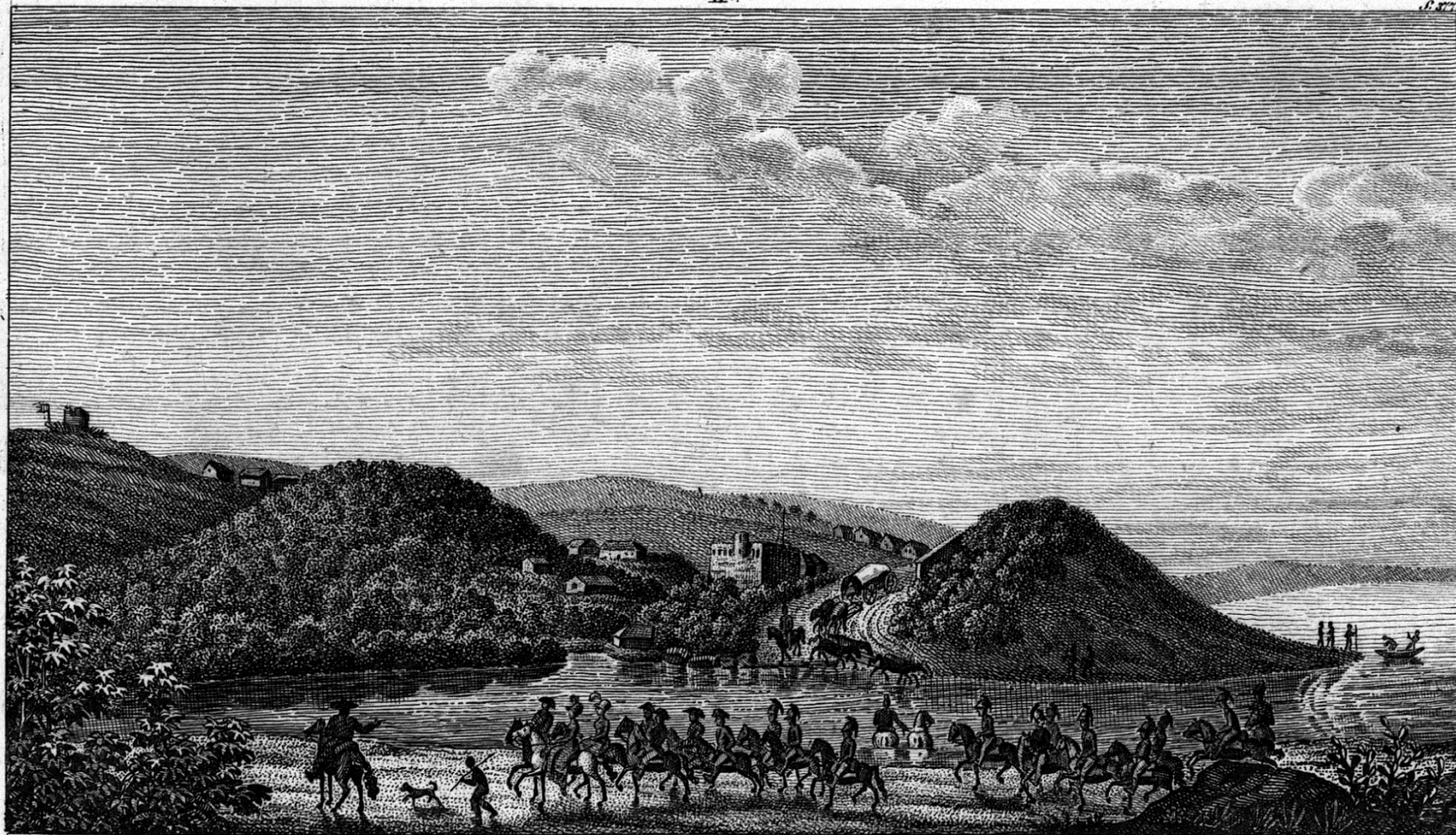
⁴⁸² The missionaries in Uitenhage reported: "Am 2ten Juny erhielten wir zu unsrer großen Freude Briefe von Gnadenthal und Grünekloof, und ersahen, sonderlich aus einem Schreiben des Br. Hallbeck, daß er noch in diesem oder zu Anfang des künftigen Monats zum Besuch bey uns einzutreffen hoffet." *Nachrichten* (1821), 64.

⁴⁸³ *Nachrichten* (1820), 178.

⁴⁸⁴ *Nachrichten* (1820), 665-714.

⁴⁸⁵ London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1820.

II.



F. Leopold fec. 1811.

Fort Fredrik an der Algoabay.

Picture of Algoa Bay as it looked in 1811.¹

¹ Noted below the picture: "F. Leopold fec. 1811" and "Fort Fredrik an der Algoabay." (HA).

The *Narrative* describes the rough conditions on the ocean between Table Bay and Algoa Bay, which caused the mast of the ship to break. The mighty swells of the ocean also caused a lamp to fall, starting an alarming fire on board.⁴⁸⁶ The Lord though, Hallbeck observed, protected them and on October 2nd they arrived in Algoa Bay. On his way to Uitenhage Hallbeck paid a visit to the LMS mission station Bethelsdorp. In Uitenhage he met the Moravian congregation and missionaries. He also had meetings with Magistrate Cuyler and Colonel Bird. Furthermore, he not only preached to the Moravian congregation, but also – on request of the officers – in English to soldiers in the Reformed Church of Uitenhage.

He found the congregation in a better condition than he had expected.⁴⁸⁷ They enjoyed a good reputation in Uitenhage. Nonetheless, he agreed with Schmitt that they should move back to the Witte River as soon as possible. On October 14th 1819 a company consisting of Hallbeck, Schmitt, Hoffmann, Schulz as well as Cuyler, his son and the magistrate's secretary, travelled to the Witte River to investigate the situation. The magistrate also secured a sergeant with an escort of 14 civilians and six Khoikhoi.⁴⁸⁸ Hallbeck made mention of the applicable Moravian Daily Watchword from Isaiah 58: 12: "Your people will rebuild the ancient ruins and will raise up the age-old foundations."⁴⁸⁹ He also mentioned the Daily Watchword of October 25th: "I will watch over them to build and to plant, declares the LORD" – Jeremiah 31: 28. At the Witte River all the wooden huts of the missionaries and Khoikhoi were reduced to ashes. The place was destroyed.⁴⁹⁰

The company also visited the site where the Xhosas had murdered the nine Khoikhoi brothers. They found the skulls of two Xhosas who were killed during the skirmishes. Hallbeck had taken clothes and other commodities along from the *Oberland* for the bereaved families who had lost their husbands and fathers. One of them was Lydia Pieters, who was the first to receive baptism at the Witte River.⁴⁹¹

They stayed for eight days, during which Hallbeck undertook daily expeditions on horseback to the surrounding mountains. He investigated the whole area, its geography, fauna and flora. In his journal he makes mention of numerous animals in the area of the Witte River and Zuur

⁴⁸⁶ See also: *Nachrichten* (1821), 873; Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Nov 5th 1819 (HA).

⁴⁸⁷ *Nachrichten* (1820), 190.

⁴⁸⁸ *Nachrichten* (1820), 675.

⁴⁸⁹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 192, 675.

⁴⁹⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Aug 9th 1819 (HA).

⁴⁹¹ *Enon: Catalogus der volwassen gedoopte en in de gemeente opgenomen* (GA). She was baptised by the missionary J.H. Schmitt on Oct 15th 1818.

Mountains:⁴⁹² lions, buffaloes (according to him the Khoikhoi were fond of hunting buffaloes), tigers (leopards, sometimes also called panthers),⁴⁹³ wolves, wild pigs, rhinos, mongoose, porcupines, baboons, monkeys, hares, several kinds of antelope, leguans, snakes, frogs, fish, numerous bird species (loeries, pheasants, guinea-fowls, eagles etc.). The bird that impressed him the most was the blue crane.⁴⁹⁴ Hallbeck called the area the *Heimat* (homeland) of the elephant. Seeing them with their colossal backs rising above the thicket reminded him of huge ox wagons carrying their freight. Furthermore Hallbeck noted that if he were a botanist, he could make an endless list of rare plant species.⁴⁹⁵ He also listed some precious stones he found in the riverbed.

Because of the thicket they could only access the area by travelling on the paths made by the game. He was struck by the high mountains, dwarfing – as he wrote – those of Genadendal. One of the mountains adjacent to the Witte River rewarded them with an extraordinary panoramic view, so they called it the *Observatorium*.⁴⁹⁶ Later the missionaries named one of the mountains in the surrounding area *Hallbecks-Berg*, and a valley after Hallbeck's wife *Johannathal*.⁴⁹⁷ In the valleys he saw trees tall enough to be used as masts for the biggest ships. The pristine forests made an indelible impression on him. They also came across several deserted Xhosa kraals in the mountains.

Hallbeck noticed what would later become a recurring problem for Enon – the fact that the Witte River was not perennial. He suggested making use of a pump or some sort of a hydraulic machine to lift water from the remaining waterholes (“zeekoegats”).⁴⁹⁸ According to him the Witte River got its name because of the lead-like colour of the water. Although the soil was fertile, the area was not suitable for agriculture, because of the difficulty of constructing watercourses from the river. It was, however, much more acceptable for stockbreeding, Hallbeck wrote. Another asset was the abundance of wood. He made mention of yellowwood trees with enormous trunks. Furthermore there were ysterhout, stinkhout, els, essenhout, kijaat, olive trees, etc. – all very

⁴⁹² Zuurbergen (Dutch) = Sour Mountains.

⁴⁹³ *Nachrichten* (1820), 678: “Ein paar Tage nach unserm Daseyn wurde ein Kalb von einem Tiger oder vielmehr Leoparden zerrissen”; *Nachrichten* (1835), 121; Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (1821), 433.

⁴⁹⁴ *Nachrichten* (1820), 708.

⁴⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1820), 706. A few years later a German botanist, Krebs, arrived in these areas, sent by the Prussian government – *Nachrichten* (1824), 548.

⁴⁹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1820), 694.

⁴⁹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1824), 550; Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Febr 3rd 1838 (HA).

⁴⁹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1823), 505.

suitable for carpenters. According to Hallbeck, the thorn trees provided excellent firewood and the Khoikhoi, he observed, used its wood to make charcoal to sell in Uitenhage.⁴⁹⁹

Back in Uitenhage, Hallbeck and the other missionaries held a *House Conference* dealing with the rebuilding of the station at the Witte River. It was decided to reconstruct the station more upstream, and to fence it with a palisade. Hallbeck also sought the support of the authorities in this regard. He left a letter, requesting the governor to make some men available to help in the rebuilding. The governor put nine Khoikhoi soldiers from Genadendal, returning from the front, at their disposal as well as some of his Khoikhoi workers to help with the thatching of the roofs.⁵⁰⁰ In this regard Hallbeck thankfully referred to the Daily Watchword of October 23rd 1819 coming from Haggai 1: 14: *The Lord stirred up the spirit of the whole people, so that they came to work on the house of the LORD almighty, their God.*⁵⁰¹

In September and October 1819 peace treaties were signed between the colony and the Xhosas. The chieftain Geika (Gaika) had to have his residence beyond the Keiskamma River, and the whole region between the Keiskamma and the great Fish River was officially incorporated into the colony.⁵⁰² This created a situation which allowed for the recommencement of the mission work at the Witte River. Although many of Uitenhage's inhabitants wanted the congregation to stay, since the Khoikhoi offered good employment in the town and were appreciated for their faithfulness and thrift, Hallbeck and the missionaries found it wise to move back as soon as possible. Uitenhage could also not provide enough pastures for the life stock of the Enon Khoikhoi, should they keep on staying in the town.⁵⁰³ On October 25th Hallbeck departed for the second time from Uitenhage to the Witte River, this time with the congregation to restart the work. Arriving at the Witte River, they knelt down and prayed to the Lord for his protection and blessing. Afterwards they began to erect wooden palisades surrounding the space where they intended to build the houses.⁵⁰⁴

On November 12th, Hallbeck, accompanied by br Schulz and the old widow, sr Kohrhammer, set out to Genadendal by ox wagon. Sr Kohrhammer had requested to return and spend the rest of

⁴⁹⁹ *Nachrichten* (1820), 706.

⁵⁰⁰ *Nachrichten* (1821), 880.

⁵⁰¹ "Der Herr erweckte den Geist des ganzen Volkes, daß sie kamen und arbeiteten am Hause des Herrn Zebaoth, ihres Gottes." *Nachrichten* (1820), 687.

⁵⁰² *Nachrichten* (1821), 874.

⁵⁰³ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Nov 5th 1819 (HA).

⁵⁰⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Nov 5th 1819 (HA).

her old days in Genadendal as the adventure in the Unterland had proven too challenging for her.⁵⁰⁵ After an absence of fifteen weeks, they arrived in Genadendal on December 3rd.⁵⁰⁶

Shortly afterwards Hallbeck visited Cape Town where he successfully negotiated some assistance in the re-establishment of Enon. Hallbeck wrote about this visit to Cape Town: *I had no opportunity to see the governor, since he was not in town, but from the side of both colonial secretaries, Col. Bird and Sir Ellis, I enjoyed much friendship. The former invited me to lunch on his estate not far away from town, and the latter offered to have all the goods for Enon transported on a government ship to Algoa Bay without any costs.*⁵⁰⁷

Recommencement of Enon

With its recommencement the station officially received the name Enon.⁵⁰⁸ The school at Enon resumed in middle January 1820⁵⁰⁹ and in 1821 the church building was completed.⁵¹⁰ In the same year the station received a bell and a wall clock as a gift from supporters in England.⁵¹¹ An added benefit of the bell was that it seemingly scared off the elephants. In 1821 a letter from Colonel Bird, in response to a request from Hallbeck,⁵¹² informed him that the government had made lands, suitable for the cultivation of grain, available in the vicinity of the station.⁵¹³

Enon was about a day's journey from Uitenhage, or half a day on horseback. For their provisions the missionaries were dependent on Uitenhage, although they sometimes travelled to Graaff-Reinet.⁵¹⁴ The missionaries continued to enjoy the support of Magistrate Cuyler of Uitenhage and they held him in high esteem. He was indeed an ally of the Moravians, especially in 1819 when

⁵⁰⁵ "Strapazen" Letter Hallbeck to Frühauf, Aug 9th 1819 (Het Utrechts Archief); *Protocol HC*, May 19th 1819 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1821), 65; Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Aug 9th 1819 (HA).

⁵⁰⁶ *Nachrichten* (1820), 714.

⁵⁰⁷ "Ich hatte keine Gelegenheit, den Gouverneur zu sehen, weil er nicht in der Stadt war, aber von den beiden Colonial Secretären, Col. Bird u. Herrn Ellis genoss ich viele Freundschaft. Erstere lud mich auf seinem ohnweit der Stadt gelegenen Landgut zu Mittagsessen ein, u. letztere erbot sich, die für Enon angekommenen Sachen auf einem Gouvernements Schiff nach Algoa Bay ohne Unkosten transportiren zu lassen." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1821 (HA).

⁵⁰⁸ Hallbeck, Bericht des br. Hallbecks an die Helfer-Conferenz für's Ganze in Süd Africa betreffend seine Verrichtung auf seiner officiellen Reise, im Jahre 1819 (MASA); Letter H. Ellis (Colonial Office) to Hallbeck, Dec 22nd 1819 (GA); *Protocol HC*, Jan 10th 1820 (HA).

⁵⁰⁹ *Nachrichten* (1821), 883.

⁵¹⁰ Hallbeck, "Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika" (1835) (MASA); *Nachrichten* (1837), 480.

⁵¹¹ *Nachrichten* (1823), 187.

⁵¹² *Nachrichten* (1824), 553.

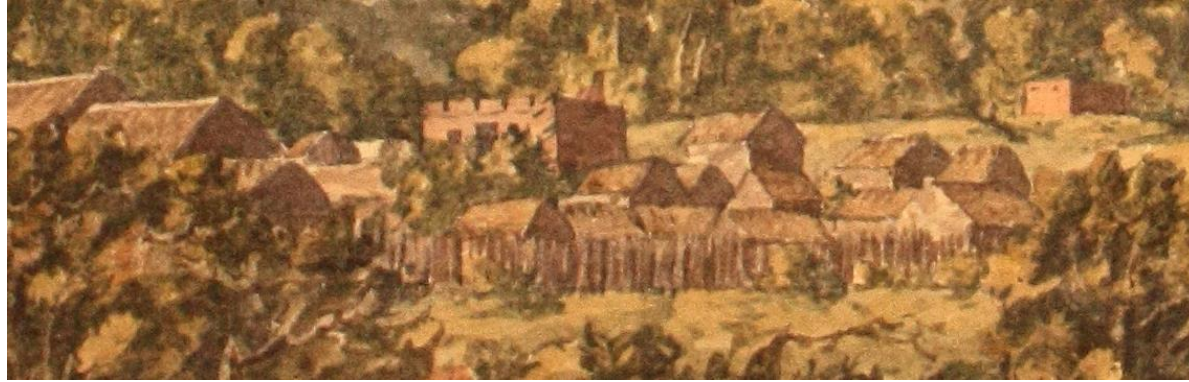
⁵¹³ *Nachrichten* (1823), 392.

⁵¹⁴ *Nachrichten* (1821), 13.



Aquarell of Enon (palisades clearly visible – see detail opposite page)¹

¹ HA.



Detail from Aquarell of Enon (see opposite page) with palisades clearly visible



Pencil sketch of Enon.²

² HA.

the station was destroyed and had to be rebuilt.⁵¹⁵ In 1820 Hallbeck was tasked by the UEC in Germany to officially and sincerely thank him and his wife for what they had done for the missionaries and the congregation in 1819. In a letter Hallbeck conveyed “cordial thanks for your kind ... attention to the Missionaries and their little flock on all occasion and particularly during their severe trials in the year 1819, and to assure You that the most fervent wishes for Your continual happiness and for the welfare of Your whole family will always accompany the remembrance of Your name, which can never be obliterated from the pages of our humble history.”⁵¹⁶

According to Hallbeck, Enon had many advantages as a mission station. Uitenhage was near enough to offer employment, but too far away to have a bad influence on the moral life of the congregation. Additionally, Enon was located in a region where the Xhosas had lived in former times, which meant that they might return as soon as the government would allow it. Another advantage proved to be that the Genadendal and Groenekloof men who were recruited as soldiers and stationed on the eastern border (sometimes together with their wives), could visit Enon from time to time.⁵¹⁷ Moreover, the Enon missionaries could pay regular visits to places like Grahamstown to lend pastoral care to the Moravian soldiers.⁵¹⁸

The mission’s lack of property rights

Notwithstanding all the willing support from the colonial government (both locally and in Cape Town), there was a policy set in place by the same government that proved to be a real obstacle for the mission. It was the fact that the mission was not allowed to have any property rights on the mission stations and surrounding farmlands. From the start and – as it proved later – until the end of his ministry, this kept Hallbeck busy. Upon his return to Genadendal Hallbeck had to settle the question of property rights regarding Enon. The missionaries were acquainted with a governmental policy called the “grant stations”⁵¹⁹ – a colonial and administrative ruling that allowed them to establish an institution on ‘granted’ land. This land, however, did not become their property as such. At first sight it seemed a very favourable policy for the mission, since they received land free of any charges and taxes. Yet it also caused insecurity and a lack of clarity, not only to the missionaries, but also to the inhabitants.

⁵¹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1820), 713.

⁵¹⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Cuyler, Dec 21st 1820, in: Hallbeck Official Correspondence 1820-1823 (GA). In 1821 Cuyler visited Enon again, accompanied by his wife and children. *Nachrichten* (1823), 197-198.

⁵¹⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 20th 1820 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1820), 600; *Nachrichten* (1824), 860.

⁵¹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1823), 204; *Nachrichten* (1827), 890.

⁵¹⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jul 6th 1818 (HA).

After the mission had bought a farm from mister Scheepers at the Witte River (Enon), Hallbeck tried to obtain the Deed of Transfer. However, it was made clear to him that the mission could not obtain the land as titleholder, as titles could not be granted to missionary societies. By colonial law only individuals could hold property titles. Magistrate Cuyler, as acting official, did his best to help the Brethren and suggested that the title should be made to 'Hallbeck and his successors in office' as a permanent leasehold, and thus not to the mission.⁵²⁰ However Bird, the deputy secretary of the governor, objected. In the end the mission could only hold the farm, like they did with Genadendal and Groenekloof, on a concession from the government, which could be withdrawn again. Bird proposed it to be a "Loan place" on the basis of a "perpetual quit-rent"⁵²¹ ("altoosduurende Erbpacht").⁵²² The grant station system was unsatisfactory and frustrating, since it carried an element of uncertainty, and the colonial government remained in a position to withdraw the concession.

Early in 1820 Hallbeck, aware of the fact that thousands of British settlers were on their way to colonise the eastern Cape, travelled to Cape Town with the specific goal of negotiating a better settlement with regard to the property rights of Enon.⁵²³ He wrote to Herrnhut: *As it is probably known to the brs of the UEC, a great number of new Colonists are expected from England in the neighbourhood of Enon, who will in this water-scarce land definitively be plunged into the deepest misery, whence there is a real chance that the size of our place will in the most like event be reduced without appearing to be an unjust measure; we have therefore decided to push towards the official transfer of the place to us as a leasehold ...*⁵²⁴ Yet again Hallbeck made no progress. A better dispensation with regard to property rights could not be negotiated. In May 1820 the HC received the message that the government was unwilling to offer it as leasehold.⁵²⁵

It was Hallbeck's first acquaintance with the problem, i.e. it was unclear whom the land really belonged to, which would cause the missionaries much trouble in years to come. On the one hand the government was doing the mission a favour by making land available for a station free of charge and taxes. Their benevolence was due to the fact that the British colonial government,

⁵²⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Febr 10th 1820 (HA).

⁵²¹ Letter Bird to Hallbeck, Dec 10th 1818 (GA).

⁵²² *Protocol HC*, Dec 15th 1818 (MASA & HA).

⁵²³ *Protocol HC*, Febr 10th 1820 (HA).

⁵²⁴ "...wie den br'en der U.A.C. wahrscheinlich bekant ist, eine grosse Menge neuer Colonisten für die Nachbarschaft von Enon aus England erwartet wird, die in jenem wasserarmen Land gewiss ins tiefste Elend gestürzt worden werden, u. unser Platz also ohne grossen Schein von Ungerechtigkeit wenigstens verkleinert werden konnte, so haben wir beschlossen, auf die förmliche Uebernahme als Erbpacht anzutragen." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Febr 10th 1820 (HA).

⁵²⁵ *Protocol HC*, May 4th 1820 (MASA & HA).

unlike the DEIC rulers, had started to pay proper attention to the fate of the Khoikhoi and blacks within the colony. On the other hand the system of grant stations created uncertainty. Hallbeck realised that the term *grant station* was judicially not defined properly. One could discern between three different interpretations:

- The granted land belongs to the inhabitants as a whole under the responsible leadership of the mission (Hallbeck favoured this interpretation);
- The granted land is the property of the mission, to be used in the interests of the inhabitants;
- The granted land belongs to the government, who therefore has the right to take it back again.⁵²⁶

During the rest of his ministry, whenever possible, Hallbeck did his best to avoid the ruling of property rights in terms of a 'grant station.' He succeeded in this with regard to the mission station Elim, where Hallbeck, in his capacity as superintendent, bought the farm Vogelstruys Kraal on behalf of the *United Brethren*, but with regard to other stations like Silo and Clarkson he was unsuccessful. Some deeds of transfer of farms in the Genadendal area,⁵²⁷ which Hallbeck had bought for and on behalf of the *United Brethren*, can still be found in the Genadendal Archive.⁵²⁸

Growth and development of Enon

At the end of 1821 Hallbeck, this time accompanied by his wife, visited Enon again. In a letter to Latrobe in London he uttered his amazement with the beautiful gardens and houses he found. *Great was my astonishment when I saw, what has happened since! Instead of the wilderness I found fertile gardens.*⁵²⁹ He viewed the fact that the wild trees and thorn bushes were replaced by fruit trees as evidence not so much of the strength of human hands, but of the power of the divine Word, "exhorting our hands towards industry." He visited the station with the particular purpose of examining the finances and general development of the establishment. He also led church services, baptised children and he and his wife spoke with all the adult members of the congregation. Accompanied by br and sr Schmitt they went to an unspoilt forest in a nearby *kloof* to look for trees suitable to be utilised as water pipes.⁵³⁰ During their month-long sojourn, it

⁵²⁶ Müller, *200 Jahre Brüdermission* 1. Band: *Das erste Missionsjahrhundert*, 194.

⁵²⁷ For example Platte Rug in the Zoetendalsvalley, bought on March 13th 1832.

⁵²⁸ GA.

⁵²⁹ "Groß war nun mein Erstaunen, als ich sah, was seitdem geschehen war! Statt der Wildniß fand ich fruchtbare Gärten." *Nachrichten* (1823), 504.

⁵³⁰ *Nachrichten* (1823), 207.

became clear: two years after the destruction of the station, it was restored to a friendly and lovely village.

Until now, with the exception of Schmitt, the Enon missionaries were bachelors. The destruction of the station in 1819 had postponed the sending of wives to them. But in 1820 Hallbeck wrote that – with the arrival of the British settlers – stability had returned to the area and that wives would be most welcome now!⁵³¹

Enon was successfully established and bridged the crisis of the first years of its existence. Missionary Schmitt already observed in 1820 that through his providence God's time has arrived to reach out to the people of these regions: *It is certain that the hour of God's merciful visitation has come for the inhabitants of this region. Therefore it is necessary to labour, as long as the Saviour summons us for this task, offering his grace.*⁵³² In 1822 the Enon Khoikhoi helped – on demand of the government – with the building of a road over the Suur Mountains.⁵³³ The missionaries of Enon tried to reach out to the *Buschmänner-Nation* (San) in their area, although language proved a challenging obstacle. They were struck by the utter darkness these people still lived in, exchanging a child for six sheep, for example, or in another case two children for some hennepseed to smoke.⁵³⁴ The sense of a calling grew among the missionaries. In a letter to Latrobe Hallbeck observed that it is indeed a painful experience when a missionary “sees the Heathenish tribes stretching out their arms and crying for help, but he must shake his head and answer No”.⁵³⁵

Despite Enon's successful establishment, during the next few years many disadvantages also became clear, like the scarcity of water. Although a watermill was built in 1823, it was often not in operation due to the lack of water.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, agricultural land was scarce, and there were too many tradesmen in the area after the arrival of the British Settlers.⁵³⁷ Moreover the issues that caused tensions between the colony and the bordering black nations were not

⁵³¹ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 20th 1820 (HA).

⁵³² “Es ist gewuss, dass die Stunde der Gnaden-Heimsuchung auch für die Einwohner dieser Gegend geschlagen hat. Darum ist es nöthig zu arbeiten, weil der Hld uns dazu aufruft u. uns seine Gnade dazu anbietet.” Quotation of Schmitt from: Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 20th 1820 (HA).

⁵³³ *Nachrichten* (1824), 541.

⁵³⁴ *Nachrichten* (1823), 189.

⁵³⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Cl Latrobe, Apr 19th 1822, in: Hallbeck Official Correspondance 1820-1823 (GA).

⁵³⁶ *Nachrichten* (1824), 871; *Nachrichten* (1825), 879; *Nachrichten* (1827), 882; *Nachrichten* (1831), 63; *Nachrichten* (1832), 386.

⁵³⁷ *Protocol HC*, Jan 2nd 1822 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 140.



*Watercolour of Enon (detail).*¹

¹ Noted below the picture: "Missions=Häusser in Enon in Südafrika" (HA).

settled. Already in 1822 Schmitt reported disquiet in the region as a result of the blacks.⁵³⁸ A young man from Enon was kidnapped⁵³⁹ and with every new report of cattle theft, robbery and murder, the feelings of fear and anxiety flared up again.⁵⁴⁰ And last but not least, there were internal tensions between the missionaries of Enon. This would cause Hallbeck a lot of time and frustration during the 1820's. Once he even had to travel all alone on horseback the long journey from Genadendal to Enon for this reason. In the next paragraph we will pay closer attention to this aspect of Hallbeck's superintendence – the managing of conflicts among the missionaries.

Managing conflicts among missionaries

In one of his first letters written from South Africa Hallbeck indicated an awareness of challenging inter-personal relations: *although one would wish here and there more warmth, I cannot deny that we pull under the same yoke in unity.*⁵⁴¹ In Groenekloof strained relationships existed. He wrote: *Nothing worries me more, than the displeasing relations of the colleagues there.*⁵⁴² *Often violent quarrels have already occurred, partly in the presence of the Khoikhoi,* Hallbeck had to report to Herrnhut in October 1818.⁵⁴³ In his report to the Helpers Conference of December 5th 1819 he indicated that Peterleitner seemed to be difficult to live with and that he had unreasonable expectations of his colleagues, for instance, he branded br Stein an *idler* ("Faulenzer") despite the fact that he spent his days walking behind a plough.⁵⁴⁴

Hallbeck toyed with the idea to relocate Stein to Enon as is evident from his letter to Conow: *although the battle between Leitner and Stein would be ended by this move, one should not expect peace in Groenekloof, where most probably a fight will emerge between Leitner and his new colleagues. In short, with regard to Groenekloof we are in an awkward situation: on the one hand the relocation of br and sr Peterleitner would mean a financial loss for the mission; on the*

⁵³⁸ *Nachrichten* (1823), 516.

⁵³⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Febr 2nd 1822 (HA).

⁵⁴⁰ *Nachrichten* (1824), 553.

⁵⁴¹ "u. ob man gleich hie u. Da mehr Innigkeit wünschen könnte, so kann ich doch nicht anders sagen als daß wir in Einigkeit des Geistes an einem Joche ziehen." Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jan 27th 1818 (HA).

⁵⁴² "Nichts gibt mir so vielen Kümmer, als die unangenehme Verhältnisse der dortigen Geschwister." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Apr 19th 1819.

⁵⁴³ "und es war schon öfters zu gewaltigen Zänkereien gekommen, zum Theil in d. Gegenwart von den Hottentotten." Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Oct 14th 1818 (HA).

⁵⁴⁴ Hallbeck, *Bericht des br. Hallbecks an die Helfer-Conferenz für's Ganze in Süd Africa betreffend seine Verrichtung auf seiner officiellen Reise, im Jahre 1819* (MASA).

*other hand we cannot imagine how this can continue any longer, and to where can they be called?*⁵⁴⁵

On February 10th 1820 he had to inform Herrnhut: *After I corresponded with the brothers Bonatz and Schmitt about the plan of which I have informed you in a previous letter, namely to relocate br. & sr. Stein to Enon, it appears to me that this will not be possible. Br Bonatz wrote me that br Stein will never agree to stand under the austere hand of br. Schmitt, which he had experienced in the past already; moreover br Schmitt doesn't want to know anything about it. It cannot be denied though, that many of the brothers and sisters often push forward their own will, and by doing so they jeopardize the interest of the whole mission enterprise. Yet I cannot blame them when they are afraid to live together with brothers and sisters, who had made life sour to them in the past.*⁵⁴⁶ Relocation however served as a last resort. Before such a drastic step was taken, many discussions with the superintendent took place in an attempt to restore the peace.

Problems with Peterleitner's collegial relations persisted. From their deliberations in November 1820, concerning this issue, it is clear that the Helpers Conference was desperate: if Peterleitner does not change his attitude, the HC would have to send him back to England.⁵⁴⁷ Hallbeck proposed to give him one last chance by relocating him to Genadendal. But the other missionaries in Genadendal made it clear that this was an unacceptable solution – they were not prepared to live with Peterleitner. Consequently Hallbeck considered settling in Groenekloof himself and relocating Bonatz to Genadendal in an attempt to bring more stability to Groenekloof, but nothing came of this and Hallbeck and his family did not move to Groenekloof.

Besides, in Genadendal tensions also surfaced. In a letter to Hüffel Hallbeck observed: *It is so that sr Beinbrecht struggles to get along with br & sr Clemens; but since I am here, it only happened once that there was an argument between them; and it cannot be denied that sr Beinbrecht is of such a character that she has to be bore with patience...*⁵⁴⁸ Regarding the tensions

⁵⁴⁵ "Allein obgleich der Krieg zwischen Leitners u. Steins dadurch beendigt wäre, so ist doch an keinen Frieden für Gr. zu denken, wo es wahrscheinlich bald zum Streit zwischen Leitners u. ihren neuen Mitarbeitern kommen würde. Kurz, wir sind wegen Groenekloof in der grössten Verlegenheit: auf d. einen Seite würde der Abruf der Geschw. Peterleitners in oeconomischer Hinsicht ein Verlust für die Mission seyn; u. andererseits sehen wir nicht ein wie es lange mehr gehen kann, u. wohin können sie berufen werden?" Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Dec 20th 1819 (HA).

⁵⁴⁶ "Nachdem ich mit den br'n Bonatz u. Schmitt über den Plan, die Geschw. Stein nach Enon zu versetzen, wovon ich in meinem letzten schon etwas meldete, correspondirt habe, kommt es mir vor, dass derselbe unausführbar ist. Br. Bonatz schreibt mir, dass br. Stein sich auf keinen Fall entschliessen würde unter br. Schmitt, dessen strenge Hand er schon gefühlt hat, zu stehen, u. br. Schmitt will auch nichts vom br. Stein wissen. Ueberhaupt kann es nicht geleugnet werden, dass viele von den Geschw'n nur zu oft ihren eigenen Willen zu Rathe ziehen, u. dadurch dem Interesse des Ganzen entgegen wirken. Aber freilich kann man es ihnen auch nicht übel nehmen, wenn sie sich fürchten, mit Geschw. zusammen zu wohnen, die ihnen das Leben einst sauer machte." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Febr 10th 1820 (HA).

⁵⁴⁷ *Protocol HC*, Nov 6th 1820 (HA).

⁵⁴⁸ "Wir erkennen es als ein grosses Gnadengeschenk unseres I. Herrn, dass wir hier in Liebe u. Eintracht zusammen wohnen u. am Werke Gottes arbeiten dürfen ... Nur findet es die Schw. Beinbrech schwer mit Geschw. Clemens zu

between Clemens and Beinbrecht in Genadendal, Hallbeck made mention of *a heavy atmosphere* (“ein dickes Gefühl”) between them.⁵⁴⁹ In 1821 the conflict flared up again. Beinbrecht was very successful in the smithy and accordingly he started to sell his products, allowing people to pay him *in natura*.⁵⁵⁰ This, however, brought him into competition with the official store of the station, which was run by Clemens.⁵⁵¹ Furthermore, the fact that the smithy secured the biggest income for the mission, caused Beinbrecht to sometimes have a bit of an arrogant attitude. After repeated attempts to mediate between the two, Hallbeck eventually decided to relocate Clemens to Groenekloof.⁵⁵² The relocation of Clemens meant that Hallbeck now had to take over the responsibilities as head of Genadendal, a function Clemens had fulfilled until then.⁵⁵³ Hallbeck wrote: *It is not a pleasure for me and my wife to take over the duties of br & sr Clemens in the meantime, since it is really a heavy task, for which mercy and wisdom from above are indispensable.*⁵⁵⁴ But Hallbeck hoped this separation would cool the tensions between Beinbrecht and Clemens and perhaps heal their relationship.

Managing the human resources as superintendent was not an easy job. It caused him sleepless nights, as he writes, *all these circumstances fill my soul with a stress I have never experienced, making me shout day and night to the Saviour for help.*⁵⁵⁵

Conclusion

During the first three years of his superintendency Hallbeck played a significant role in the establishment of Enon as the third mission station of the Moravian Church in South Africa. He was faced with the uncertainties and violence of a border war and the re-establishment of Enon after its destruction during this war. He was confronted with the issue of the right to property, which he, within the ambit of good relationship with the authorities, dealt with. Furthermore, as superintendent, he had to mediate between his colleagues amidst of ongoing tensions and conflicts.

stimmen; doch ist es nur einmal, seitdem ich hier bin, zu Wortewechsel zwischen ihnen gekommen; u. es kann wohl nicht geleugnet werden, dass Schw. Beinbrecht von der Art ist, dass sie mit mehr Geduld getragen werden muss” Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jul 6th 1818 (HA).

⁵⁴⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 20th 1820 (HA).

⁵⁵⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Apr 18th 1821 (HA).

⁵⁵¹ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Apr 18th 1821 (HA).

⁵⁵² Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Febr 2nd 1822 (HA).

⁵⁵³ *Protocol HC*, Oct 5th 1821 (HA).

⁵⁵⁴ “Mir u. meiner Frau ist es auch kein Vergnügen die Geschäfte der Geschw. Clemens hier ad interim wahrzunehmen, weil es wirklich eine schwere Aufgabe ist, wozu Gnade u. Weisheit von oben erforderlich ist, hier seiner Pflicht als Vorsteher zu thun” Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 9th 1821 (HA).

⁵⁵⁵ “Alle diese Umstände erfüllen meine Seele mit einem noch nie erfahrene Kummer, der mich Tag u. Nacht zum Hld um Hülfe schreyen macht.” Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1822 (HA).

Genadendal was the hub of activities. In 1822 the Moravian Mission was identified as a pivotal role player in shaping the future of the colony. “The main efforts of the missionaries” WW Bird wrote in his *The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*⁵⁵⁶, “lie in the endeavour to instruct and civilize the Hottentots, who appear to be already under considerable religious discipline and instruction.”⁵⁵⁷

In Section IV, treating Religion in the Cape Colony,⁵⁵⁸ Bird thus not only mentioned the churches – English, Calvinist, Catholic and Lutheran – but also three missionary societies. The London Missionary Society had 12 establishments, managed by 16 missionaries. They are under superintendence of “a pious, learned and respectable divine, who is constant and active in the cause and duties of religion, and whose zeal, perseverance and abilities in all which regards the instruction of the heathen, may, it is to be hoped and expected, eventually produce corresponding effects.”⁵⁵⁹ He evidently referred to Dr John Philip, superintendent of the London Missionary Society. The Wesleyan Methodists had six missionaries and the Moravians (according to him) three: “one at Genadendal, one at Witte River and one at Groene Kloof.”⁵⁶⁰ Although misinformed, he held the work of the Moravians in high esteem. “The Moravians,” he wrote, “by the union of usefulness with religion, and making industry and devotion twin sisters, have a firmer hold than any other sect.”⁵⁶¹ “The Hottentots at these Moravian missions attend divine service regularly, and the melody of their psalm singing makes a strong devotional impression on the congregation.”⁵⁶²

In 1823, after five years leading the Moravian Mission, Hallbeck was officially requested to state his views on the Colony and colonial society. This he did comprehensively. In the following chapter Hallbeck’s exposition *Ueber die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Africa* von H.P. Hallbeck. *Die Hottentotten und die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Africa im Jahr 1823* will be discussed in detail. However, before that is done, the incorporation of Hemel en Aarde, the Leper Institution of the colony, deserves our attention.

⁵⁵⁶ W.W. Bird & H.T. Colebrooke, *The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London: John Murray, 1823).

⁵⁵⁷ Bird & Colebrooke, *The state of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, 66-67.

⁵⁵⁸ Bird & Colebrooke, *The state of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, 61 ff. “The Cape ... cannot be accused of having a slender establishment of preachers, or of being without a sufficiency of predicants to instruct the heathen, if capable and willing to be enlightened”, 64. “The missionaries have in part succeeded in teaching many of the men to be mechanics, and the girls to excel in needle-work, and have encouraged a few others to be good and faithful servants.”, 67.

⁵⁵⁹ Bird & Colebrooke, *The state of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, 66.

⁵⁶⁰ Bird & Colebrooke, *The state of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, 66.

⁵⁶¹ Bird & Colebrooke, *The state of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, 67.

⁵⁶² Bird & Colebrooke, *The state of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, 67.

CHAPTER FIVE

HEMEL EN AARDE AND HALLBECK'S REPORT TO THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY (1821-1823)

Introduction

Bird described the state of the Cape of Good Hope in terms of a colonial motif and assumption. Although he listed the London Missionary Society and his good friend John Philip first, he held the work of the Moravian Mission in high esteem. Hallbeck was successfully leading the mission, and consolidated its high standing in the colony. A year later he would be given the opportunity to provide a perspective on the Colony and its inhabitants, on request of an official Commission of Enquiry, sent by the British Parliament, to investigate circumstances and the condition of, in particular, the Khoikhoi and slaves in the Cape Colony. In Britain the fate of the original inhabitants and peoples in the colonies increasingly received public and official attention. In the case of the Cape Colony, the influential LMS Superintendent John Philip played a decisive role. As a respected figure he utilised in England all means to make known the 'atrocious' condition of the Khoikhoi in the Colony, urging involvement in order to transform and rectify Cape colonial society.

In 1823 Hallbeck produced a report to the Commission of Enquiry, in which he depicted the situation from the Moravian perspective. He was quite aware of the oppressive treatment of Khoikhoi in colonial society. The second part of the current chapter provides an in-depth analysis of this important Hallbeck document. Yet the first part of the chapter deals with the incorporation of Hemel en Aarde, the Leper Institution of the colony, into the work of the Moravian Mission. Then follows a paragraph on the continuing appreciation Genadendal obtained. It became more and more an institution of consequence.

Incorporation of the Leper Institution - Hemel en Aarde

Hemel en Aarde, the institute erected in 1817 for the care of lepers, was supervised by the Rev George Thom, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Caledon and former employee of the London Missionary Society. Thom visited Genadendal and became a good friend of the Moravian

Mission. When requested by Thom to take control of Hemel en Aarde in December 1819, the Genadendal Helpers Conference was hesitant and summoned more information. In the following years, however, the Moravian missionaries increasingly engaged in ministerial duties at Hemel en Aarde. Eventually, in the beginning of 1823, the institute became part of the responsibility of the Moravian Mission. A fourth 'station' was added.

Most of the lepers at Hemel en Aarde were Khoikhoi; some were slaves, and a few were Europeans or colonists.⁵⁶³ Several of them came from mission stations like Genadendal, after having been diagnosed with leprosy. In Hemel en Aarde there was a hospital, with a doctor visiting on a frequent basis.⁵⁶⁴ In 1820 the government appointed an overseer or catechist,⁵⁶⁵ while the pastoral care was still entrusted to George Thom. The Genadendal missionaries also visited their members in Hemel en Aarde on a regular basis, for instance the missionary Stein in 1821 and Thompson in the following year.⁵⁶⁶ Stein reported that many lepers were longing for the Gospel.⁵⁶⁷ Hallbeck spent October 1st to 3rd 1821 at the institute *to encourage these most unfortunate people*.⁵⁶⁸ He noted that the institute was situated in a desolate valley where nothing could be seen other than heaven and earth – hence the name.⁵⁶⁹ Initially the government did not require the total segregation of the lepers and sometimes healthy husbands would join their wives and children, or children their parents.⁵⁷⁰ However, during Hallbeck's ministry a stricter segregation was enforced, and he was faced with the ethical question of whether leprosy was a valid ground for dissolving a marriage.⁵⁷¹

One of the lepers, a woman from Genadendal, started with Bible lessons for the children. This resulted in a request from the inhabitants of Hemel en Aarde that a Moravian missionary should

⁵⁶³ Cf. Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 31st 1823 and May 8th 1834 (HA).

⁵⁶⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 20th 1820; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 23rd 1832 (HA). One of the doctors happened to be medical inspector J Barry, with whom Hallbeck experienced a lot of difficulties. His (her) orders were rather draconian, with the risk of jeopardising the pastoral and missionary work of the Moravians. In the end Hallbeck's complaints led to Dr Barry being replaced. *Nachrichten* (1827), 256; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 10th 1823 (HA).

⁵⁶⁵ *Nachrichten* (1823), 394.

⁵⁶⁶ And br Thomsen in Apr 1822 – *Nachrichten* (1824), 48.

⁵⁶⁷ *Nachrichten* (1823), 393.

⁵⁶⁸ "...zu neuer Ermunterung dieser höchst bedauernswerthen Menschen." *Nachrichten* (1823), 757.

⁵⁶⁹ *Nachrichten* (1823), 757.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Letter Schonberg (Swellendam) to Van Ryneveld, Sept 11th 1820 (GA).

⁵⁷¹ "Künftigen Montag werden 9 unglückliche Lazarus Kranken von hier nach Hemel en Aarde gebracht werden. Diese Vorkommenheit gibt uns u. der ganzen Gemeinde um so mehr zu schaffen, da es unter ihnen zwei verheirathete Frauen gibt, die von ihren Männern auf die Weise geschieden werden, u. wovon die eine einige kleine Kinder hier zurück lassen muss. Ueberhaupt weiss ich nicht, was aus der ganzen Einrichtung in Hemel en Aarde werden würde, denn die Folgen, wozu sie leitet, sind sehr ernstlicher Art. Ist es wohl recht, mag man wohl fragen, wegen einer Krankheit eine christliche Ehe aufzulösen? Und wenn es recht ist, in welchen Verhältnissen befinden sich die so geschiedenen Eheleute? Kann die gesunde Theil wieder heirathen?" Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 20th 1820 (HA).



Pencil sketch of Hemel en Aarde¹

¹ Since the church appears on the sketch, and Peterleitner started to build it in 1824, the sketch was made after 1824. Noted below the pencilsketch: "1 Krankenhäuser. 2 d. große Hospital 3 Kirche 4 Küche d. Hosp. 5 Wohnhaus des Miss." (HA).

come and live with them.⁵⁷² In 1822, when the Governor Somerset inspected Hemel en Aarde, he was dissatisfied with the conditions and decided to approach the Moravians again.⁵⁷³ He called at Groenekloof, urging the missionary Peterleitner and his English-speaking wife to take charge of the institution.⁵⁷⁴ They were willing to accept, but first referred the matter to Superintendent Hallbeck.

In November 1822 the governor invited Hallbeck to Cape Town to discuss the matter.⁵⁷⁵ Hallbeck saw in this tangible proof of the government's trust in the Moravians.⁵⁷⁶ However, other aspects made Hallbeck hesitant, for Peterleitner would become a Moravian clergyman and a government agent at the same time. Hallbeck came up with an alternative proposal: What if the government made land available to the Moravian Mission in the immediate vicinity of Hemel en Aarde? Then a missionary could visit Hemel en Aarde on a weekly basis. This would also address the issue of Genadendal becoming too populous. The government, though, insisted on a missionary staying at Hemel en Aarde.

In the end Hallbeck gave his consent on the condition that the Moravian Mission would hold ultimate responsibility and would be allowed to establish a mission station there. Furthermore, the salary the government offered Peterleitner had to be written into the mission's financial books of income. The government had no objections to the establishment of a station on part of the land, as well as the other proposals made by Hallbeck.⁵⁷⁷ After all the details were ironed out, Peterleitner and his wife arrived at Hemel en Aarde on January 21st 1823.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷² *Nachrichten* (1823), 394.

⁵⁷³ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Dec 20th 1822 (HA).

⁵⁷⁴ Letter Clemens to Hallbeck, Nov 14th 1822 (MASA).

⁵⁷⁵ Letter Lord Charles Henry Somerset to Hallbeck, Nov 14th & 29th 1822 (GA). *Nachrichten* (1824), 74.

⁵⁷⁶ *Nachrichten* (1824), 76.

⁵⁷⁷ Letter Bird (Colonial Office) to Hallbeck, Dec 9th 1822 (GA); *Protocol HC*, Nov 29th & Dec 18th 1822 (HA).

Hallbeck's questions to the governor: (letter Dec 7th 1822) (GA): “

1. Would the relations of a Missionary, stationed at the Leper Institution, to the Brethren's Church remain unaltered, that is, might he, if circumstances so required, be removed by the Board of Direction established amongst us? And is he, as long as he remains Inspector of the Institution, independent of others as far as regards his clerical functions, and permitted to do his work, in the capacity of Teacher according to the rules & usages of the Brethren's Church?
2. Which are the rules and regulations of the Leper Institution with a view to maintain order & discipline?
3. What yearly Salary would be allowed to the Missionary?
4. Which are the duties, incumbent upon him?
5. Would he be permitted to make any use of the land belonging to the Institution, for instance, having a garden, grazing a couple of cows and some bullocks, if he should want them?
6. Would a dwelling-house be found for him and of what description?
7. Would he be permitted to keep a couple of healthy Hottentots as Servants in his house?

Peterleitner was born in 1769 in Austria from where his parents fled due to the persecution of the Protestant faith. They settled in Prussia where there was religious freedom. Peterleitner first served as a Moravian missionary in Surinam, where he worked for six years. He returned to Europe after the death of his first wife, and in 1810 he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope. On his way to South Africa he married Elisabeth Leech in Manchester, England. In South Africa their language abilities – she was fluent in English and he in Dutch (which he had learnt in Surinam) –

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8. Would any allowance be made for the expence of his first settling, for instance, for the carriage of his goods to the spot and for the few pieces of furniture he may require?

In the answers to these questions I think all the information will be contained, which it is necessary for me & Mr. Leitner to be in possession of, before we can give a final answer.”

The governor’s answer (letter Dec 9th 1822):

“The Relations of the Missionary stationed at the Leper Institution with the Brethren’s Church will remain unaltered, and he will be removable by the Board of Directors, if circumstances should so require, and as long as he continues in charge of the Institution, he will be permitted to do his work according to the rules and usages of the Brethren’s Church.

1. The existing rules and regulations of the Leper Institution will be handed to the Inspector with a view to his altering or rescinding them as they have belonged to a System which has been disapproved.
2. The Salary allowed to the Missionary will be One Thousand Rixdollars per Annum.
3. The Missionary will be required to take the whole charge & management of the Institution, and to administer to the health & comfort of the unfortunate persons, who compose it, agreeable to the Instruction & advice of the Physician, who will visit it periodically.
4. The Inspector will be permitted to make use of any land, which may be available to render his situation comfortable.
5. There is a pretty good house and productive garden on the spot, which will be exclusively appropriated to the Missionary.
6. The Missionary will be allowed to keep such servants as he may require.
7. The expence of his removal will be defrayed by Government, and such few articles of furniture, as he may require as an Outfit, will be procured for him.”

Hallbeck’s final answer to the governor (letter Dec 10th 1822):

“Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your letter of the 9th Instant, containing the answers and explanations of His Excellency the Governor to those queries and remarks, which I had the honor, to lay before His Lordship in my letter of Dec. 7th on the subject of a Missionary of our Church being appointed Superintendent of the Leper-Institution.

In answer to this Communication I beg You, to express to His Excellency the Governor my humble thanks for the lucid explanation, which His Lordship condescends to give upon the subject and to inform His Excellency, that I am fully satisfied with the Salary and other emoluments, which His Excellency is pleased to grant for the Superintendance of the Leper-Institution.

There are indeed one or two points which I could wish to be more fully settled, before a final answer was given, viz. the question about the Regulations of the Establishment and about the practicability of making use of part of the land of the Institution or some neighbouring land for a small separate Missionary Settlement. Yet considering that neither of these points can be decided without a previous acquaintance with the local circumstances, and being aware, that whatever engagement I may enter into, it is subject to the satisfactions of our Directors at home, and must therefore be looked upon as a provisional measure, I think that any further delay would answer no purpose, and therefore I beg You to inform His Excellency, that agreeably to His Excellency’s wish expressed in a former letter to me, Mr. & Mrs. Leitner, tho’ fully aware of the arduous task will in reliance upon the divine assistance undertake the superintendance of the Leper-Institution, and endeavour to be ready to remove thither soon after New Year.

I have the honor &c. H.P. Hallbeck.”

⁵⁷⁸ The care of the Leper Institution was transferred to the Moravians as of January 1st 1823. Letter Schönberg, Dec 19th 1822 (GA).

were to their advantage. While in South Africa he served in Genadendal, Groenekloof and Hemel en Aarde.⁵⁷⁹

List of Healthy children at the Leper Institution June 1823

	Names	Probable Age	To whom the parents wish to entrust their children	Remarks
1.	Jan Carolus	10 Years	Salome Rasmus Genadendal	Agreed to by all concerned
2.	Paul Smit	4 Years	Sophia Paulus Bethelsdorp	
4.	Jacob Habelgarn	4 Years	Abel Friedrich Genadendal	Agreed to by all concerned
8.	Jan Boezak	4 Years	Klaas Michels Genadendal	Agreed to by all concerned
17.	Saartje Jacobs	7 Years	Ephr. Waterboer Genadendal	Ephr. not being at home, the business cannot be settled, but in all probability the wish of the mother will be agreed
26.	Lena Bamboes	3 Years	Daniel Boer Genadendal	
29.	Betje Pharao	7 Years	August Springveld Groen[ekloof]	

Hallbeck visited Hemel en Aarde in order to welcome them and introduce them to the people entrusted to their care.⁵⁸⁰ At that stage there were about 150 lepers (men, women and children),⁵⁸¹ some of them Christians, who came from all over the colony.⁵⁸² Peterleitner expressed, at the beginning of his ministry, the hope *that the Saviour would gather also from these despised people, excluded from society, a reward on his labour.*⁵⁸³ A month later the missionary Fritsch assisted him in the layout of the gardens and water furrows.⁵⁸⁴ In November

⁵⁷⁹ *Nachrichten* (1832), 540-547.

⁵⁸⁰ *Nachrichten* (1824), 765.

⁵⁸¹ *Nachrichten* (1824), 771.

⁵⁸² *Nachrichten* (1826), 236-237. It is not clear exactly what the government policy was with regard to leprosy in those years, whether people infected were obliged to move to the institution. We do read sometimes of people passing away on other mission stations because of leprosy, like a sixteen year old girl in Genadendal in 1825. *Nachrichten* (1828), 104. See also *Nachrichten* (1828), 232.

⁵⁸³ "Daß wir hoffen können, der Heiland werde sich auch aus diesen verachteten und von der menschlichen Gesellschaft ausgeschlossenen Menschen einen Lohn Seiner Arbeit einsammeln." *Nachrichten* (1824), 772.

⁵⁸⁴ *Nachrichten* (1824), 767.

1824 Peterleitner started to build a church with the help of the inhabitants.⁵⁸⁵ Until then the services were conducted in open air.

In 1823 the governor proposed to Hallbeck that the inhabitants of Genadendal should take the responsibility to be the sole suppliers of victuals and commodities to the Lepers' Institution at Hemel en Aarde – a very attractive contract from a financial point of view. Yet the missionaries objected as this would only enhance the hostile attitude of the farmers in the region, since they would be deprived of potential profits.⁵⁸⁶

As for the education of the youth, Hallbeck assisted the lepers by giving them the opportunity to send their children to a school on one of the other mission stations. Most of the children went to Genadendal.⁵⁸⁷ In the Genadendal Archive a list from 1823 is extant, drawn up by Hallbeck, with the names of thirty healthy children from Hemel en Aarde, indicating how Hallbeck tried to organize proper education for them. An extract from the list indicates the following:⁵⁸⁸

Within a few years of his arrival Hallbeck was instrumental in the procurement of a specialized ministry to the lepers at Hemel en Aarde. The negotiations to incorporate this institution into the Moravian Mission took place within the framework of an open and friendly relationship with the governor and the colonial administration. It is also clear that the Moravian missionaries at Genadendal were on good terms with the local Dutch Reformed minister Rev Thom.

Primary sources thus far investigated, profile Hallbeck as an efficient, devoted, respected and learned superintendent of the Moravian Mission in South Africa. He was leading the mission towards a next phase in its history. Our research indicated the key role he played in the establishment of Enon and the incorporation of Hemel en Aarde. Genadendal became in vogue and increasingly a popular place to visit, for people to see the success of an African mission enterprise.

⁵⁸⁵ *Nachrichten* (1826), 249.

⁵⁸⁶ *Protocol HC*, Apr 8th 1823 (HA).

⁵⁸⁷ *Nachrichten* (1826), 243; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 10th 1823 (HA).

⁵⁸⁸ Hallbeck, "List of Healthy children at the Leper Institution whom it is desirable should be otherwise provided for. June 1823 by H.P. Hallbeck" (GA).



Watercolour painting of Hemel en Aarde, possibly painted by or belonging to the missionary Tietze (who ministered in Hemel en Aarde from 1829 – 1838), with lepers in the foreground (see detail)⁵⁸⁹



Genadendal recognised as an exemplary mission station

Genadendal received governors, colonial officials, influential visitors, and many missionaries of other societies. The reaction in most cases was amazement about the fact that such neatness, order, industry and godliness were possible among people not held in high esteem. This also

⁵⁸⁹ HA.

applied for the other Moravian stations.⁵⁹⁰ Missionaries in particular wanted to acquaint themselves with Genadendal, its institutions, the way in which it was organized and managed, as well as the regulations that provided the mutual order in the faith community. This would guide them in the establishment of their mission stations in the interior.⁵⁹¹ Genadendal, not only because it was the oldest mission station in the colony, but also because of the way it was run, started to distinguish itself as the cradle of mission work, also of the other societies.

It was with the help of George Thom, minister of the Dutch Reformed congregation in Caledon close to Genadendal, that Governor Somerset recruited for the Dutch Reformed Church a number of Scottish Presbyterian pastors, amongst others Andrew Murray⁵⁹² (1794-1866 - the father of the later well-known Andrew Murray jr.), who became minister of Graaff Reinet, and Alexander Smith, appointed to Uitenhage.⁵⁹³ Hallbeck refers to them as *Godfearing men. It seems as if they are heartily committed to the expansion of the Gospel in general, and to the wellbeing of our place in particular.*⁵⁹⁴ After his arrival in the Cape Colony in 1822, Andrew Murray paid a visit to Genadendal on August 18th.

It was due to the ministry and influence of the Scottish pastors that the Cape-Dutch and Reformed Church gradually changed its stand with regard to the missionary enterprise in the colony. At its first synod in 1824 it was decided to participate in organized mission work and regulations were approved, opening the door for the churches to send out missionaries.⁵⁹⁵ One of the ways recommended was to assist the already established stations in the Cape Colony. The Moravians were well aware of these developments, for example, we read that in Elim (a mission station to be founded in the late twenties) this synod received attention in the church service and the desire was expressed: *may this ecclesiastical meeting contribute in a powerful way... that the Gospel will be preached everywhere in this country purely and loudly, and that all will be called with renewed commitment towards bringing the message of salvation to embarrassed sinners, that Jesus Christ has come in the world, to save sinners.*⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁰ For example with regard to Enon in 1821 - *Nachrichten* (1823), 191.

⁵⁹¹ "...sich mit unsern Einrichtungen und Ordnungen bekannt zu machen." *Nachrichten* (1823), 390.

⁵⁹² SABW I, 598-601.

⁵⁹³ Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 183.

⁵⁹⁴ "gottesfürchtigen Herren ... Sie schienen an der Ausbreitung des Evangelii im Allgemeinen, und an dem Wohlergehen unsers Ortes insonderheit herzlichen Antheil zu nehmen." *Nachrichten* (1824), 63.

⁵⁹⁵ Veltkamp, "Meent Borchers. Predikant in overgangstijd", 203.

⁵⁹⁶ "Möge diese Kirchen versammlung kräftig dazu mitwirken, daß nach dem Wunsche unsrer lieben Landesobrigkeit das Evangelium überall hier zu Lande rein und lauter verkündigt, und allen um das Heil ihrer Seelen verlegenen Sündern mit erneutem Eifer unablässig zugerufen werde, daß Jesus Christus gekommen ist in die Welt, die Sünder selig zu machen." *Nachrichten* (1826), 974.

Andrew Murray would eventually play a pivotal role supporting the missionary enterprise in South Africa until his death in the 1860's. John Ross (1799-1878),⁵⁹⁷ educated in the classics and theology at the University of Glasgow, also visited Genadendal (in 1823) on his way to the eastern Cape, where he founded the station Lovedale in 1824. Hallbeck would often visit the mission stations Chumie and Lovedale of the Glasgow Missionary Society. There he gained fundamental information concerning the work among the black tribal groups in general and the translation of the Bible into Xhosa in particular. The Moravian missionary Bonatz, in later years ministering to the Thembu at the mission station Silo, participated in the translation project. Hallbeck laid the first contacts between him and the Scottish colleagues.⁵⁹⁸

Reflections on Moravian preaching in South Africa

As superintendent it was also Hallbeck's responsibility to guard against unsound preaching by his colleagues. He was once confronted with a challenge when one of his fellow missionaries in Genadendal, Fritsch, raised and explicated astonishing ideas in his preaching. Hallbeck wrote to Cunow in Herrnhut that, with gratitude to the Lord, he can testify that most of the brothers keep in their preaching to the simple truths of the Gospel. However, *unfortunately one of them, br Fritsch, has started to learn Latin conjugations and declinations and since some time ago has been seduced by his alleged knowledge to exegete and apply Scripture in an arbitrary way, with the consequence that his sermons reveal the most strange things and not seldom heresies.*⁵⁹⁹ Fritsch's preaching – and underpinning theology – disturbed Hallbeck, not only because of its negative impact on the congregation, but also because it would reinforce the perception among many colonists that – as they used to put it sarcastically – *in Africa apart from learned oxen no learned people are of any use.*⁶⁰⁰ In Hallbeck's mind it was clear that Fritsch's anomalous preaching was the consequence of the lack of formal theological education. Hallbeck though was hesitant to address the issue, fearing that it would only make matters worse.⁶⁰¹ According to him, Fritsch also had the attitude of being the *Reformer* among the colleagues.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁷ SABW I, 712-713.

⁵⁹⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 5th 1832 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1835), 77.

⁵⁹⁹ "Br. Fritsch hat das Unglück gehabt, die lateinischen obe(?)dinationen u. Conjugationen zu lernen u. hat sich durch seine vermeintlichen Schulkenntnisse verleiten lassen, seit einiger Zeit sich mit Exegetisiren abzugeben, u. durch seltsame Anwendungen seine Vorträge frappant zu machen, wodurch öfters die wunderlichsten dinge u. nicht selten wirkliche Ketzereien zum Vorschein kommen." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1821 (HA).

⁶⁰⁰ "daß in Africa keine andere Gelehrten, als gelehrte Ochsen (ein hiesiger bauer Ausdruck) taugen" Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1821 (HA).

⁶⁰¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 31st 1823 (HA).

⁶⁰² Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1822 (HA).

He requested Herrnhut to pay attention in their circular letter to the preaching, encouraging everyone to avoid risky explanations in their sermons and simply sharing their experience with the congregants what the blood of the Lamb is doing to the heart.⁶⁰³ This obviously is a reference to what has become known as Zinzendorf's *Blood and Wounds*-theology. Zinzendorf stressed a religion of the heart, a deep mystical experiential faith, which had its beginning in his experience when confronted with the painting *Ecce Homo*. Zinzendorf developed a unique arsenal of theological metaphorical expressions linked and related to the wounds Christ suffered on the cross. True love is to love the broken and bleeding body of Christ, he argued. Loving the disfigured form of the dying Saviour is prerequisite for a missionary, in order to reach out to the rejected and despised peoples of the earth. It was this attachment to the wounded Saviour that led the missionaries to undertake their self-denying enterprises.⁶⁰⁴ Yet in his *Idea Fidei Fratrum* August Spangenberg deliberately avoided the peculiar 'side and wounds' imagery of Zinzendorf,⁶⁰⁵ yet not removing the pivotal place of the cross in Moravian theology .

There was also a deeper conflict between legalism and the evangelical freedom characteristic of the Moravians. Hallbeck wrote that Fritsch is *forgetting the doctrine of atonement or only lets it feature in the background*.⁶⁰⁶ Herrnhut responded to Hallbeck's request more than six months later. In the meantime Hallbeck had no choice but to raise the matter with Fritsch, since the latter even tried to persuade others to embrace his teachings. Hallbeck's admonitions and the eventual communication from Herrnhut had a positive result and in a letter to Schneider in 1824, Hallbeck mentioned that Fritsch offered apologies for his aberrations.⁶⁰⁷ Fritsch continued to serve the South African mission for many years and he even married Hallbeck's widow in 1844.

None of Hallbeck's sermons are extant. Evidence suggests that Hallbeck was not accustomed to write down his sermons.⁶⁰⁸ The Genadendal preaching book testifies that he preached often, on Sundays and during the week. The evening services during the week had the character of a devotional with Scripture reading, singing and prayer. The traveller Teenstra recorded the following about such an evening service in the late 1820's: *In the evening at 7 there was a church*

⁶⁰³ "alle gewagten Erklärungen zu vermeiden u. einfältig nach eigene Erfahrung den Zuhörern zu erzählen, was des Lammes blut an den Herzen thut" Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1821 (HA).

⁶⁰⁴ Atwood "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology", 43.

⁶⁰⁵ Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 69-74, 79-80, 135.

⁶⁰⁶ "u. da er vor einiger Zeit anfing, es darin besonders arg zu machen, die Versöhnungs-Lehre entweder ganz zu vergessen oder im Hintergrund zu lassen" Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Oct 21st 1822 (HA).

⁶⁰⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 14th 1824 (HA).

⁶⁰⁸ *Periodical Accounts*, XV, 483. Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 107. However we do know some Bible texts he preached about, like on Sunday Jan 16th 1828 Hallbeck preached in Hemel en Aarde on 1 Corinthinas 3:11: "For no one can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ". *Nachrichten* (1830), 826.

service, consisting of the Reverend Hallbeck reading the history of Lazarus, who was raised from the dead by Jesus. Furthermore there was singing, and after half an hour everything was finished.⁶⁰⁹ Apart from preaching on the Moravian mission stations, Hallbeck also preached – when requested so – in other churches. On the request of the officers, he preached in English to the soldiers in the Reformed Church of Uitenhage in 1819.⁶¹⁰

The Commission of Enquiry in 1823

After five years of ministry in South Africa, Hallbeck was well informed of the colonial situation. He enjoyed the trust of the colonial governor and his administration. One example of this was the fact that Lord Somerset sent in 1819 a questionnaire to Hallbeck, asking his advice on how to accommodate the British Settlers, who were on their way from England. Somerset actually had in mind to settle them in Genadendal-like towns, especially in view of economical viability. For this reason Somerset required more detail information about Genadendal in particular, and the Moravian settlements in general. Hallbeck gave him honest answers, stressing that an establishment like Genadendal would only be possible if built on the foundation of a shared faith.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁹ “Des avonds te 7 uren was er kerk, bestaande daarin, dat de heer Halbeck de geschiedenis van Lazarus, die door Jezus uit den dooden opgewekt werd, voorlas. Verder werd er gezongen, en na een half uur was alles afgelopen.” Teenstra, *De Vruchten Mijner Werkzaamheden*, 137.

⁶¹⁰ *Narrative of a Visit made in 1819, to the New Missionary Settlement of the United Brethren, Enon, on the Witte Revier. In the District of Uitenhage, South Africa.*

⁶¹¹ This questionnaire is still in the Genadendal Archive: Hallbeck, *Copy of a series of queries received from the Dep. Col. Secretary in Dec. 1819, with the answers, annexed; with accompanying letter Dec 11th 1819.*

-What time is calculated to elapse before a person newly admitted repays to the Institution by his or her labor the expense incurred on entrance? Hallbeck's answer: The missionaries never found it advisable to incur expences for Khoikhoi on their admittance to the Institution, but assisted them by finding work for them for which they were reasonably paid, lending them seed, which they were expected to repay immediately after the harvest. This method is the more necessary because if outward advantages were held out to them on their first entrance, many might request admittance out of sinister motives, which in the end would prove the ruin of the Institution.

-Are families ever admitted, and if so, is any difference made in the mode of lodging & victualling? Hallbeck's answer: Families are admitted, and it is expected of each family thus admitted, immediately to set about building or purchasing a house. As to victualling it is left, occasional aid excepted, to the care of the people themselves. And a Khoikhoi is not so much at a loss for victuals as a European, because he finds in the ground a number of eatable bulbs, to which the latter is not accustomed.

-Are the Hottentots staying in dormitories and are there general tables? Hallbeck's answer: As for the Khoikhoi: no. The missionaries eat at a common table, but have their separate dwellings.

-How are women & children under 12 years rendered available, in aiding their maintenance by their labor? Hallbeck's answer: Women & children may, I think, best render themselves useful, if the families have gardens, in which even the feeble may be employed in various ways.

-Is the land cultivated for the general good? And if so, how is superior industry rewarded and indolence punished? Or in fact, how is a reasonable degree of labor compelled? Hallbeck's answer: According to the extent of land and number of inhabitants, the corn & gardenland is divided into lots, which are distributed by one of the missionaries, who has the superintendence of this concern, & thus each has his separate garden & field. A certain portion of land is reserved for rewarding the industrious by increasing the extent of their land, and the indolent are punished by the diminution or loss thereof. It may be asked, by what means the people are brought to obey the decision of the missionaries? – In the early period of the mission the inhabitants agreed about certain rules, and now no stranger is admitted, before he gives his free consent to these regulations, which are read and fully explained to him. And these rules or as we call

The fact that Hallbeck was approached again from the side of the government in 1823, is proof that they valued his opinion. In November 1823 he was requested to compile an extensive report on the colony to be submitted to the Commission of Enquiry, appointed by the British Parliament, to investigate the state of in particular the Khoikhoi and slaves in the colony. The appointment of the Commission should be seen against the background of the movement in Britain for the abolition of slavery, a movement in which early 19th century Protestant evangelicalism played a significant role. Able Christian parliamentarians and leaders like Wilberforce and Clarkson distinguished themselves and provided the movement with integrity. Broadly speaking it stimulated the missionary enterprise, Christian involvement in the care and upliftment of the poor and suffering (in the context of the Industrial Revolution), the exposure to and awareness of societal injustice in terms of (Christian) social-ethical standards and eventually the concern for a similar state of affairs elsewhere in the British Empire. On his return to England in 1823 the superintendent of the LMS, Dr John Philip, provided Wilberforce with information regarding the appalling condition of Khoikhoi and slaves in the Cape Colony, due to injustice, oppression and the denial of any civil rights. This led to the appointment of the Commission of Enquiry: JT Brigge, MAJ Colebrook and J Gregory.⁶¹²

During his first sojourn in South Africa (1817-1823) Philip became lionized in demarcating the injustices committed towards Khoikhoi and slaves in the colony. Obviously he endeavoured to raise succour from the different missionary societies. In 1821 he visited Genadendal, trying to get the Moravians' explicit support for his cause. Hallbeck however was careful not to be drawn by him. Philip complained – as Hallbeck wrote to Herrnhut – that the Moravians were unwilling to be in the forefront like them (Philip and his adherents). Hallbeck realised that the Moravian Mission's main purpose was broader than political and social lobbying. Neither was their primary aim in the expansion of civilization and the interests of the British Empire. The preaching of the

them "Brotherly Agreement" contain the above mentioned regulation for rewarding the industrious & punishing the indolent.

-Is it found, that some assistance is required from without even for those persons who have become the most productive in the Institution? And to what amount? Hallbeck's answer: An industrious person requires no assistance from without, but may live comfortably and have something to spare for assisting the needy.

Nevertheless, in this questionnaire Hallbeck in all honesty raised his doubts whether a Genadendal-like settlement would be viable for the new British settlers, and in particular because of the following reason:

"Permit me to say, that I believe, that an Institution composed of Europeans ... if it be established upon any other principles, than those which prevail in usual villages, that is, if the individuals should be called upon to submit to restraints and to make sacrifices for the common good to which they are not accustomed, it cannot be maintained. The Emperor Joseph II of Austria having seen one of the establishments of the United Brethren in Germany endeavoured to imitate it, but failed entirely. If I am permitted to speak my opinion freely, I must add, that a certain spirit of brotherly love or charity, a gift of God, almost as much unknown in the so called religious as in the irreligious world is the grand foundation stone of an Institution like that, to which I suppose Your query alludes."

⁶¹² PH Kapp, "Dr John Philip se koms na Suid-Afrika en sy werksaamhede tot 1828." *Verhandeling ingelewer ter verkryging van die graad MA. Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1966, 241 ff, 247, 253.*

Gospel and the repentance of the heathen was the first priority. The ultimate goal of the Moravians to found a congregation (like Herrnhut) entailed that those who joined the mission were to be settled in a specific place, not the least in order to maintain the necessary church discipline. These places were availed by the government.⁶¹³

The LMS blamed the Moravians for not collaborating with them with regard to the civil rights of the Khoikhoi. Hallbeck wrote to Herrnhut: *Because of the continuous shouting of the missionaries of the London Society the case of the Hottentots has come before the English Parliament, and a commission is probably already underway to investigate the matter. The English missionaries have lamented loudly that we don't want to join them... May the Saviour grant us the necessary wisdom, that we don't damage his work!*⁶¹⁴ But, Hallbeck realised, Philip's methods could perhaps do the Khoikhoi more harm than good. This does not mean that Hallbeck was indifferent to the issue. In welcoming the support provided by the colonial government to the Lepers' Institution at Hemel en Aarde, he informed Schneider in a letter in October 1823 that *these and many other measures of our government prove clearly that the religious spirit of the motherland exercises an important influence on the colonial politics. Previously the objective was exclusively to cultivate the land and make it fertile, even if the most holy rights of mankind were destroyed in the process. From this attitude arose the slave trade and the unfair treatment of many of the raw nations. But in the present they realise that man is worth more than the lump of clay he is made from, and they have started to act also according to this conviction.*⁶¹⁵

In February 1823 Lord Charles Somerset issued a proclamation aimed to advance the situation of and general conduct towards the slaves, which was welcomed by the Moravian Mission.⁶¹⁶

Amongst others it stipulated that:

- baptised slaves have the right to contract legal marriages in the church;
- their children ought to be baptised;
- married slaves were not to be sold separately any longer;

⁶¹³ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

⁶¹⁴ "Durch das beständige Geschrey der Missionarien von der London Societät ist die Sache der Hottentotten vor das Englische Parlemt gekommen, u. Commissionäre sind wahrscheinlich schon auf der Reise hieher, um die Sache zu untersuchen. Die Englischen Missionarien haben laut darüber geklagt, dass wir uns nicht in ihre ... mengen wollen ... der Heiland schenke uns die nöthige Weisheit, dass wir in seiner Sache nichts verderben!" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 11th 1823 (HA).

⁶¹⁵ "diese u. manche andere Maasregeln unserer Regierung beweisen aufs deutlichste, daß der Religiöse Geist des Mutterlandes einen wichtigen Einfluß auf die Colonial-Politik äussert. Ehedem ging alles bestreben darauf, das land zu veredeln u. fruchtbar zu machen, wenn auch die heiligsten Rechte der Menschheit dabei zu Grunde gingen. Daher der Slavenhandel, u. die unbillige behandlung so mancher rohen Völkerschaften. Jetzt sieht man doch ein, daß der Mensch mehr werth ist, als der Erden-Kloß, woraus er gemacht wurde – u. man fängt auch an, dieser Ueberzeugung gemäß zu handeln." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 10th 1823 (HA).

⁶¹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1824), 869.

- slave labour on Sundays that was not strictly necessary was forbidden;
- slaves had to receive decent clothing;
- slave children had to receive a decent education;
- the testimony of a baptised slave would have as much weight in court as that of any other Christian.

During the first two decades of the 19th century a small part of the inhabitants on the mission stations were also liberated slaves and in the Genadendal Archive one can still find some papers issued by the *Office of Enregisterment of Slaves*.⁶¹⁷

The Commission of Enquiry (Brigge and Colebrook) visited Genadendal on November 22nd 1823. During their time there, Hallbeck was requested to give his assessment of the colony. It was clear to Hallbeck that they had the best intentions with regard to improving the circumstances of the Khoikhoi.⁶¹⁸ Although he entitled his report a *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present State of the Missions of the U. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope*, it is a thorough reflection and interpretation of the context. In the next paragraph Hallbeck's interpretation of the colony is represented and analysed.

A Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present State of the Moravian Missions in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope

Hallbeck compiled a thorough document to serve the request of the Commission of Enquiry and submitted it to them.⁶¹⁹ A German translation *Ueber die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Africa* von H.P. Hallbeck – *Die Hottentotten und die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Africa im Jahr 1823* – was sent to Herrnhut.⁶²⁰ As such it would serve the UEC as a comprehensive report and assessment of the South African Missionary enterprise.

⁶¹⁷ (GA - I3c4a, I3cb4, I3cl2).

⁶¹⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 5th 1823 (HA).

⁶¹⁹ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA). A summary of this report is also found in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 81-104.

⁶²⁰ *Ueber die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Africa* von H.P. Hallbeck. *Die Hottentotten und die Mißion der Brüder in Süd-Africa im Jahr 1823*. Inhalt: Erster Abschnitt. Character u. sittlicher Zustand der Europäer, ihrer Abkömmlinge u. ihrer Slaven. Zweiter Abschnitt. Körperbau, Fähigkeiten u. sittlicher Charackter der Hottentotten. Dritter Abschnitt. Ursprung der gegenwärtigen äußern Lage der Hottentotten im Allgemeinen nebst kurzer darstellung ihrer jetzigen dienstbarkeit. Vierter Abschnitt. Verhältnisse der Mißionarien und der unter ihrer Pflege stehenden Hottentotten zu den Colonisten. Fünfter Abschnitt. Verhältnisse der hiesigen Mißion zu der Landes-Obrigkeit. Sechster Abschnitt. Verhältnisse der Brüder-Mißionarien zu den Mißionarien anderer Kirchen und Gesellschaften. Siebenter Abschnitt. Ueber das äußere durchkommen der Einwohner unserer Mißion's Etablissements. Achter Abschnitt. Ueber den innern Zustand unserer Africanischen aus den Heiden gesammelten Gemeine. Beilage. Ordnungen der Gemeine zu Gnadenthal (HA & MASA).

The document is subdivided in the following chapters:

First Part: Character and morality of the Europeans, their descendants and their slaves.

Second Part: Physical characteristics, skills and moral character of the Khoikhoi.

Third Part: Origin of the present external conditions of the Khoikhoi in general with brief description of their current servitude.

Fourth Part: Relationship between the missionaries and the Khoikhoi under their care on the one hand, and their relationship with the colonists on the other.

Fifth Part: Relationship of the mission with the local government.

Sixth Part: Relationship between the Moravian missionaries and the missionaries of other churches and societies.

Seventh Part: How the inhabitants of our mission stations make a living.

Eighth Part: About the inner state of our congregations consisting of Africans from pagan origin.

The structure and entitlement of the subdivisions indicates Hallbeck's trajectory of thinking. The first three parts are dedicated to the main groups that constitute the population of the Colony: the Europeans, the slaves and the Khoikhoi. No mention is made of the black tribes or nations, since they were not part of the colony. The fourth part of the *Sketch* alludes to the inter-relations of these groups in the colony, followed by an explication of the position of the Moravian Mission in the colony.

Although – Hallbeck wrote – people visiting South Africa for a short period whilst anchored in Cape Town could get the idea that Africa is a paradise with an extraordinary abundance of wheat, vineyards and fruit, this is not true. The Cape Town region does not represent the interior of the country. There is a substantial shortage of water. In fact Hallbeck describes South Africa as one of the poorest countries in the world.⁶²¹

Hallbeck gave background regarding the different population groups in the colony and how they relate to one other. For the year 1821 the official statistics were:

⁶²¹ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

Total inhabitants of the Cape Colony	108,000
Whites	46,000
Free Khoikhoi	28,000
Price Slaves	1,369
Slaves	32,000

In the first part of his report to the Commission of Enquiry Hallbeck elaborates on the character and moral condition of the European segment of the population.⁶²² This part of the population in the Cape Colony can be divided into two components. Firstly, Hallbeck wrote, there are Europeans from Dutch and French descent that came in the 17th century. They are identified by Hallbeck as *Afrikaner*. Among them the Dutch element is predominant. Lately, he noted, many immigrants from England settled in the eastern part of the colony, constituting the second component of the population.

We will now first give a summary of how Hallbeck described the *Afrikaner* in this document. Hallbeck starts to convey an impression new immigrants from Europe use to form about them, namely that the *Afrikaners* are lazy, ignorant and completely uninformed as to current issues in Europe, which is not altogether untrue according to him. Life on an African farm is uncomplicated and undemanding. One will often meet the farmer standing barefoot at his door, surrounded by a crowd of naked slaves. The houses are simple without glass windows and not much furniture. Visiting Europeans often ask themselves whether it is not possible for the *Afrikaner* – with such labour force around – to secure a better living. Those who are better informed know however that this is the consequence of one and a half centuries of living in isolation. These people do not feel the need to change, also in view of the fact that there are very little market opportunities. Between Stellenbosch and Uitenhage (a distance of about 700 km) there are no settlements or towns of note that would provide a market for their products. Neither are there any harbours on this enormous stretch of coast. Hallbeck observes that he once asked a farmer why he had not sown ten times as much as he did. His answer was: should I work towards my own destruction? The farmer was, of course, referring to the high risk of crop failure in the African climate. Within the circumstances – Hallbeck concludes – these people prove capable of maintaining a proper household.

⁶²² Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

Hallbeck then turns to the *Afrikaner's* characteristics. They are very hospitable. They will provide food and drink to travellers without asking any money. With regard to their religion, religious devotion is found only among the poor. Amid the rich and those who live close to the city (Cape Town) religion has made place for materialism. There are for example many religious farmers in the neighbourhood of Genadendal – a poor rural area. But in the vicinity of Groenekloof – not far from Cape Town – the neighbouring farmers are rich and irreligious. With regard to morality Hallbeck complains about lying and ambiguity. Craftiness is regarded a virtue. *Yes* does not necessarily means *yes*. Hallbeck tries to explain this from the fact that the farmers originated from the lower social classes in Europe.

With regard to the sixth commandment (*You shall not commit adultery* in the Lutheran tradition) he writes that none of the bigger cities in Europe will beat this colony. The slave trade – the blackest of evils that must lead to the destruction of a country – played a definitive role in this. Many a white man has on his farm his own children as slaves. He can even sell his own flesh and blood! Many illegitimate children are also conceived by the colonists with their Khoikhoi female labourers. In those parts of the colony where the white population has been established for a couple of decades already, one would rarely meet a Khoikhoi that is of pure race. They are all to a larger or lesser degree mixed with white blood.

The fact that the Moravians – especially in the first decades of their mission work – were often confronted with animosity from the side of these settlers, was due to the effect their arrival on the scene had. The settlers often refrained from preaching the Gospel to the Khoikhoi and educating them, in fear of losing them as a labour force. The same applied to the slaves in their service, since according to Dutch legislation, it was not allowed to keep a fellow Christian enslaved. The effect of the advent of the mission stations was that the Khoikhoi were not solely dependent on the settlers for their survival any longer, Hallbeck notes. The settlers feared the decrease of their labour force, which would have a negative influence on their financial position. For this reason the Swellendam and Graaff Reinet revolutionaries also aimed to destroy Genadendal in 1795-1796. Against their will the missionaries were caught between the Khoikhoi and the settlers. Hallbeck notes that had the stations not enjoyed the protection of the government, they would be unable to withstand the pressure from the side of the settlers.

Subsequently, in his report to the Commission of Enquiry, Hallbeck dealt with the slaves. He subdivides them in three groups: the real slaves, the so called price slaves, and the emancipated

slaves. Hallbeck regards the fact that most colonists do not provide any religious instruction to their slaves as one of the most significant predicaments of the colony. The reason for this is that they fear that religious instruction would lead to equality with the European population. Consequently most slaves are either infidels or Muslims. For the rest – Hallbeck wrote – the slaves are treated fairly well by their owners, and their offences and misbehaviour are often overlooked for if any attention is paid, it will reduce the slave’s market value. Furthermore, should a slave be imprisoned, his labour would be compromised. The slaves are aware of these peculiar circumstances and that makes them arrogant towards their owners.⁶²³

For obvious reasons Hallbeck in his report to the Commission of Enquiry also paid attention to the Khoikhoi, their history and present circumstances, of which we will now give a summary. According to him the word *Hottentot* was coined by the first European settlers. It was a pejorative imitation of the language of these people that was for them incomprehensible. Hallbeck mentions that they call themselves the *Koi-Koin*, which means *the real people*.⁶²⁴

He gives an elaborate description of the Khoikhoi with regard to body stature, character and morality.⁶²⁵ They are small people. An adult male would rarely weigh more than 42 kg. Those who have white ancestors are bigger. According to their own testimony they are originally not an African people. They arrived on the African shores by ship. Hallbeck had interviews in Genadendal with some of the very last native speakers of the Khoikhoi language. It struck him that there were some linguistic similarities with languages from the East, like the nations living on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal, where the Moravians were also active in mission work. Hallbeck notes in his report that the language of the Khoikhoi is on the brink of extinction. In Genadendal there are only a few old people left who know it.⁶²⁶

Before the Europeans came, the Khoikhoi did not form a political unity. Each *kraal* or family had its own leader, later called *captains* by the Europeans. The Khoikhoi claimed that the San descended from naughty Khoikhoi children, who had fled into the bush because of fear of punishment.⁶²⁷

Hallbeck points to the fact that the Khoikhoi are not a homogenous group. Everyone born of a ‘coloured woman’ is called a “Hottentot”, whether the father is European, Asian or Afrikaner. For

⁶²³ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

⁶²⁴ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

⁶²⁵ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

⁶²⁶ In the Herrnhut Archive there is a concise dictionary, in the handwriting of one of the Moravian missionaries, showing a number of Khoikhoi words with their Dutch translations noted next to them.

⁶²⁷ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

that reason their skin colour varies from the brown of the south European nations to the black of the black nations.



Adam Stompje and Leberecht Aris, indicated during the governor's visit to Genadendal in 1855 as the last "echten Hottentotten" (real KhoiKhoi). Photo taken in Dec 1860.⁶²⁸

There is a widespread perception in the colony that the Khoikhoi are stupid, and therefore lack intelligence and common sense. Hallbeck is of a different opinion. Khoikhoi children are just as talented and educable as any other. There is nothing questionable about their intelligence. What is lacking however is motivation and determination. Hallbeck speculates whether these negative traits have developed through many generations. The consequence however is that they have difficulty in making any undertaking successful, whether agriculture, trade or business. They always need alternation, not able to concentrate long on the same thing.

⁶²⁸ HA. Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 151.

Hallbeck continues in his report that in general the Khoikhoi are very indifferent toward the future. To think a month ahead is already too much, not to mention a year or to save for old age. When the storeroom is full, nothing is saved. Only when it is empty it will be admitted that perhaps it would have been better to have saved something. The old people depend on their children to take care of them in future.

Hallbeck notes that it is common for men to beat their wives. A Khoikhoi proverb ran as follows: without beating no wife can be controlled. According to Hallbeck adultery was punished in the old Khoikhoi culture, but nowadays immorality is as widespread as among the other population groups. Theft was uncommon in the old Khoikhoi culture. Furthermore the Khoikhoi are very hospitable, often – Hallbeck adds – to their own disadvantage. In general – Hallbeck continues – the Khoikhoi have a bad reputation for deceit and lying, but their worst characteristic is their addiction to strong liquor. This addiction plagues them much more than the white colonists. Before the colonists came, they already made liquor from wild honey, and this is still happening in the interiors of the country. Yet, the Europeans introduced brandy. Drinking parties are wide spread, often accompanied by violence and killings. Hallbeck concludes that the Khoikhoi – as he knows them presently – are a weak people, drifted along by the winds. They will easily follow anyone, whether it is a friend or a seducer. That is why the missionaries did not encounter much resistance against the Gospel. However, this does not guarantee spiritual perseverance. They can easily fall back to pagan customs or be influenced by others. Traditionally the Khoikhoi were animists.

In dealing with the Europeans, the Khoikhoi did not realise the value of their land, exchanging it for tobacco, beads and the like. They also did not realise that they were henceforth expected not to return to that land. Consequently, they were pushed beyond the Hottentots-Holland Mountains. The Dutch Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel had put soldiers at the Hottentots-Holland pass to prevent them from returning. According to Hallbeck this happened around 1700. Hallbeck adds that other methods were also used to obtain land from the Khoikhoi: a settler would build a new house on the border of his farm close to a Khoikhoi kraal. He would then sell it or give it to his son. The new occupant would consequently complain at the castle in Cape Town that he does not have enough fields for his cattle. The government would then allocate land to the size which one could circumvent in half an hour. As a result of these practices the Khoikhoi were pushed farther away. The Moravian Mission also experienced this. “From the beginning of

the Mission the neighbouring farmers also continued their well-known system of encroachment upon the land occupied by the Hottentots and Missionaries.”⁶²⁹

More farms were also in the interest of the colonial government, thus they turned a blind eye towards the rights of the Khoikhoi. This system of encroachment continued throughout the 18th century. When the Moravian Mission was resumed in the 1790’s, almost all the Khoikhoi kraals that had been there in the days of Georg Schmidt, had vanished. The Khoikhoi were impoverished and forced to work on the settler farms, though they were not allowed to be enslaved, according to Dutch legislation. But, as a matter of fact, it was cheaper for the settlers to use them than to buy expensive slaves. Hallbeck adds that their voice of protest was not heard in Europe. Europeans had hardly any idea of what was going on in the colonies. And the Dutch colonial government had no long-term interests in the colonised territories. What they had on their mind was commerce.

At the end of the 18th century the total *destruction* (Hallbeck uses the word “Vernichtung”!) of the Khoikhoi people was only a matter of time. Hallbeck sees it as the merciful guidance of the Saviour that the Moravian Mission had, at that point in time, arrived on the scene. In a few years hundreds of Khoikhoi sought refuge on the mission stations. Even in his own days – Hallbeck writes – the predominant perception among the settlers is that the *white man* was born to order and relax, and the *coloured* to obey and work.

The living standards of the Khoikhoi are often worse than those of the slaves. Fear of losing the Khoikhoi as a labour force often prevented the settlers to teach them the Christian faith and educate them. This also explains the animosity of the settlers against the Moravians, especially in the first decades of their mission work. The settlers often used the perception that the Khoikhoi are too stupid, as an excuse not to evangelise them. The farmers opposed the establishment of mission stations at first, since it was in their interest to keep the Khoikhoi dependent on the farms. However, later their attitude improved as a result of the peaceful and enduring labour of the missionaries. According to Hallbeck they held the Brethren in high esteem but were against the mission stations as such and still endeavoured to keep the Khoikhoi on the farms, for instance by giving them credit for future labour in the form of wine. From time to time only

⁶²⁹ Hallbeck, *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present state of the Mission of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope. Written for His Majesty’s Commissioners of Inquiry. Genadendal 14th Nov. 1823* (MASA).

protection of the government prevented them from taking further steps against the mission stations.⁶³⁰



*Elderly Khoikhoi Woman from Silo. Photo taken in 1864.*⁶³¹

In view of the Khoikhoi's present circumstances, as well as the disposition of their collective character, Hallbeck identified an important role for the missionaries: "The chief of these difficulties is, no doubt, that peculiar feature in the Hottentot character, want of energy of mind, by which every good impression, every laudable resolution is but too soon effaced and forgotten,

⁶³⁰ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA) Part 1-4; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 159.

⁶³¹ HA. Cf. Krüger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 153.

and he is rendered unable to go through any undertaking, which requires steadiness, perseverance & independence of character. It is here out of place to enter into an investigation of the cause of this weakness, and to endeavour to propose a remedy. Suffice it to say, that in all probability a great variety of unfavourable circumstances have combined to produce this evil, and that for this very reason it is difficult to point out a cure. The only observation I have to offer is this that just on account of this peculiar feature, which renders the poor Hottentots so liable to be misled, every encouragement should be given to establishments, where he is sure to have good advisers, and gradually acquire more strength of mind, which however must be the work of generations.”⁶³²

In his report to the Commission of Enquiry Hallbeck generally expressed much appreciation for the Cape colonial government.⁶³³ The mission is supported and favoured by the government in several respects. With regard to religious and doctrinal freedom there is nothing to complain about. The mission stations are not under the control of any (state) church. Hallbeck did raise questions however with regard to the colonial government’s attitude towards, and dealing with, the issue of property rights. Despite many efforts, and notwithstanding instructions from the British government, the property rights of Genadendal, Groenekloof and Enon remained undefined.⁶³⁴ Confusion with regard to property rights could have a negative influence on the mission work. The ultimate step of church discipline was to expel someone from the station. But what judicial right do the missionaries have to do this, suppose a person would refuse to leave, if there were no property rights? This issue could therefore jeopardise the spiritual condition of the congregation.

Hallbeck also complained about the fact that the Khoikhoi men of the mission stations were always recruited for military service, whereas those working on the farms were excused from it.⁶³⁵ The colonial government had to make a mind shift. They wrongly regarded the mission stations only as places for the old, weak and children, and when the latter had grown up, they had to go and work on the farms or become soldiers. This policy would eventually lead to the destruction of the mission. The mission stations strived for the repentance of the heathen and a

⁶³² Hallbeck, *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present state of the Mission of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope. Written for His Majesty’s Commissioners of Inquiry. Genadendal 14th Nov. 1823.* (MASA).

⁶³³ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

⁶³⁴ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823*, Part 5 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 159.

⁶³⁵ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 159.

lasting change and upliftment in their living conditions. The missionaries saw their converts as humans, not only as a means to different ends.⁶³⁶

Furthermore Hallbeck criticized the restrictions put on the freedom of movement of the Khoikhoi. In 1809 the Governor Caledon, in connection with the Pass Law, subdivided the Khoikhoi in two groups: those on the farms and vagabonds. However he failed to classify those living on the mission stations as a separate group. The Pass Law caused the Khoikhoi to stay on the farms, and hampered their movement to the mission stations. Hallbeck wrote: "In the Proclamation of Lord Caledon relative to the Hottentots of 1809 no notice whatsoever is taken of the Hottentots residing in Missionary Establishments, and the consequence is, that they are labouring under great hardships. In the 16th §. for instance it is provided, that Hottentots going about the country must be provided with a pass – and it is required, that in this pass be stated, where they go, & how long they are permitted to remain on the road; - and if they deviate from the route, or are detained by some accident, they are treated as Vagabonds. Accordingly, if a Hottentot leaves one of the Settlements to seek work with the farmers he must be provided with such a pass by one of the missionaries; but now such a Hottentot mostly goes on speculation and it is therefore a great hardship to him to be obliged to fix place & time, of which he knows nothing himself. His intention is for instance to proceed to French-hoek, but having got half way, he hears, that he may find more profitable employment nearer home, but sideway from his

⁶³⁶ Earlier in 1823 Hallbeck secured that part of the salary of the men who were recruited for military service by the government came directly to their wives and children, in that way preventing the unfortunate circumstance where some men would squander their income before returning home to the mission station (Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 7th 1823 (HA).

In February 1823 Captain Somerset, son of the governor, arrived in Genadendal accompanied by the commander of a battle ship, presenting to Hallbeck a letter from the Colonial Secretary Bird, recruiting as many as possible Khoikhoi from Genadendal for military service, in view of guarding the safety of the colony's borders. Twenty Rix Dollars per recruit was offered, plus food supplies for their wives. (*Nachrichten* (1824), 766).

Later in 1823 Captain R. Aitchison came to Genadendal to enlist more men. He tried to do it by means of intoxicating liquor. The missionaries quickly put a stop to that. The result was that no one was willing to sign on. In reaction Somerset wrote a letter to Hallbeck, requesting him to speak with the men, stressing that they are called to their own land, of which they are the aborigines. Somerset also explained the advantages of the offer: only seven years of service, same pay as for British soldiers, full support for the families, possible promotion to higher ranks, and a chaplain and school for their benefit at Grahamstown. Somerset ventilated that according to him they were ungrateful for what he had done for them, and hinted that he might be forced to commandeer them. In reaction Hallbeck spoke to the men and some enlisted.

Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 10th 1823 & Apr 28th 1824 (HA): "erschien der Werb-Officier in der gewißen Hoffnung außer schon erhaltenen 13 Recruten noch wenigstens 30 bis 40 zu erhalten; u. da er nach der ersten Unterredung mit den Hottentotten auch nicht einen bekam, so wurde er unzufrieden, zumal sein Versuch die Hottentotten mittelst starke Getränke zu gewinnen, durch unsern ... Protest gegen solches benehmen vereitelt worden. Er schrieb daher in böser Laume einen brief an den Gouverneur, u. bat um Erlaubniß, die Leute zwingen zu dürfen. Darauf erhielt ich einen brief vom Lord Charles, woraus deutlich zu ersehen war, daß der Captain unsern Hottentotten verläumdete hatte ... Zugleich hielten wir es für Pflicht, eine ausführliche Antwort auf den brief Seiner Excellence zu geben, worin die falschen beschuldigungen des Officiers widersprochen wurden u. die Verhältnisse der hiesigen Hottentotten dem Gouverneur vorgelegt. – Es erfolgte darauf ein kurzes Antwort-Schreiben des Gouverneurs, woraus wir sahen, daß unsere Vorstellungen nicht unbeachtet blieben – Wir sind froh, daß diese unangenehme Sache am Ende sind, u. daß unsere Gemeine mit einem blauen Auge davon gekommen ist."

route; and now he has no chance of availing himself of the opportunity. He must either return home for another pass or he must run the risk of being sent to the prison as a Vagabond ... this is surely inconsistent with the title of a free labourer, and I should therefore propose, that instead of such a pass be substituted a Certificate by the missionary, that the Hottentot belongs to such a Settlement, to be valid for a certain period of time. In this manner free blacks go around the country with no other Passports, than their letters of Manumission.”⁶³⁷ But although Hallbeck was critical, this didn't mean that he stimulated the Khoikhoi towards civil disobedience.

Hallbeck also paid attention to life on the mission stations in his report to the Commission of Enquiry. About the collegial relations he wrote that although there are mistakes and shortcomings, in general a spirit of love and unity reigns. The missionaries in each place are living together like a family – referring to the Moravian habit of having a common table where the meals were enjoyed. Of course this can give rise to many frictions, but real conflicts occur seldom. They find unity in striving together to win souls for the Saviour.⁶³⁸

The Genadendal community, he informs his readers, was subdivided into different groups according to their spiritual growth: not yet baptised; candidates for baptism; baptised; baptised under discipline; observers of the Lord's Supper; and those attending the Lord's Supper. Furthermore the congregation was also subdivided according to gender, age and marital status. These groups were known as *choirs*.⁶³⁹

Hallbeck describes the ministry in Genadendal as follows:⁶⁴⁰

Sunday: *In the morning* liturgy and preaching, thereafter baptism if needed
 In the afternoon teaching of the candidates for the Lord's Supper every second week
 In the evening every fourth week the Lord's Supper in two sections; also baptism of adults; every quarter of a year readmission into congregation
 Two Sunday afternoons per quarter of a year free

Monday: *Early in the morning* religious teaching for adults
 In the afternoon religious teaching for married women and widows

⁶³⁷ Hallbeck, *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present state of the Mission of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope. Written for His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry. Genadendal 14th Nov. 1823* (MASA).

⁶³⁸ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

⁶³⁹ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

⁶⁴⁰ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

In the evening classes in *Harmony* (compilation of the four Gospels) or *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (summary of Biblical doctrine written by Spangenberg)

Tuesday: *In the afternoon* religious teaching for the older girls and unmarried women
In the evening devotional hour with preaching

Wednesday: *In the morning* address and religious teaching for the children
In the evening address to the partakers of the Lord's Supper

Thursday: *In the afternoon* religious teaching for the older girls and unmarried women
In the evening devotional hour with preaching

Friday: *Early in the morning* religious teaching for the adult men
In the afternoon religious teaching for the married women and widows
In the evening Bible reading and passion liturgy

Saturday: *Early in the morning* teaching of the candidates for baptism
In the evening address to the baptised and those readmitted

On the first Sunday of every month a special prayer was held for the furtherance of God's kingdom on earth.

Hallbeck's efforts in compiling this elaborate report to the Commission of Enquiry of the British Parliament was not in vain as the commission accepted Hallbeck's explanations. They indeed gave a very favourable report of the Moravian Mission, and the colonial government again pledged its favourable disposition.⁶⁴¹ It is evident that Hallbeck followed a different line of argumentation in his *Brief sketch* to this commission, compared to that of John Philip. He was respectable in his assessment of the colonial society and its history. In general Hallbeck applied the standards of a European value system, within the ambit of a religious motif. He pointed out the injustices (historical and theological) that prevailed in the relation between the Khoikhoi and European farmer settlers, but did not utilize this as an adjudication to typify the colony, its European inhabitants or its government. He though depicts the Dutch colonial dispensation of the 17th and 18th centuries in negative terms, while the British colonial order and administration to the contrary is highly estimated, notwithstanding a few critical observations. The Moravian Mission played a key role (and will according to him continue to do so) in the enhancement of change for the better in the colony.

The *Brief Sketch* represents thus an interpretation of the Cape colonial reality, its social groups, and their inter-relations that should be identified as one of the perspectives that were to be

⁶⁴¹ Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 & March 8th 1825 (HA).

profiled in the portrayals of the colony and its history during the next decade. These constituted the very first endeavours of South African historiography.

Conclusion

Hallbeck's *Brief Sketch* and *Ueber die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika* contain evidence that by 1823 – five years after his arrival – the Moravian superintendent had achieved a remarkably accurate insight in the historical, social, religious and economic challenges of the colony. His exposition also proves that he had acquainted himself thoroughly with the history of the colony and the differentiated groups residing in it. With this report he not only provided a balanced view to the Commission of Enquiry sent by the British Parliament - this in contrast to the one sided lobbying of John Philip - but also secured the support and admiration for the Moravian Mission from the side of colonial authorities.

The mission even succeeded in winning the trust of at least some farmers. This is apparent in the request of some of the farmers to send their children to the school at Genadendal. This should be seen against the background of the fact that literacy was not something granted to many a colonist farmer, especially in the more distant parts of the colony. Or, what also often happened was that a colonist was taught to read and write in his infancy, but through the years – by not making use of it – forgot it again. *A book is among the colonists in general a huge rarity, and because of the lack of it many forget to read.*⁶⁴² Although the Moravians often made mention of farms where the Bible was not used, where Christian faith was very superficial, there were however positive exceptions. The Enon missionaries for example met a man called Sander, farming with his family on an isolated farm in the mountains. Although they were living in total isolation, he and his wife had a childlike faith in their Saviour, finding nurture in the Word of God.⁶⁴³

The official request to incorporate the Leper Institution Hemel en Aarde brought new responsibilities. In 1823 the mission had the capacity to extend its work to include the Leper Institution. The involvement of the Moravian Mission in the colony therefore expanded. Hallbeck had to manage four Moravian settlements: Groenekloof, Genadendal, Enon and Hemel en Aarde. Although Hallbeck was aware of the prospect of outstations (with which we will deal later in this

⁶⁴² "Ein buch ist under den Colonisten im allgemeinen eine große Seltenheit, u. aus Mangel daran vergeßen viele zu lesen" Letter Hallbeck "An d. Societät zur Verbreitung des Evang. unter die Heiden in Zeist.", May 3rd 1822, in: Hallbeck Official Correspondance 1820-1823 (GA).

⁶⁴³ *Nachrichten* (1825), 893.

study), the work and method of the Moravian Mission in South Africa was still embedded in the traditional approach of enclosed mission stations, where a separate but stable community of the faithful was established and sustained.

Hans Peter Hallbeck, John Philip and John Ross were educated theologians. They were to lead the missionary enterprise in South Africa. From a theological and church historical viewpoint this is significant. It stimulated the emphasis on quality education at the mission stations, in which Genadendal would lead. It is therefore appropriate to raise the question as to the underpinning trajectories on theological thought Hallbeck introduced to the Moravian Mission. In previous chapters reference was made to the use of Luther's Small Catechism, Spangenberg's systematic theology and his textbook for the training of missionaries. Hallbeck and his colleagues stood in the classical Protestant tradition critical of Deism, as was also expressed by Spangenberg in his *Idea Fidei Fratrum*: *Would it not be better, if every thing could run its course, to all eternity, like a piece of clock-work, without any attendance or winding up? I answer with Paul, 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why has thou made me thus?' (Romans 9:20).* And then Spangenberg explicitly refers to Psalms 104, 145 and 147: *'The eyes of all wait upon thee ... Thou openest thy hand, and satisfieth the desire of every living thing ... If we consider mankind in particular, it may sometimes seem, as if God had left them to take their own course, like the fishes in the sea; but he that believeth the Holy Scriptures cannot think so.'*⁶⁴⁴ In line with this Hallbeck for example wrote about a blessed harvest after years of draught: *the loving Lord has kept his blessing hand especially above the fields of our Khoikhoi. Out of ½ a Muid of seed one of our Khoikhoi received a harvest of 33 Muid, even though the soil was not manured for many years.*⁶⁴⁵

The primary objective remained the salvation of lost souls – or to use the typical Moravian expression to help gathering the reward of Jesus' sufferings.⁶⁴⁶ The missionaries were only servants. The power to bring change was not theirs, but of the cross. In line with classical Protestant theology and with Zinzendorf's theology, Hallbeck emphasised the power of the cross: *The Saviour... gives us many encouraging proofs that the Word of the Cross is also in our days a*

⁶⁴⁴ "ware es nicht besser, wenn alles wie ein Uhrwerk, das gar keines Wartens und Aufziehens bedarf, in Ewigkeit fortliefe? Ich antworte mit Paulo: Spricht auch ein Werk zu seinem Meister, warum machst du mich also? Röm. 9,20." "Aller Augen warten auf Dich ... du thust deine Hand auf, und erfüllst alles, was lebet ... Wenn wir insonderheit auf die Menschen sehen; so scheint es wol zuweilen, als wenn Gott dieselben gehen ließe, wie die Fische im Meer. Wer aber der heilige Schrift glaubt, der kann so nicht denken." Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 32-33.

⁶⁴⁵ "wobei unser I. Herr besonders über den Feldern unserer Hottentotten seine segnende Hand gehalten. Von ½ Muid Aussaat von Gerste hatte einer unserer Hottentotten 33 Muid gewonnen, obgleich das Land seit vielen Jahren keine Miss gekommen hat." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 11th 1824 (HA).

⁶⁴⁶ In German: "Jesu Schmerzenslohn einsammeln zu helfen" – Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 18th 1825 (HA).

*power of God to salvation. The month of July was in Genadental a true harvest time for eternity, and all, who passed away, seemed to be very much prepared for it.*⁶⁴⁷

In 1824 Hallbeck reviewed the 1816 *Regulations* of Genadental thoroughly. It was done within the parameters of Moravian theology, as Hallbeck understood it. The need to review the *Regulations* was compelled by the establishment of a fifth mission station, Elim. The next chapter considers this development, as well as the new *Regulations*.

⁶⁴⁷ "Der Hld ... schenkt uns viele ermunterende beweis, dass das Wort vom Kreuz noch immer eine Kraft Gottes ist zur Seligkeit. Der Monat Junii war in Gnadenthal eine rechte Erndte-Zeit für die Ewigkeit, u. Alle, die aus der Zeit gingen, schienen ganz besonders dazu vorbereitet zu seyn." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jul 12th 1821 (HA).

CHAPTER SIX

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ELIM (1824)

Introduction

This chapter mainly focuses on the establishment of a new mission station, and the Regulations that Hallbeck drafted to guide the faith community that settled on the station. During 1824 Hallbeck spent much time securing the establishment of a new mission station in the colony, south of Genadendal, in the direction of Cape Agulhas. This station received the name Elim. It brought the number of Moravian Institutions to five: Genadendal, Groenekloof, Enon, Hemel en Aarde, and Elim. Legislation in the colony was in a process of review, which was about to bring transformation in the social and political structure of the colony. When Hallbeck had the opportunity to draft *Rules and Regulations* for the community at Elim, the result was a much more detailed document compared to the one Latrobe had compiled for Genadendal in 1816. Hallbeck carefully incorporated the new trends in legislation and development, though it was obviously still embedded in the theology and tradition of the Moravian Church in Europe. He was also able to draw from his own experience on the mission stations. This chapter not only traces the establishment of Elim, but also takes a thorough look at these *Regulations*.

At the same time Hallbeck had to address the possibility of extending the work among a group of black people, who entered the colony as refugees. Requested by the governor to engage with the group, Hallbeck thought that they should be accommodated at Enon and Genadendal, but within the parameters of conditions that provided for a differentiated approach. The second paragraph of the chapter engages with this issue.

As superintendent of the Moravian Mission in South Africa, Hallbeck had to lead the Mission in a new situation. It is striking how the freedom of the press – acquired at the Cape in 1824 – immediately led to an attack on the mission stations from the side of the colonists. This came as no surprise to Hallbeck, who had foreseen this. He wrote in April 1824: *Since the new year a new order has emerged here, in the sense that press freedom is allowed and an anti-government newspaper is published. As our mission stations are one of the main curiosities of this colony, they will probably be pulled into the public eye and subjected to criticism, just as the establishments of*

*the London Society had already caused controversy. We cannot be cautious enough, and have great reason to pray to the Saviour for his guidance through this. ...*⁶⁴⁸

The precarious position of the mission sometimes made Hallbeck a little desperate, as we can sense in his letters to Herrnhut: *We do our utmost to maintain the favour of our beloved government, but this does not please our colleagues from the other societies, with whom we also want to live in harmony. We wish to advance the wellbeing of the Khoikhoi as far as we can, however by doing this we provoke the envy of the Colonists, with whom we also want to live in peace.*⁶⁴⁹ It is thus clear that the mission had to come to terms with the new situation. Did Hallbeck sense that this called for better-equipped missionaries? He wrote to Schneider in April 1824: *On this mission field, more than anywhere else, we need anointed, gifted and experienced brothers.*⁶⁵⁰ Later that year he explicitly raised this issue again.

Establishment of Elim in 1824

In 1823 the mission endeavoured to establish another settlement. One major reason was to alleviate the overcrowding of Genadendal.⁶⁵¹ Earlier, in 1819, Hallbeck had already expressed his dissatisfaction in having to turn people away.⁶⁵² Secondly, it was to spread the preaching of the Gospel to a new area of the country. Since the experience was that the distance between Genadendal and Enon was not always conducive to the work, the decision was made to establish the next mission station closer to Genadendal.⁶⁵³

⁶⁴⁸ "Es ist seit Neujahr eine ganz neue Ordnung der dinge hier entstanden, indem die Press freiheit erlabut ist u. eine Anti-Gouvernements Zeitung ausgegeben wird. Weil nun unsre Missionsplätze eine der Haupt-Merkwürdigkeiten dieser Colonie aus machen, so werden wir wahrscheinlich bald vor's Publicum hervorgeholt u. der Critik unterworfen werden, so wie die Etablissements der Londoner Gesellschaft schon zu einer Art Controvers Veranlassung gegeben. Wir können daher nicht vorsichtig genug seyn, u. haben grosse Ursache, den Hld um seine durchhülfe zu bitten ... Wir thun unser Aüsserstes um die Gunst unserer l. Obrigkeit zu geniessen, aber eben dieses misfällt unsern Mitarbeitern von andern Gesellschaften, mit denen wir doch auch gerne in Harmonie leben wollten." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA).

⁶⁴⁹ "Wir thun unser Aüsserstes um die Gunst unserer l. Obrigkeit zu geniessen, aber eben dieses misfällt unsern Mitarbeitern von andern Gesellschaften, mit denen wir doch auch gerne in Harmonie leben wollten. Wir wünschen das Wohlseyn der Hottentotten nach Vermögen zu befördern, aber dadurch ziehen wir uns die Abgunst der Colonisten zu, mit denen wir auch in Friede seyn möchten" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA).

⁶⁵⁰ "Kurz, gesalbte, begabte u. erfahrene brüder sind gewiss hier nöthiger, als auf irgend einem Missionsposten der ganzen Unität, u. leider! Haben wir ihrer sehr wenigen." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA).

⁶⁵¹ *Nachrichten* (1826), 968; *Protocol HC*, Febr 26th & April 4th 1823 (HA).

⁶⁵² Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Aug 9th 1819 (HA).

⁶⁵³ *Nachrichten* (1826), 968.

Hallbeck wrote that as soon as it became clear that the Moravians were looking for a place, they received several requests.⁶⁵⁴ There was a proposal from the government to take over the former LMS mission station Zuurbraak or Caledon's Institute. Its missionary, Johannes Seidenfaden (1772-1863),⁶⁵⁵ was not much appreciated by either the government or by the Khoikhoi. Seidenfaden personally told Beinbrecht and Stein that he was dilapidated by mission work.⁶⁵⁶ He was tired of all the criticism, and would be satisfied with the refund of the money, which he had spent on the station. The Moravian missionaries however gained knowledge that he was no longer in the service of the LMS, but in that of the South African Missionary Society. Additionally the government exercised direct control over the Khoikhoi inhabitants. Hallbeck therefore replied that they would not buy the station, unless the Khoikhoi residents approached them of their own accord.⁶⁵⁷

When Lord Charles Somerset, accompanied by his wife and daughter, visited Genadendal on their way to the border of the colony on January 29th 1825,⁶⁵⁸ he informed Hallbeck that the Commission of Inquiry had submitted a very critical report on Zuurbraak, and had ordered Seidenfaden to vacate it. Hallbeck was still hesitant to acquiesce to Somerset's request to the Moravians to take over the station. He first wanted clarity on whether the LMS still had any claim on it.⁶⁵⁹ When Somerset's successor later entrusted Zuurbraak to the LMS again, the Moravians welcomed this move.⁶⁶⁰ Seidenfaden left the place and opened a canteen in the neighbourhood.⁶⁶¹

In the meantime George Thom, minister of Caledon, informed Hallbeck that Seidenfaden's brother-in-law had put his farm Vogelstruyskraal at the Nuwejaarsrivier⁶⁶² near Cape Agulhas, up for sale for a reasonable price. Early in 1824 Beinbrecht and Stein were sent for a preliminary investigation.⁶⁶³ Together with the missionary Stein, Hallbeck paid a visit to the region at the end

⁶⁵⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1825), 404. An example is *Sandfontein*. The brothers Beinbrecht and Stein went to examine this place, but it was too expensive, and had too little water available. Cf. *Protocol HC*, Febr 23rd 1824 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1826), 105, 109; *Nachrichten* (1826), 110; *Nachrichten* (1826), 145-155: "Bericht der Brüder Beinbrecht und Stein in Gnadenthal in Süd-Afrika von ihrer nach Sandfontein und dortiger Umgegend wegen Anlegung eines neue Missions-Platzes unternommenen Untersuchungsreise im Februar 1824."

⁶⁵⁵ *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek*, II 663. He had received his training as missionary in Berlin by Johannes Jánicke, 'Father Jánicke'.

⁶⁵⁶ *Nachrichten* (1826), 154.

⁶⁵⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Febr 23rd 1824 & Febr 9th 1825 (HA).

⁶⁵⁸ *Nachrichten* (1828), 93.

⁶⁵⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 4th 1826 (HA).

⁶⁶⁰ *Protocol HC*, May 7th 1827 (HA).

⁶⁶¹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 152.

⁶⁶² In other cases the name *Steenboksrivier* is mentioned. Cf. *Nachrichten* (1826), 121.

⁶⁶³ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA).

of March 1824.⁶⁶⁴ They inspected the locality examining its potential to support a village of several hundreds of inhabitants. They found a proper house on the land, and agricultural fields about the same size as Genadendal had to its disposal. There was also a water mill, although, as was the African way, not well maintained, Hallbeck added. He was of opinion that proper and regular maintenance of their assets was not the strongest point of the Africans. Nevertheless, should it be restored, it would be capable of generating as much income as the mill at Genadendal. Later Elim became famous for its wooden watermill, the biggest in the colony. The mill attracted many farmers, and made a good profit for the station. There were also many fruit trees and the place was most suitable to plant vineyards.⁶⁶⁵

Although they visited the farm in the dry season, Hallbeck found it had enough water reserves. In view of the challenges Enon yielded with regard to water, this was an important aspect Hallbeck paid attention to. According to him the vegetation was unsuitable for cattle and he also noticed that the soil would need a lot of manure. Nevertheless it was excellent for keeping horses and pigs. Furthermore he reported that there was a saltpan one and a half hours from the house. This, in combination with the fact that the sea was only two hours away (therefore fishing was possible in case of crop failure), was advantageous for the sustainability of the station. Later years would also bring unexpected gifts from the ocean, like whales that were washed ashore. As soon as such news was heard in Elim, people would go immediately to fetch part of the blubber, which was then cooked and the fat used for several purposes.⁶⁶⁶ Once after the blubber had been cut off from the one side of the whale, they were not able to pull over the dead animal to the other side, not even with twenty oxen.⁶⁶⁷ Other times the tiding was received of ships that were shipwrecked on the rocky shores of Cape Agulhas, the southernmost point of Africa, close to which Elim is situated. Sometimes auctions were held, selling the cargo and the wood of the ship. After the disaster with the *Duke of Northumberland* near Cape Agulhas, Hallbeck and the Elim missionary Teutsch stressed to the authorities the importance of erecting a lighthouse at the Cape of *Achilles*.⁶⁶⁸ In February 1840 two ships en route from Mauritius and heading towards Ireland, would strand on the same place. Six thousand bags of sugar were lost, but no lives. Residents of Elim were involved in the cleaning up operations.

⁶⁶⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1826), 111.

⁶⁶⁵ *Protocol HC*, Apr 3rd 1824 (HA).

⁶⁶⁶ *Nachrichten* (1831), 736. Sometimes this is also mentioned in the reports of Hemel en Aarde, located close to the sea as well. Cf. *Nachrichten* (1834), 60.

⁶⁶⁷ *Nachrichten* (1831), 351-352.

⁶⁶⁸ This is indeed how the Elim missionary Teutsch spelled it: "wie man sagt, soll nun auf dem Riff Achilles ein Leuchtthurm gebaut werden". *Nachrichten* (1839), 478; *Nachrichten* (1843), 70; Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, March 5th 1840 (HA).

Hallbeck also obtained a good impression of the neighbouring farmers. They were God-fearing, and, possessing only a few slaves, were in need of labourers. The prospect of having a church in the vicinity pleased the farmers, since in those days the nearest church was in Caledon.⁶⁶⁹

Hallbeck wrote: *In the whole Strandveld, that is the region between the mountain range mentioned above and the coast, a religious spirit reigns, and there are among the whites and blacks an unusual number of souls eager for salvation, who are unfortunate to be far away from the church, so that they can only seldom attend. Therefore several farmers organize religious meetings. One can therefore truthfully conclude that the field is ready for the harvest, and we can hope, that in that region something can be done for the Saviour.*⁶⁷⁰ Proper consultation with the neighbouring farmers was essential, since some people spread rumours in the colony that the missionaries were not interested in the wellbeing of the farmers, and that they took away the manual labour force wherever they established stations.

The Helpers Conference, in terms of the authority received from the UEC, decided to buy the farm.⁶⁷¹ On April 5th 1824 Hallbeck travelled to Cape Town to obtain the government's approval for the proposed purchase and to ask for exemption from property and transfer taxes.⁶⁷² He received a positive answer.⁶⁷³ This time Hallbeck was successful in buying the farm on behalf of the missionaries of the Moravian Church. Colonial Secretary Bird, who, in the past, had insisted that missionary societies could not own property, was no longer in office. Somerset, who was under pressure from John Philip, raised no objections.⁶⁷⁴ This became the first mission station the Moravians actually bought. On May 12th 1824 the contract was signed, with the agreement that the Moravians would take over the land in the beginning of August.⁶⁷⁵ The official transfer had to take place in Cape Town with both buyer and seller present. On July 14th 1824 Hallbeck departed to Cape Town and the transaction was concluded on the 16th.⁶⁷⁶ The title deed was issued in the name of Hallbeck and all his successors, leader of the Moravian Mission in South Africa. Years

⁶⁶⁹ *Nachrichten* (1826), 115-116.

⁶⁷⁰ "Ausserdem herrscht im ganzen Strandveld, d.i. der Gegend zwischen oberwähnter bergkette u. der Küste ein sehr religiöser Geist, u. es findet sich unter Weissen u. Schwarzen ungewöhnlich viele heilsbegierige Seelen, die das Unglück haben so weit von der Kirche zu seyn, dass sie selten hinkommen können, weswegen auch verschiedene bauern Erbauungs Stunden halten. Man kann daher mit Wahrheit sagen, das Feld ist reif zur Erndte, u. darf erwarten, dass dort etwas für den Hld auszurichten ist." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA).

⁶⁷¹ *Protocol HC*, Apr 3rd 1824 (HA); Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 5th 1823, Apr 28th 1824, May 14th 1824 (HA).

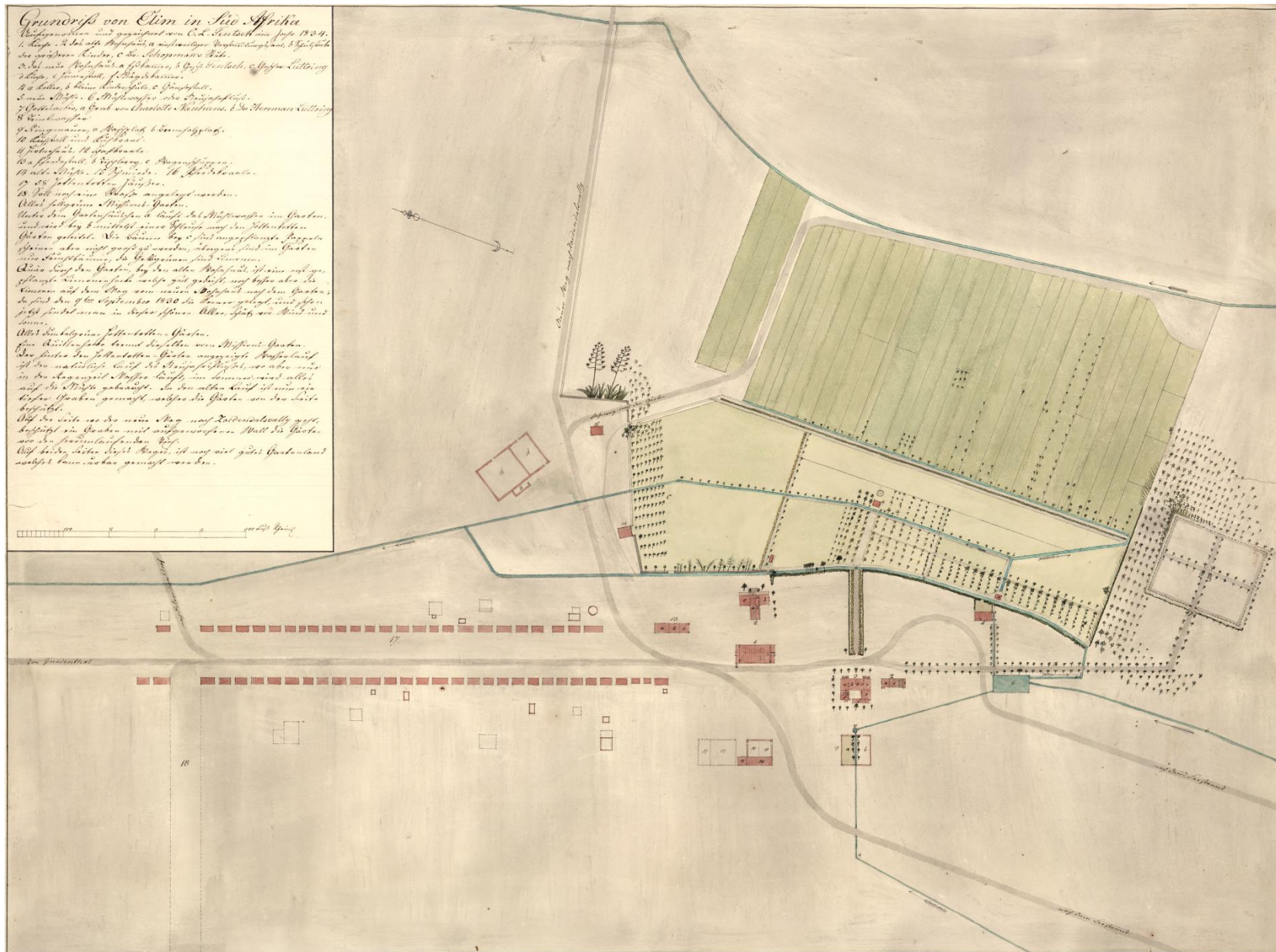
⁶⁷² *Protocol HC*, Apr 3rd 1824 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1826), 117-118.

⁶⁷³ *Nachrichten* (1825), 405.

⁶⁷⁴ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 152.

⁶⁷⁵ *Contract of Purchase signed by H.P. Hallbeck and P.J. Schonken on May 12th 1824 at Steenboks Revier* (GA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 14th 1824 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1826), 121.

⁶⁷⁶ *Contract of Purchase signed by H.P. Hallbeck and P.J. Schonken on May 12th 1824 at Steenboks Revier* (GA).



Map of Elim, as drawn by Teutsch in 1834 (for the legenda on the map, see opposite side)

This very accurate ground-plan of Elim, found in the Herrnhut Archive, was drawn by Teutsch, just as the 1832-plan of Genadendal. The legenda for the Elim map read as follows:

“Grundriss von Elim in Süd Afrika

Aufgenommen und gezeichnet von C.L. Teutsch im Jahr 1834.

1.Kirche. 2. das alte Wohnhaus, a einstweiliger Versammlungssaal, b Schulstube der größeren Kinder, c br. Schopmann's Stube. 3. das neue Wohnhaus. a Eßkammer, b Gesch. Teutsch, c Geschw. Luttring d Küche, e hünnerstall, f Mägdekammer 4 a keller, b kleine kinderschule, c Gänsestall. 5 neue Mühle. 6 Mühlewasser oder Neujahrfluß. 7 Gottesacker, a Grab von Charlotte Nauhaus. b Do: Herrman Luttring 8 Trinkwasser 9 Ringmauer a Waschplatz b brennholzplatz. 10 kuhstall und kuhkraal. 11 hirttenhaus, 12 Schafkraale. 13 a Pferddestall, b Tischlerey, c Wagenschuppen. 14 alte Mühle. 15 Schmiede. 16 Pferdekraale. 17 58 hottentotten häußer. 18 soll noch eine Straße angelegt worden.

Alles hellgrüne Missions-Garten.

Unter dem Gartenhäuscher a läuft das Mühlewasser im Garten, und wird bey b mittelst einer Schleuse nach den Hottentotten Gärten geleitet. Die bäume bey c sind angepflanzte Pappeln scheinen aber nicht groß zu werden, übrigens sind im Garten nur Fruchtbäumer, die Gelbgrünen sind Limonen. Quär durch den Garten, bey den alten Wohnhaus, ist eine rass gepflanzte Limonenhecke welche gut gedeiht, noch besser aber die Limonen auf dem Weg von neuen Wohnhaus nach dem Garten; da sind den 9ten September 1830 die kranen [?] gelegt, und schon jetzt findet man in dieser schönen Allee, Schutz vor Wind und Sonne.

Alles dunkelgrüne Hottentotten=Gärten.

Eine Quittenhecke kommt dieselben vom Missions-Garten.

der hinter den Hottentotten=Gärten angezeigte Wasserlauf ist der natürliche Lauf des Neujahrsflusses, wo aber nur in der Regnezeit Wasser läuft, im sommer wird alles auf die Mühle gebraucht. In den alten Lauf ist nun ein tiefer Graben gemacht, welcher die Gärten von der Seite beschützt. Auf der Seit wo der neue Weg nach Zoedendalsvally geht, beschützt ein Graben mit aufgeworfenen Wall die gärten vor den herumlaufenden Vieh. Auf beiden Seiten dieses Weges, ist noch viel gutes Gartenland welches kaum urbar gemacht werden.”

later, in 1835, Hallbeck had an official document drawn up by the Royal Government in Saxony to secure Elim as the property of the Missions Department of the UEC.⁶⁷⁷

The purchasing price of Vogelstruyskraal was 15,000 Cape guilders. Money also had to be made available for the furnishing of the mission station. Hallbeck wrote: *Apart from the amount mentioned in the letter of purchase considerable costs are still required for the first establishment, but the Saviour who has led this matter so mercifully until present, will also provide the means to do this, in the meantime we will see to it that everything is furnished as economically as possible.*⁶⁷⁸

On July 28th missionary Bonatz (senior) together with Thomsen and his wife – who were appointed to the task⁶⁷⁹ – left Genadendal to establish Elim⁶⁸⁰ *under the merciful support of our loving Lord.*⁶⁸¹ Bonatz had returned from his journey to Europe in 1823, where he married Friederike Dorothea Erdmann.⁶⁸² Yet Bonatz and Thomsen struggled to get along.⁶⁸³ On July 21st and August 17th Hallbeck visited Vogelstruyskraal,⁶⁸⁴ *inter alia* to address the tension between the two missionaries. As a solution the decision was taken for Thomsen and Luttringshausen of Genadendal to exchange places.⁶⁸⁵

Hallbeck returned with enthusiastic reports about Elim.⁶⁸⁶ He assisted the missionaries in the drawing up of a plan for the station, where the church would be built in future, the cemetery (God's Acre) be laid out, as well as the locations of the houses of the congregants. Hallbeck expressed the wish that on this new station the Khoikhoi should build houses with solid walls from the start.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁷⁷ In the Genadendal Archive, with a transcription made by Hallbeck himself.

⁶⁷⁸ "Ausser der im Kaufbriefe erwähnten Summe wird es noch etwas bedeutendes kosten bei der ersten Einrichtung, aber der Hld. der die Sache bis jetzt so gnädig geleitet, wird auch die Mittel zur Ausführung verleihen, mittlerweile werden wir darauf bedacht seyn alles so oeconomisch als möglich einzurichten." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 14th 1824 (HA).

⁶⁷⁹ *Nachrichten* (1826), 968.

⁶⁸⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 8th 1825 (HA); *Protocol HC*, March 8th 1825 (HA).

⁶⁸¹ "und der gnadenvollen Unterstützung unsers lieben Herrn" *Nachrichten* (1826), 124.

⁶⁸² *Nachrichten* (1830), 113.

⁶⁸³ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 8th 1825 (HA).

⁶⁸⁴ *Nachrichten* (1828), 685.

⁶⁸⁵ *Protocol HC*, Apr 29th 1825 (HA).

⁶⁸⁶ *Nachrichten* (1826), 131.

⁶⁸⁷ *Nachrichten* (1825), 407.

Hallbeck also compiled the Rules and Regulations for Elim.⁶⁸⁸ Elim was organized and managed in terms of the established pattern, as was the case in Genadendal, Groenekloof and Enon, yet Hallbeck improved on the existing documents. The 1816 Latrobe Regulations directed the mutual Christian life and activities on these stations. With Hallbeck's arrival in 1817, he translated the 1816 Regulations into Dutch and made a few amendments.⁶⁸⁹ Hallbeck also made a variant in the form of questions and answers for the instruction of novitiates and children.⁶⁹⁰ The Elim *Regulations*, drafted by Hallbeck, are much more than an augmentation of the 1816 Regulations. It represents a document of historical and theological consequence.

The Elim Regulations

Hallbeck carefully structured the Elim Regulations.⁶⁹¹ An introduction is followed by five paragraphs devoted to the following aspects of Christian life:

- 1 On religion and Christian duties in general
- 2 On the government
- 3 On marriage and education of the children
- 4 Specific regulations of the congregation to protect against damage to the soul and to promote a God pleasing lifestyle
- 5 Agreement of the congregation with regard to external local regulation.

The last two paragraphs are in fact the rules that applied to the station. The *Regulations* culminates in a conclusion. Compared to the 1816 Regulations of Latrobe, which Hallbeck followed to a certain degree, it is however apparent that he created a new document. He understood the context better, and in the *Regulations* he designed to address this context, next to allowing for the traditional theology and order of the Moravian Church, in the line of Loretz and Spangenberg.

The *Introduction* to the *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* alludes to the Moravian Mission's purchase of the farm Vogelstruyskraal in 1824, intending to establish a mission, *to proclaim the Gospel by the missionaries of this church, and providing a place to stay for those souls (mainly from the Khoikhoi) who desire to repent and live according to the Word of God and the*

⁶⁸⁸ *Nachrichten* (1826), 970.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Genadendaal* (Revidirt in Sept. 1818) (GA).

⁶⁹⁰ *Protocol HC*, Febr 3rd 1819 (MASA & HA); *Protocol MC*, Dec 12th 1818 (MASA). A copy of this adaption with questions and answers could not be found in the archives.

⁶⁹¹ See **appendix 2**.

*regulations of the Brethren's Church, where they can live together in peace.*⁶⁹² This endorsed the conviction expressed in Spangenberg's mission textbook. It quotes Matthew 28:18 and explicates: *Our Lord Jesus Christ has commanded his disciples, to go into the whole world, to teach all the heathen, to baptise them in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and to teach them to obey everything, that He had commanded them.*⁶⁹³ Another Bible verse that is featuring prominently is 1 Timothy 2:3-4: "God our Saviour... wants all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth."

In order to attain the desired result, it stipulates, certain regulations ("Ordeningen") are needed, that should be followed voluntarily.⁶⁹⁴ *These Regulations are not a body of decrees or directives of the teachers to their learners; but is a brotherly agreement between all inhabitants of the place, to which they all – both the teachers and the learners – are equally subjected, and in the enforcement of which they have equal interest.*⁶⁹⁵ It is also stipulated that no one could alter, or add anything to these regulations, except with the consent of the congregation and the approval of the Board of Directors of the United Brethren.⁶⁹⁶

Seen against the history of injustices⁶⁹⁷ and atrocities committed to the Khoikhoi people in the past, the fact that the regulations were not only based on a brotherly agreement between all inhabitants, but that all were equally subjected to them and that in the enforcement thereof, all had an equal interest, was of great significance. Even more, Hallbeck added an important legal principle: it is, he wrote, the Regulations that reign, and not the person or persons that impose them. This was contrary to the experience of many inhabitants of the colony. In this the missionaries with their Christian principles of equality led the way with regard to the shift in attitude that started to awaken in the colony. During 1823 this shift towards a more just system was in particular given momentum by the Commission of Enquiry, sent to the Cape by the British Parliament.

⁶⁹² "dat is, door de Missionarissen der gezd. Gemeente het Evangelium te verkondigen, en zulken Zielen (voornaamlyk onder de Hottentotten) die een Verlangen hebben zich te bekeeren en naar het woord Gods en de Ordeningen der Broeder Kerk te leven, eene woonplaats te verschaffen, waar sy ongestoort te zamen leven kunnen." *Ordeningen der Gemeente Elim*, Inleiding (GA).

⁶⁹³ "Unser Herr Jesus Christus hat Seinen Jüngern den Befehl gegeben, hinzugehen in alle Welt, alle Heiden zu lehren, sie zu taufen im namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des heiligen Geistes, und sie dann halten zu lehren Alles, was Er ihnen befohlen habe." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1837), 1.

⁶⁹⁴ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 240-249; 292.

⁶⁹⁵ "Deze Ordeningen zyn dus geene Wetten of Voorschriften der Leeraars aan hunner Leerlinge; maar een broederlyk Overeenkomst tuschen alle Inwoonderen van de plaats, welken zy alle, zoo wel Leeraars als Leerlingen, geleik onderworpen zyn, en in de obregthouding waarvan zy gelyk belang hebben." *Ordeningen der Gemeente Elim*, Inleiding (GA).

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 249.

⁶⁹⁷ Cf. Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 41.

Ordeningen
der Gemeente te Elim

Inleiding

In het Jaar 1824. wierd voor rekening van de Zending's Diacony der versienigten Broeders en voor de middelen deser Diacony de plaatsse Vogelstruis kraal gekocht. Het Oogmerk daarby was, aldaar onder de bestiering der Broeder gemeente eene Zending aan te vangen, dat is, door de Missionarissen der gez. Gemeente het Evangelium te verkondigen, en zulken Zielen (voornamlyk onder de Flottentotten) die een Verlangen hebben, zich te bekeeren en naar het woord Gods en de Ordeningen der Broederkerk te leven, eene woonplaats te verschaffen, waar sy ongestoort te Samen leven kunnen. Terwyl nae tot bereiking van dit Oogmerk bepaalde regelen noodig zyn, zoo zyn de eerste bewoonders van deze plaats over nastaaende Ordeningen overeenkomstig geworden, en hebben zich verbonden, niemand te noemen als inwoonder alhier aantensamen, die zich niet verplicht, daarna te leven.

Deze Ordeningen zyn dus geene Wetten of Voorschriften der Leeraars aan hunner Leerlinge; maar een broederlyk Overeenkomst tuschen alle Inwoonderen van de plaats, welken zy alle, zoo wel Leeraars als Leerlingen, gelijk onderworpen zyn, en in de obregthouding waarvan zy gelyk belang hebben. Waarvan dan ook volgt, dat aan wien ook het waken over de waarning deser Ordeningen aanbehouwd is, niet deze Personen, maar de Ordeningen in de Gemeente regeren; vaders dat in deze Inzettingen niets kan veranderd of bygevoegd worden buiten de toesteming der Gemeente, en de goedkeuring van de Directie der Broeder Uniteit, onder wiers bestiering te staan wy als een kostelyk Vorrecht oordeelen.

I. Van den Godsdienst en de Christelyke Plichten
in 't Algemeen.

The *first paragraph* of Elim's Regulations entails the community's convictions and frame of mind with regard to religion and the Christian duties in general.⁶⁹⁹ In the first point Hallbeck confirms the unequivocal authority of Scripture.⁷⁰⁰ This is the only standard that rules the life of the community. He strictly followed Loretz, since the first matter that Loretz raised in his chapter "Von der Gemeinordnung, Vom Verhältniß der Gemeine im Absicht der Religion," was the authority of both Old and New Testaments as the only standard by which the faithful live.⁷⁰¹

Following the article on the authority of Scripture, the different meetings and assemblies of the community of faith in which the teaching of the Word prevails, are indicated. The celebration of the Sunday should be positively utilized *as a day of the Lord to edify our souls*.⁷⁰² The sacraments, baptism and Holy Communion⁷⁰³ are administered according to the dictates of Holy Scripture, while unprofitable and fruitless controversies should be avoided. *Rather we want to live in love and spiritual unity with all people, who have experienced the birth of God through the Holy Spirit, and who we regard as children of God and brothers in Christ*.⁷⁰⁴ This is in line with what Loretz wrote: *We acknowledge therefore everyone as a real brother, or true member of the body of Christ, who has experienced the birth of God through the Holy Spirit*.⁷⁰⁵ And in turn this is rooted in what Spangenberg wrote in his fundamental *Idea Fidei Fratrum: The souls scattered over the whole world, who cling to Jesus Christ with their hearts, share in his holy Spirit, and worship the Father in Spirit and in truth, are the real body of Christ, the house of God, the flock of the good Shepherd, and belong to the kingdom of God*.⁷⁰⁶

The next article appraises the way in which the Elim community is embedded in a relation with the United Brethren in general. For this connection the local community is deeply grateful. It will

⁶⁹⁹ "Van den Godsdienst en de Christelyke Plichten in't Algemeen."

⁷⁰⁰ "De **heilige Schrift** is de eenigste grondregel en proefsteen onzer Leere en onzes Levens, en wy zyn daarom verplicht, daarover te waken dat het Woord Gods rein en zuiver onder ons geleerd woord." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA). This is in line with the theological tradition articulated in classical Lutheran Protestantism in general, and with what Spangenberg wrote in particular in his *Idea Fidei Fratrum, oder kurzer Begriff der christlichen Lehre in den evangelischen Brüdergemeinen*, ¶ 11 – 26.

⁷⁰¹ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 241ff.

⁷⁰² "als een dag des Heeren tot stichting voor onse zielen." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷⁰³ "Wy willen met alle zorgvuldigheid daarover waken, dat de heilige **Doop en het heilige Avondmaal** naar de Voorschrift der heilige Schrift onder ons gehouden, en van niemand onwaardiglyk gebruikt worden." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷⁰⁴ "Veelmeer willen wy met alle Menschen, die de Geboorte uit God door den heiligen Geest ondervonden hebben, en welke wy als Kinderen Gods en als Broeders in Christo aanzien, in Liefde en Geestesgemeenschap leven." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA). See also Loretz 242. This is a familiar trajectory of thinking among the Brethren.

⁷⁰⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 243: "Wir erkennen daher einen jeden für einen wahren Bruder, oder wahres Mitglied am Leibe Christi, wer die Geburt aus Gott durch den heiligen Geist erfahren hat."

⁷⁰⁶ "Die in der ganzen Welt zerstreuten Seelen, die an Jesu Christo mit ihrem Herzen hangen, seines heiligen Geistes theilhaftig sind, und den Vater im Geist und in der Wahrheit anbeten, sind eigentlich der Leib Christi, das Haus Gottes, die Heerde des guten Hirten, und gehören zum Reiche Gottes" Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 254.

be sustained as a precious treasure. Accordingly, no teacher will be recognised who was not called by the Board of Directors. Prior to an exposition of the theology of the community, the last article, of a more formal nature, deals with the education of the children. Education is considered to be of great consequence.⁷⁰⁷ Loretz extensively expounded upon this fundamental aspect of Moravian mission.⁷⁰⁸

The next eleven points are an exposition of the (practical) theology of the Elim faith community. A careful and in depth reading indicates that this theology resonates the very heart of Moravian theology as in particular disclosed in the work of Spangenberg. At the same time it is clear that Hallbeck retained a theological independence in verbalising this theology. Hallbeck stressed the importance of sanctification, in line with the Pietist Moravian tradition of Zinzendorf, Spangenberg and Loretz. The preaching of the Word of God demands and effectuates a holy life, he wrote. *Therefore we want to purify ourselves through the grace of God from all infections of the body and the soul, completing the sanctification in the fear of God. 2 Cor. 7:1.*⁷⁰⁹ Therefore, public idolatry (though not known in the Cape),⁷¹⁰ superstition, witchcraft and pagan follies are despised. The abuse of the Name of God is rejected in strong language, and faithful prayer is instead emphasized.

The meritorious life, suffering and death of Jesus are the only source from which a life, pleasing to God, originates. The cross of Christ and the meditation of the pain of Jesus are the most powerful warden against sin, and the strongest incentive for a life of holiness.⁷¹¹ These phrases clearly go back to the theological jargon of Zinzendorf. *The blood theology, the eternal sacrifice, the peace through his flesh, the choice of mercy in the nails and in the open side – that is your strength!*– Zinzendorf once wrote to the first Moravian missionary to South Africa, Georg Schmidt.⁷¹² In his *Plan of a Catechism for the Heathen* (1740) Zinzendorf emphasized that only the blood and wounds-theology could bring a pagan soul to Christ.

⁷⁰⁷ “Wy houden het **School Onderwys** onzer Kinderen van het grootste belang, en willen daarvoor zorgen, dat zy dit Voorregt mogen genieten en zich hetzelve getrouw ten nutte maken.” *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 273ff; 309ff.

⁷⁰⁹ “Daarom willen wy door Gods Genaden ons reinigen laten van alle besmettingen des Vleesches en des Geestes, voleindigende de heiligmakinge in de Vreeze Gods. 2 Cor. 7.1.” *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷¹⁰ This remark should be explained in terms of the history of the Brethren in Roman Catholic countries. In Bohemia e.g., where ‘public idolatry’ was connected to Roman Catholic practises, and still effectuated a historic image and memory among the Brethren.

⁷¹¹ “Het verdienstlyk Leven, Lyden en Sterven Jesu is de eenigste bron, waar uit alle Kracht tot eenen Gode welbehagelyken wandel voortvloeit; daarom is ons het woord van’t kruis zoo groot en gewichtig, terwyl wy in de overdenking van Jezu pyn het Krachtdadigste bewaarmiddel vinden tegen de bedroeg der zonde, en de sterkste dryfveer tot een heilig leven.” *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷¹² “die Blut-Theologie, das ewige Opfer, der Friede durch Sein Fleisch, die Gnadenwahl in den Nägelmaalen und in der offenen Seite – das sei deine Kraft!” *Nachrichten* (1836), 484.

In addition, the Elim Regulations also guided the coexistence of the community. The neighbours' interests should be sought, they should not be harmed, and neither should any injury be done to them. Not only matters relating to the violation of the law, such as murder, theft, perjury and fraud are dismissed, but also envy, bitterness, anger, profanity, lying, etc. are not acceptable in the light of Scripture. Towards the neighbour (and society) inhabitants should act charitable, kind-hearted and generous, in sincerity and honesty. Strangers should be treated with friendliness and politeness.

Finally, the regulations exhorted believers, being called as the property of God, to live a holy life in body and soul. Therefore, everything that threatens to put this life in jeopardy (sexual immorality, impurity, debauchery, drunkenness, smoking marijuana) should be discarded. They will not inherit the kingdom of God.

The following regulations are practical of nature, emphasizing the holistic nature of the Gospel message, and in line with the mission textbook as written by Spangenberg.⁷¹³ Body, clothing and dwelling must be cared for. All community members should be diligent and hardworking, averting pernicious laziness. What is earned through ones labour, is a gift of the Lord, the rules indicate. It should be enjoyed with thanksgiving, sensible moderation and thrift. This should be impressed upon children in particular through the prayer or song before and after meals.

The *second paragraph*⁷¹⁴ sets forth the community's position in relation to authorities and the government. The Elim articles follow the traditional line of Moravian thinking, as explicated by Spangenberg and Loretz,⁷¹⁵ and also expressed in Hallbeck's *Brief Sketch* to the Commission of Enquiry of the previous year. As a whole the Moravians were very subordinate in their attitude towards the authorities, and in South Africa it was no different. In the mission textbook Spangenberg stipulated: *Concerning the rights kings and princes claim over countries, they enter with nobody into disputations about it. The Bible teaches us: ... There is no authority but from God; wherever a government is, there God institutes it.*⁷¹⁶ This was in line with the general attitude within the Lutheran countries towards the authorities.

⁷¹³ Spangenberg, *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784).

⁷¹⁴ "2. Van de Overheid"

⁷¹⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 261.

⁷¹⁶ "In die Rechte der Könige und Fürsten über diese und jene Länder, lassen sie sich mit niemanden ins Disputiren ein. Die Bibel lehrt uns: ... Es ist keine Obrigkeit ohne von GOtt; wo aber Obrigkeit ist, die ist von GOtt geordnet." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 66.

The *Elim Regulations* confirmed that Hallbeck acceded to a positive acceptance of obedience to authorities as well as to the judicial system and courts.⁷¹⁷ The regulations, however, when articulating dutiful compliance to the current (colonial) legislation applicable to Khoikhoi, provides for a significant condition: *unless they are exempted of them through lawfully obtained liberties and privileges*.⁷¹⁸ This obviously referred to the new prospects, which the review of Khoikhoi legislation offered.

The *third paragraph*⁷¹⁹ comprises of the regulations with regard to matrimony and the education of children. The monogamous marriage was an essential element of the message the missionaries preached. In the Moravian mission textbook written by Spangenberg missionaries were warned about the bad state in which this divine institution had ended up among the heathen: *the marital institution among the heathen finds itself in an abominable state*.⁷²⁰ Furthermore in the textbook the importance of marrying in the Lord is emphasised. The relationship between Jesus Christ and his congregation as it is revealed in the New Testament, holds an important teaching for each and every marriage: *the holy Script says that the husbands should love their wives, just as Christ has loved the congregation, and gave himself up in death for her, they should nourish and take care of them just as of themselves. And the wives have to submit to their husbands, just as the congregation loves Christ, honours him and obeys him*.⁷²¹

Hallbeck's *Regulations* for Elim followed the same line of reasoning. Matrimony, according to the Word of God, is a holy status. All pagan and frivolous habitudes must be deposed of. The confirmation of marriage should be pledged under prayer and before the eyes of God. Divorce is not permitted. All united in wedlock have to conduct themselves according to the Word of God. Children should be raised in the teaching and instruction of God⁷²² and they should always show reverence to parents and all older persons.

⁷¹⁷ "Nademaal de heil. Schrift uitdrukkelyk leert en beveelt: Zyt alle menschelyke Ordeningen onderdanig om des Heeren wille; het zy den Koning, als de opperste Machthebbende; het zy den Stadhouderen, als die van hem gezonden worden, 1. Petr. 2:13; zoo willen wy ons als getrouwe en gehoorzame Onderdanen aan alle Landes wetten aller willigst onderwerpen, ten zy wy door wettig verkregene Vryheden en Vorregt daarvan ontslagen zyn." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA). Cf. Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 261ff.

⁷¹⁸ "ten zy wy door wettig verkregene Vryheden en Vorregt daarvan ontslagen zyn." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷¹⁹ "3. Van den Echtenstaat en de Opvoeding der Kinderen"

⁷²⁰ "als der Eestand unter den Heiden sonst in einem greulichen Gange ist" *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen*, (1784), 55.

⁷²¹ "Die heilige Schrift sagt den Männern, sie sollen ihre Weiber lieben, gleichwie Christus die Gemeine geliebt, und sich für sie in den Tod gegeben hat, und sollen sie als sich selbst nähren und pflegen – und den Weibern, sie sollen ihren Männern unterthan seyn, wie die Gemeine Christum liebt, Ihn ehrt und Ihm gehorsam ist." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen*, (1784), 55-56.

⁷²² "Het is een hoogst gewigtige Plicht van alle degenen, welke God met kinderen gezegend heeft, of die Kinderen aangenomen hebben, dezelve in de leering en Vermaning des Heeren optevoeden, waartoe behoort, dat zy vroeg met

The *last two paragraphs*⁷²³ of the Regulations are *de facto rules* that intend to promote, protect, direct and defend the mutual association and order in and among the community. Hallbeck motivated these theologically.⁷²⁴ The union of the community is based on Matthew 23:8. The intention of the rules is to safeguard and sustain this union. It aims to maintain the embodiment of a high calling to share life in mutual love as followers of Christ among one another. This trajectory of thinking, Hallbeck observed, is typical of the Brethren, as is evident from Loretz' *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*.⁷²⁵ In unity with the Moravian Brethren globally, this church is but a small part of the church of Christ, but is called to be a community of souls that live through faith in the Son of God Jesus Christ. Under guidance of the Holy Spirit and the governance of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the community attempts to prove this belief in terms of a life pleasing to God and a holy fraternity.

The rules also provides for an in-depth appraisal of the integrity of the motives and rationale why people (including children) wanted to be incorporated in the community, as well as an explication of the conditions that apply in this regard. This is followed by a number of rules that not only direct the way in which young people should interact, but also meet the highest degree of (Moravian) morality.

The *last paragraph*⁷²⁶ discloses rules concerning external affairs, including the judicial status of the inhabitants. These focus on matters like building a home, property rights, compensation arrangements when damages are caused or occur, the allocation and utilisation of land and plots,⁷²⁷ the applicable hereditary rights, which stipulate that land could not be sold as property,

den Heiland bekend gemaakt worden, dat zy aangeleidt worden, de School en de Kerk vlytig te bezoeken, dat zy aan gehoorzaamheid en arbeidzaamheid gewend worden, en dat de Ouders hen niet alleen niet ergeren, maar zoo veel als mogelyk is, oppassen, dat zy niet door anderen geerged worden." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷²³ "4. Byzondere Ordeningen der Gemeente tot Verhoeding van Zielen Schade en tot bevoordering van een God welbehagelyken wandel" and "5. Overeenkomst der Gemeente omtrent uiterlyke plaatselyke Ordening"

⁷²⁴ "Gelyk de gantsche Broeder Uniteit, als een Klein Gedeelte van de Gemeente Christi daartoe beroepen is eene Verzameling van Zielen te zyn, welke leven door het geloof des Zoons Gods, en onder de leiding des heil. Geestes en de Regeering onzes Heilandes Jezu Christi daarna trachten, dit geloof door eenen Gode welbehagelyken wandel en byzonders door eene geheiligde Broederliefde te bewysen, zoo willen wy ook nooit vergeten, dat alle Inwoonderen van deze plats dezelve hooge beroeping hebben, en dat het dus onze eerste en wuoigtigste zorg moet wezen, als navolgers Jezu Christi die op't naauwste in liefde verbonden zyn, te leven."

"Onze Verbinding, als eene Gemeente, grondet zich dus op de woorden Christi: Een is uw Meester, Christus; en Gy zyt alle Broeders. Math. 23:8. – Maar zal deze Verbinding voortduuren, zoo moet ook, zoo veel mogelyk is daar voor gezorgt worden, dat niemand onder ons woonde die dezen zin niet heeft, en dat alles vorgebuigd worde waardoor de Leden der Gemeente van dezen zin afkomen kunnen. Met dit Oogmerk zyn wy over volgende **Regelen** overeengekomen." *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷²⁵ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 157-167; 230-302; 345-356. Cf. also Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 254.

⁷²⁶ "5. Overeenkomst der Gemeente omtrent uiterlyke plaatselyke Ordening"

⁷²⁷ "Zoo is ook het uitgeven van **tuingrond** en land aan eenen Leeraar aanbetrouwd, die ook de plicht heeft, daarover te waken, dat de Tuine en het land behoorlyk gebruikt worden. Wie daarom hierin nalatig is, moet herinnerd worden,

since inhabitants could only exercise the right of occupation,⁷²⁸ the termination of the entitlement to residence at Elim, the local enactment of the pass system according to colonial law, the protection of property, the execution of public works of maintenance and measures to sustain the poor box. The teachers and the church servants are responsible to implement and effectuate the rules.

The *conclusion* assigns the leadership of the community to read these Regulations from time to time, lest they should not be forgotten.⁷²⁹ Hallbeck had them read once a year to the inhabitants.⁷³⁰ At the end of June 1825 the Regulations were read to the inhabitants and everyone answered with a loud *Yes*.⁷³¹ Historically the delineation and implementation of the Regulations of Elim were of great importance. This document, as it was totally revised by Hallbeck compared to the 1816 Regulations of Latrobe, became the blueprint for the structure and management of all Moravian mission stations thereafter.

Preliminary appraisal of the Elim Regulations

Two observations concerning the Elim Regulations can be made.

The *first* is that the Regulations emanate from the Moravian tradition, in correspondence with in particular Spangenberg, Loretz and Latrobe. It not only presupposes the theology of the United Brethren, but Hallbeck indeed raised key aspects of this theology in the Regulations. The Regulations represent a practical exertion of this theology, emphasising sanctification as its intention. The education of children plays a pivotal role in this regard. Typical values formalised in the Regulations are commitment, dutifulness, diligent conscientiousness, thrift, respect, sincerity, etc., while the public life of the faith community was to be shaped by obedience to authorities and the observance of the laws of the colony. Formally it was the frame of mind that

en indien herinneringen niets baten, moet hy verwagten, dat zyn tuin en land aan andere gegeven worden, terwyl het niet alleen onbetaamlyk, maar zelfs voor de aanliggende Buuren schadelyk is, wanneer het land woest ligt.”

Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim (GA).

⁷²⁸ “Wie de plaats **verlaat**, of wegens verzondigingen weggestuurt wordt, heeft vryheid zynen opstal, dat is, zyn huis met al het geen aard en nagel vast is, aan eenen inwonder van de plaats met voorkennis der Leeraars te verkoopen, maar het land kan hy niet als eigendom verkoopen, terwyl hy hetzelfde slegts als vergunning bezit.” *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷²⁹ “Deze Ordeningen zullen van tyd tot tyd den verzamelden Inwonderen voorgelezen worden, opdat geen punt daarvan in Vergetenheid kome. Daarby verwachten wy, dat alle getrouwe Leden der Gemeente onzen lieven Heiland vlytig aanroepen zullen, dat het oogmerk van ons ’t zamen woenen ons altoos heilig moge blyven, en de Geest der broederlyken Liefde in alle harten uitgestoort worden. Dan zullen wy onze schoone Inzettingen meer en meer als een Kostelyk Kleinood leeren waardeeren, en daarby ryklyk ervaren, hoe goed en hoe lieflyk het is, dat broeders te zamen woenen, want aldaar gebiedt de Heer zynen zegen en ’t leven tot in der Eewigheid Ps 133:1,3” *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (GA).

⁷³⁰ *Elim Rules and Regulations* (1824) (GA). See **appendix 2**.

⁷³¹ *Nachrichten* (1828), 684-685.

sustained a Christian community of believers within the boundaries of what was accepted to be a mission station in the 1820's.

Evidently the Regulations also secured mutual Christian discipline among the members of the community. In Spangenberg's mission textbook we read: *discipline is aimed at nothing else than the improvement of those who are disciplined.*⁷³² And furthermore: *a congregation gathered from the heathen is obliged according to Scripture, to clean itself from those people, who live in the manifest works of the flesh.*⁷³³ When somebody had been excommunicated, this step did not mean the end of the missionaries' involvement with the person. *It should be a main business of the missionaries to seek those who went astray, and to approach them with sincere love.*⁷³⁴ The mission textbook though warned against a legalistic and a too rigorous approach. When a baptismal or communicant member who has been disciplined repents heartily, the person is absolved publicly.

Secondly, the 1824 Regulations also defined the Christian community. Should one enter the community, one should openly comply with its rules and regulations. From this perspective, the 1824 Regulations were a manifest and distinct expression of the character of the community. It isolated the community from the rest of colonial society. Yet, on the other hand, the 'openness' of the Regulations to accommodate the local community's relation with the United Brethren globally as well as its adherence to colonial legislation and the education of the children in terms of established schools, kept the community from becoming sectarian. Elim, just as Genadendal, Groenekloof and Enon, was established as a Christian community in the Cape Colony among mainly Khoikhoi. Within the range of societal structure in the colony, from slaves to lords, from labourers to masters, from workers to farmers, from poor to rich, from powerless to powerful, the Moravian communities, managed by their Rules and Regulations, would face difficulties and challenges. At Elim there was contact with the colonists from the beginning. They attended the church services on Sundays together with the local community. And, they sent their children to the school of the missionaries.

⁷³² "Es wird hier allemal vorausgesetzt, daß diese Zucht nichts anders, als die Besserung dessen, der in die Zucht kommt, zum Zweck habe." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 49.

⁷³³ "Denn eine aus den Heiden gesamlete Gemeine Christi ist nach der Schrift verbunden, sich von den Leuten zu reinigen, die in offenbaren Werken des Fleisches leben" *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 49.

⁷³⁴ "Es muß eine Hauptangelegenheit der Mißionsarbeiter seyn, alle Verirrte wieder zu suchen, sie mit herzlicher Liebe anzufassen" *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 49-50, 77-78.

With the establishment of Elim Hallbeck voiced the possible implementation of the so-called *Diaspora plan*. Prior to his departure to Africa, the UEC in Herrnhut assigned Hallbeck with the task to investigate possibilities to effectively reach out to farm labourers, slaves and vagrant people, who were not in a position to join the faith communities on the established stations.⁷³⁵ Hallbeck therefore stressed that it should be the task of the missionaries to minister to the dispersed labourers on the farms,⁷³⁶ which he called the *Diaspora plan*, or as it was also called, the *hen and chicken* distribution, following the example of the mission work in the Caribbean and Surinam amongst the slaves living on the sugar plantations. Hallbeck realised that unbridled growth of the mission stations was not viable. Mission stations had to become centres of religion, education and work, rather than places for all church members to stay.⁷³⁷ The implementation of this plan would mean diversification of the ministry. Already in these years (early 1820's) there are examples of persons who stayed permanently on farms not far from a station who became church members, and even in some cases overseers.⁷³⁸

Initially not everybody was in agreement with this, preferring to continue in the traditional way of closed settlements only. The shift to include outposts could not be envisioned. The opinions of both sides were submitted to the Moravian Synod of 1825 in Germany. The synod answered that it considered the extension to the farms very desirable.⁷³⁹

It is clear that in the years 1824-1825 a lot of Hallbeck's time was spent on the establishment of Elim. The mission station received its name *Elim* on May 12th 1825.⁷⁴⁰ The missionaries reported that from the start Khoikhoi, slaves and colonists attended the church services.⁷⁴¹ In August 1824 Thomsen had already opened a school at Elim, starting with four children.⁷⁴² On July 31st 1825 Luttringhauser started with a Sunday school, attended from the beginning by about forty Khoikhoi, colonists and slaves.

The possibility to work among the black tribes

The establishment of Elim brought the number of Moravian mission stations to five. The inhabitants were predominantly Khoikhoi (*Hottentotten*) and Dutch (Cape-Dutch) was used as the

⁷³⁵ *Protocol UEC*, Jul 29th 1817 (HA); *Protocol HC*, May 19th 1818 (MASA & HA).

⁷³⁶ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 153-154.

⁷³⁷ *Nachrichten* (1824), 71.

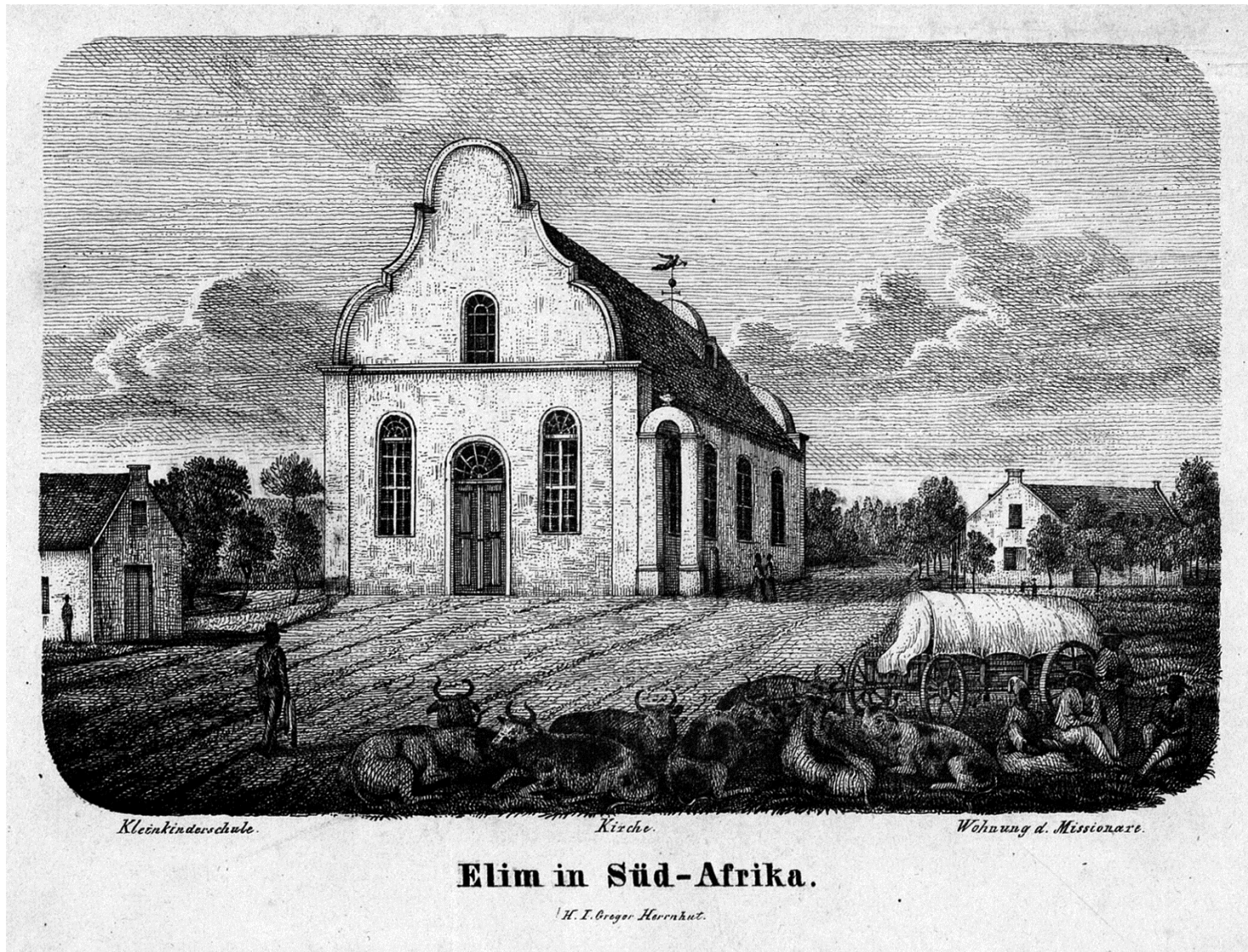
⁷³⁸ *Nachrichten* (1824), 71.

⁷³⁹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 153-154.

⁷⁴⁰ *Nachrichten* (1828), 682.

⁷⁴¹ *Nachrichten* (1826), 976.

⁷⁴² *Nachrichten* (1826), 971.



Picture of Elim in later years (probably 1850's)¹

¹ HA.

prevalent language. No station as yet had been established to exclusively serve black people, though to commence work among these peoples was the intention of the Moravian Mission in the Cape from its very inception. We read in a letter written by Bishop David Nitschmann (1695/6 – 1772) while in Cape Town in 1739: Schmidt *says that as soon as he would receive a helper, they can start working among the Bantu... May the Saviour have mercy upon these forsaken people.*⁷⁴³ While preparing for the establishment of Enon on the eastern border of the Cape in 1816, the Moravians had, as mentioned earlier, indeed in mind to reach out to the black nations. By then a number of blacks had already joined the existing Moravian mission stations. The first black families had already settled in Genadendal in 1809-1810.⁷⁴⁴

Although Enon was located on the border, its inhabitants became mainly Khoikhoi and ex-slaves.⁷⁴⁵ This is also clear from the language that was used, namely Dutch. Hallbeck still cherished the hope that Enon would serve the Gospel to the black nations. During an excursion in December 1821, acquainting himself with the landscape surrounding Enon, he discovered that in the past (until 1812, when the fourth Frontier War took place), many blacks had lived in this area. He came across remnants of their kraals, as well as fields that were used for agriculture, and implements. According to him these were the remains of a tribe presently governed by Siambi. Hallbeck then added that this would be in line with the original intention of establishing Enon – to work among the black tribes.⁷⁴⁶

All of this Hallbeck reported to the Helpers Conference after he had arrived back in Genadendal in the beginning of 1822. We read in the Protocol of January 2nd 1822 about Enon: *A circumstance, to which we have not paid proper attention until now, is before everything else remarkable, and proves, that the Brethren were led in their choice of the location by the hand of our beloved Lord in a very special way. It has been always known, that the Bantu lived until 1812 at the Witte River, because one finds remnants of their kraals close to our homesteads, but we never knew, that they used to live there in such large numbers and cultivated so much land, until br Hoffman and I discovered this during an excursion on Dec 6th 1821. After we had ascended for about one hour in the Hoffmans Valley, we entered a valley turning towards the West, of which the one half, a long fertile mountain slope, had been cultivated once, and we heard not only from our guide, but were also soon convinced by the many remnants of Bantu implements, that we*

⁷⁴³ "Er sagt, wenn er Gehülpen bekäme, so könnten sie unter den Kaffern arbeiten ... Der Heiland erbarme sich über dieses verlassene Volk, das sehr zerstreut, arm und elend ist." *Nachrichten* (1836), 485.

⁷⁴⁴ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA).

⁷⁴⁵ Enon: *Catalogus der volwassen gedoopte en in de gemeente opgenomen* (1832) (GA).

⁷⁴⁶ *Protocol HC*, Jan 2nd 1822 (HA).

found, that this cultivation was the work of the Bantu. This discovery led us to further enquiries and it became evident, that the Witte River and the close surrounding area had been the favourite abode of the Bantu, and indeed especially the tribe, that is governed presently by Siambi. Would therefore, as we dare to hope, the trust between the colonists and the Bantu be restored again, and the latter be allowed to come into the colony again, they would naturally go and find their old residential places, especially since they are threatened in Bantuland, and they would definitively be grateful, to utilise under the protection of the Brethren their old farmlands, since they are too weak, to take them back with force. This is not only my assumption, but also the firm conviction of the few Bantu, who live in Enon. When I once spoke to them about their compatriots and amongst others asked them the question: what would the Bantu do, should they be allowed to return into the Colony? They all answered unanimously and almost with one voice, as if they were astonished, why I asked such a question to them: "What they will do? – Come here. Here they were at home in the past." – I believe also, that even with the current Non-Intercourse System between the colonists and Bantu it would take little effort, to effect an exception with the government with regard to Enon, when we would desire it. – As this was the purpose with the establishment of Enon, to find an entrance towards the Bantu, now our beloved Lord has brought without our knowledge this purpose as close as could be possible under present circumstances. He, who has the key in his hand, and who alone can open the door, has as it were put us on the threshold, in order to be prepared to enter as soon as it is opened.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁷ "Ein Umstand, der von uns bis jetzt noch nicht recht beachtet wurde, ist aber vor allen bemerkenswerth, u. beweiset, daß die Brüder bei der Wahl dieses Platzes durch die Hand unsers I. Herrn auf eine ganz besondere Weise geleitet worden. Man hat wohl immer gewußt, daß Kaffern bis 1812 am Witterivier gewohnt haben, denn man sieht Spuren ihrer Kraale dicht bei unsere Wohnungen, aber nie haben wir gewußt, daß sie in solcher Menge da gewohnt haben u. so viel Land urbar gemacht, bis ich u. br. Hoffman auf eine Excursion am 6 Dec. 1821 solches entdeckten. Nachdem wir nämlich etwa eine Stunde weit im Hoffmans Thal hinaufgegangen waren, kamen wir in ein gegen Westen sich drehendes Thal hinein, wovon die eine Hälfte, eine lange fruchtbare berg-Lehen, einst urbar gemacht worden war, u. wir hörten nicht nur von unseren Wegweiser, sonder überzeugten uns bald selbst durch die vielen Ueberbleibsel von Kaffer-Geräthschaften, die wir fanden, daß diese Arbeit von den Kaffern gemacht worden war. Diese Entdeckung gab dann Veranlassung zu äusere [?] Erkündigungen u. aus allen ging hervor, daß Witterivier u. die nahesten Umgegend der Lieblings-Aufenthalt der Kaffern gewesen, u. zwar hauptsächlich des Stammes, der jetzt von Siambi regiert wird. Sollte daher, wie wir hoffen dürfen, Zutrauen zwischen den Colonisten u. Kaffern wieder hergestellt werden, u. letzteren erlaubt werden in die Colonie zu kommen, sie würden natürlich ihre alten Wohnplätze aufsuchen, zumal sie im Kafferland selbst beengt sind, u. sie würden gewiß dankbar seyn, unter dem Schutz der br. dasjenige benutzen zu können, was sie zu schwach sind, mit Gewalt zu behaupten. Dieses ist nicht nur meine Vermuthung, sondern die feste Ueberzeugung der Paar Kaffern, die in Enon wohnen. Als ich einmal mit ihnen über ihre Landsleute sprach u. unter andern die Frage that: was würden wohl die Kaffern anfangen, wenn ihnen wieder erlaubt wurde in die Colonie zu kommen? antworteten sie alle einstimmig u. zwar mit einem Tone, als ob sie sich wunderten, daß ich eine solche Frage thun konnte: "Was anfangen? – Hieher kommen. Hier waren sie ja von jeher wie zu Hause." – Ich glaube auch, daß selbst bei dem jetzigen Non-Intercourse System zwischen Colonisten u. Kaffern wurde es nur wenig Mühe kosten, eine Ausnahme in Absicht auf Enon bei der Regierung auszuwirken, wenn wir es sonst wünschten. – Ist also bei der Anlegung von Enon unser Zweck auch der gewesen, einen Eingang unter die Kaffern zu finden, so hat uns unser I. Herr ohne unser Wiße diesem Zweck so nahe gebracht, wie es unter gegenwärtigen Umständen möglich war. Er, der den Schlüssel in seiner Hand hat, u. der alleine die Thüre aufthun kann, hat uns gleichsam auf der Schwelle gesetzt, um bereit zu seyn, hineinzugehen, so bald geöffnet wird." *Protocol HC, Jan 2nd 1822 (HA).*

The Enon missionaries never forgot this original intention of their station. In a letter Lemmerz wrote to Latrobe in 1824, he referred to the fact that recently two English missionaries, one of them “Braunly” (Brownlee of the Glasgow Mission), visited Enon on their way back from the interior, where the black peoples lived. They had taken along on this journey to the interior two Khoikhoi from Enon, fluent in the black language.⁷⁴⁸ According to them the black tribes begged the missionaries to come and stay with them. Lemmerz wrote: *In view of this, and other circumstance, we may conclude, that the time of God’s merciful search for this nation is coming near, and we would be very delighted, if soon some from our Brethren would go to the Bantu regions as well, to bring the Gospel to these inhabitants of darkness.*⁷⁴⁹

A year prior to the letter of Lemmerz to Latrobe, Hallbeck was not only engaged in planning the Elim enterprise, he also became involved in the possibility of establishing a ministry to a group of black people. He received a request from the governor to assist, since two small tribes (about fifty each) had entered the colony near Cradock requesting permission to stay. They were driven from their land by famine. The governor now asked the Moravians whether these people would be allowed to settle in Enon. Hallbeck’s answer, on behalf the Helpers Conference, was positive: yes, this would be in line with our missionary objective.

Hallbeck also proposed some practical arrangements:

- They would require some financial help from the government, especially during the first phase, since these people were not accustomed to work, as were the Khoikhoi.
- The people should be placed under the care of Khoikhoi families, Hallbeck reasoned: It is generally speaking in vain to expect that savages should be civilized and morally benefited by being placed under the immediate care of Europeans. The immense superiority of the master naturally creates want of confidence on the part of the poor savage, which can soon change into hatred and stubborn obstinacy. In short, the step from a savage life to the full habits of what ‘we Europeans’ consider a civilized state, is too high for one stride. To be placed under the supervision of some steady respectable Khoikhoi, would create an intermediate step. The Khoikhoi would be more likely to ensure the confidence of the poor savages, and gradually to wean them into a life of industrious labour.

⁷⁴⁸ *Nachrichten* (1825), 402-403, 884-885.

⁷⁴⁹ “Aus diesem Umstand, so wie aus andern Anzeigen, möchten wir gern schließen, daß sich die Zeit der gnädigen Heimsuchung Gottes für diese Nation näherte, und wir würden uns sehr freuen, wenn bald einige unsrer Brüder in die Kafferey gingen, um den verfinsterten Einwohnern derselben das Evangelium zu bringen.” *Nachrichten* (1825), 403.

- Furthermore, Hallbeck pointed out that the number would be too large for Enon alone; he therefore proposed that half of them be sent to Genadendal, where they would be most welcome.

The governor gladly accepted these arrangements.⁷⁵⁰

In the meantime the Enon missionaries received a trusted friend in the Dutch Reformed minister of Uitenhage, Rev Alexander Smith. As a Scottish minister, he was doctrinally orthodox in his views with an ardent drive towards mission work. The cooperation between him and the Enon missionaries was excellent. In July 1824 he requested for example br Schmitt from Enon to participate in Uitenhage in a meeting of a committee, founded to support the furthering of the Gospel amongst Christians and heathen in the region. Unfortunately Schmitt could not attend, although he fully supported the initiatives: *we hope sincerely that their goal will be reached, because many Christians are so far away from the nearest church, that they have to travel four to eight days...*⁷⁵¹ Rev Smith often visited Enon and also preached there, like on July 26th 1825, when he spoke about the Bible text for the day.⁷⁵² Hallbeck had a high regard for Rev Smith. He writes: *He is a faithful witness of the truth among the Europeans and their descendents.*⁷⁵³ Hallbeck was also a friend of the Uitenhage missionary Messer.⁷⁵⁴ In December 1837 Hallbeck even chaired the local missions meeting.⁷⁵⁵

As was mentioned in the introduction to the chapter, Hallbeck sensed the consequences of the changes in the Cape Colony. In August 1824 he raised the question whether missionaries should intellectually not be better prepared for their ministry in the colony. The next paragraph is devoted to the background and implications of his observation and question.

The quest for better equipped missionaries in the Cape Colony

Traditionally the Moravians preferred the employment of so-called 'tentmaker' missionaries ('Handwerkermissionaren').⁷⁵⁶ The missionaries in most cases originated from the European

⁷⁵⁰ *Protocol HC*, Apr 30th & May 22nd 1823 (HA).

⁷⁵¹ "Wir wünschen von Herzen, daß diese Absicht erreicht werden möge, denn manche Christen sind so weit von der nächsten Kirche entfernt, daß sie vier bis acht Tage dahin zu reisen haben" *Nachrichten* (1827), 883; *Nachrichten* (1828), 568.

⁷⁵² *Nachrichten* (1827), 889.

⁷⁵³ "ein treuer Zeuge der Wahrheit unter den Europäern und deren Nachkömmlingen" *Nachrichten* (1839), 713.

⁷⁵⁴ *Nachrichten* (1838), 629.

⁷⁵⁵ *Nachrichten* (1838), 618.

⁷⁵⁶ Spangenberg, *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 21-22 (¶113).

settlements of the Moravians. When they expressed the desire to serve in the mission, the lot chose them. In Zinzendorf's days a missionary received only sufficient money to take him to the seaport of departure. From there he had to work for his passage across the ocean and take up whatever occupation was offered to him.⁷⁵⁷ Missionaries who had received university training like Hallbeck were rather the exception among the Moravians.

In Genadendal the tentmaker model was well in place. The traveller Teenstra described what he saw in the late 1820's during his visit to Genadendal as follows: *From here we strolled to the mill, where the gentleman Fritz, a long and thin man, was the miller; yet one shouldn't imagine that the one is school master, the other miller and the third reverend – no, everyone had his turn to stand behind the pulpit in the church.*⁷⁵⁸ However, Hallbeck's experience as superintendent in the South African context caused him to critically reflect on this tradition.

Hallbeck's first endeavour to start separating spiritual duties from administrative and managerial tasks occurred in 1824. He wrote to Herrnhut concerning all the paperwork: *The other bothers are not able to do it... Though most of the brothers are very faithful and precious, nobody has gifts in this regard. We therefore need an experienced brother, who can take care of our external business, and can at least handle our cashbook.*⁷⁵⁹ The reason for this request was that Hallbeck realised that the mission work among the Khoikhoi found itself in precarious circumstances. Skilled and experienced missionaries were needed to do the right thing at the right time. With a bit of irony he wrote that among the Brethren there is a perception that *only that which is done with your hands, can be called work.*⁷⁶⁰ Hallbeck was not the typical Moravian missionary of those days – an artisan with a steadfast faith.

He also mentioned that there are some prejudices amongst the colleagues that a businessman would be of a lower status than a missionary, but that is not true. Such a person can be of great value to the mission. Hallbeck had to cope with the fact that some brothers were preachers, whilst they had no talent for it, nor would they ever develop. The UEC in Germany, however, was concerned about something else. When they would drop the tradition of

⁷⁵⁷ Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 99.

⁷⁵⁸ "Van hier wandelden wij naar den molen, alwaar de heer Fritz, een lang en mager man, molenaar was; echter moet gij u niet verbeelden, dat de eene schoolmeester, de andere molenaar en de derde leeraar is – neen, ieder moet ook zijne beurt op het spreekgestoelte in de kerk waarnemen." Teenstra, *De Vruchten Mijner Werkzaamheden*, 136.

⁷⁵⁹ "Die andern brüder können es nicht ... denn so treu u. schätzbar die meisten von unsern brüdern sind, so hat niemand ... Gaben dieser Art. Wir brauchen daher einen gesetzten [?] erfahrenen bruder, der unserer aussern Wirthschaft verstehen könnte, u. wenigstens auch das Cassabuch führen." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 12th 1824 (HA).

⁷⁶⁰ "...wo nur Hände-Arbeit als Arbeit gelten darf..." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 12th 1824 (HA).

'Handwerkermissionaren', the financial burden on Herrnhut would become unbearable. Perhaps Genadendal's financial position was sound, but that did not apply to the other mission stations all over the world.

In the early 1820's Hallbeck realised that the Moravian Mission was finding itself in a delicate position that required careful consideration and discretion. The wrong decisions could have far reaching consequences. He observed in 1824: *One cannot deny that this mission is like a city on a mountain, on which the eyes of everyone is fixed... Under the eyes of a watchful government and neighbours with negative inclinations we are standing here not only as preachers, but also as leaders and protectors of the Khoikhoi.*⁷⁶¹

In this regard he told Schneider a year later in a letter that the government insisted strongly that the Moravians take over Zuurbraak. And furthermore: *the populous Bantuland is waiting ... and the government would be very glad, when we would take this venture on our shoulders; and 12,000 Khoikhoi in the district Graaff Reinet are also desirous to hear the Gospel of Peace, and the government is willing to assist us in order to reach out to them.*⁷⁶² The only thing Hallbeck could do – as he wrote a day later in a letter to Zeist – was to *pray to the Lord of the harvest to send workers into his harvest, and to equip us with wisdom and knowledge so that we don't fail to do his will.*⁷⁶³

Gaining prominence in the Cape Colony

The above paragraph testifies to the prominence Genadendal and Hallbeck, in particular, started to enjoy in the colony. There was general appreciation for the ministry of the Moravian missionaries. Hallbeck's superintendence guarded at the good reputation of the mission stations, over and against evil tongues. Genadendal more and more became a model for new stations to be established, of whatever society. The missionaries of the different societies that fluxed into

⁷⁶¹ "Es kann nicht geleugnet werden, diese Mission ist mehr als irgend eine anderen eine Stadt auf dem berge, auf welche Aller Augen gerichtet sind. Die Umstände sind von der Art, dass wir verpflichtet sind, auf das Fortschreiten des Hottentotten so wohl im Aussern als im Innern zu arbeiten. Vor den Augen einer wachsamem Regierung u. abgünstiger Nachbarn stehen wir da, nicht nur als Lehrer, sondern als Führer u. Patronen der Hottentotten" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 12th 1824 (HA).

⁷⁶² "das volkreiche Kafferland scheint uns gleichsam entgegen... u. das gouvernement würde sich herzlich freuen, wenn wir uns dort etablirten; und 12,000 Hottentotten in dem district Graaf Reinet sind auch begierig das Evangelium des Friedens zu hören, wobei die Regierung uns gleichfalls gerne behülflich seyn würde." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 18th 1825 (HA).

⁷⁶³ "Uns bleibt nichts übrig, als den Herrn der Erndte zu bitten, Arbeiter in seine Erndte auszusenden, u. uns mit Weisheit u. Verstand auszurüsten, dass wir seinen Willen nicht verfehlen mögen." Letter Hallbeck to Böhnisch, May 19th 1825 (Het Utrechts Archief).

the colony, as standard, first paid a visit to Genadendal, to acquaint them with how things were done there, and to copy essential material like the Rules and Regulations, before they embarked on their journey to the interior of Africa.

Except for missionaries, many foreign visitors to the Cape were also adamant to pay a visit to Genadendal. Hallbeck wrote that many British people from East India journeyed from Cape Town to Genadendal with the express purpose of visiting the mission station.⁷⁶⁴ In August 1824 two Methodist missionaries arrived from Cape Town in Genadendal. Hallbeck wrote: *The aim of their visit was to acquaint them with our ways of doing things, in order to make use of them, adapted to the specific circumstances, since they were called to establish a new mission post in the area of Port-Natal on the east coast of Africa.*⁷⁶⁵ In October 1824 Sir Thomas Pringle (1789 – 1834) paid a visit to Genadendal. With his wife he thoroughly enjoyed staying there for quite a while, recovering from a broken ankle, having fallen from a horse.⁷⁶⁶

The new colonial secretary, Sir Richard Plasket, visited Genadendal on January 16th 1825. Some of Genadendal's neighbours seized the opportunity to vent complaints about the mission station. However, as Hallbeck wrote, the missionaries also got the opportunity to explain their side.⁷⁶⁷ Hallbeck had good contacts with Plasket. In one of his letters to Herrnhut Hallbeck reported the following remarkable course of events. He quoted an article from a Cape newspaper in May 1825: "At a late private meeting of benevolent individuals, concerned for the moral wants of the colony, it was observed by one gentleman, that it was to be regretted, that among the various parties, which had sent out teachers and Missionaries, the Church of England was somewhat behind in her duty towards this colony in not having a single Missionary. As I believe many of your readers are of the same opinion, I feel great pleasure in noticing the reply of a revered member of our Church, that as long as Moravian establishments existed, the Church of England never interfered or adopted its just claims. It was observed by the speaker, that the Unitas Fratrum have been fully acknowledged as an "ancient episcopal Church" by an Act passed with the unanimous consent of the Episcopal Bench in 1749 (22 George II cop. XXX). Under these circumstances and with the perfect conviction of the useful labors of these Missionaries in the steady work of civilisation and the spread of the Christian Religion, the Church of England has

⁷⁶⁴ *Nachrichten* (1824), 72.

⁷⁶⁵ "Am 21sten trafen zwey Methodisten-Missionarien aus der Capstadt bey uns ein. Der Zweck ihres Besuches war, sich mit unsern Einrichtungen näher bekannt zu machen, um dieselben nach Beschaffenheit der Umstände zu benutzen, da sie zu Anlegung eines neuen Missions-Postens in der Gegend von Port-Natal auf der Ostküste von Afrika berufen worden sind." *Nachrichten* (1826), 132. *Diary Genadendal*, Aug 21st 1824 (MASA).

⁷⁶⁶ *Nachrichten* (1824), 140.

⁷⁶⁷ *Nachrichten* (1828), 92.

generally assisted in these Missions and all Colonial governments borne testimony to their worth. It is gratifying to find these institutions multiplying in this colony ... – A true Church of England Man.”⁷⁶⁸ This man quoted in the above mentioned newspaper happened to be Sir Richard Plasket, who had received a copy of this Act of the British Parliament from Hallbeck a few weeks earlier.⁷⁶⁹ From this article Hallbeck was reassured about the colonial government’s positive disposition towards the Moravian Mission. It was this same Act of Parliament that paved the way for the Moravian pioneers in other parts of the world, especially in the American colonies. This underlines the favourable position the Moravian mission earned from the colonial government.

Challenges from the inside

Be that as it may, the former chairman of the Helpers Conference, the missionary August Clemens, was not at ease with the developments and re-positioning of the Moravian Mission in the colony since the arrival of Hallbeck. In January 1825 he wrote a letter to Herrnhut accusing Hallbeck of wanting to anglicise the mission. This was regarding the fact that Hallbeck had started to teach some of the younger missionaries English. It proved increasingly difficult to deal with the government without the ability to speak English. The German missionaries experienced difficulty in this regard and especially when Hallbeck was away from Genadendal on his journeys, there had to be someone available able to speak English. But this irked Clemens. He wrote that Hallbeck was striving to *imitate* (“nachzuäffen”) the English ways and trying to please them.⁷⁷⁰ When Hallbeck, on behalf of the Helpers Conference, put his views on the future of the mission in a letter to the UEC, Clemens was in disagreement. The HC decided to send Clemens’ objections also to the UEC.⁷⁷¹ The future would prove whose direction was to be followed.

Although the Brethren worked on the basis of equality in faith and calling, there was a hierarchical structure, resembling to a large extent the Lutheran ecclesiastical structures. In case of disagreement or conflict of interests, the superintendent had the final say, although this was done in consultation with the Helpers Conference (HC), and if necessary, the UEC. Hallbeck and the HC had to appoint and, if necessary, relocate missionaries to the different tasks in South Africa. There are many examples in his letters testifying to the fact that Hallbeck did this by first consulting everyone involved. More than once he could not execute his plans because of the

⁷⁶⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 18th 1825 (HA).

⁷⁶⁹ A copy of the Act of Parliament was sent by CI Latrobe to Hallbeck in 1822. Cf. Letter Hallbeck to CI Latrobe, Feb 1st 1823, in: Hallbeck Official Correspondance 1820-1823 (GA).

⁷⁷⁰ Letter Clemens, Jan 19th 1825, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 31.

⁷⁷¹ *Protocol HC*, Dec 2nd 1824 & Jan 22nd 1825 (HA).

unwillingness of an individual or station.⁷⁷² It was more than often a real puzzle to deploy the right persons to the right places. Not everyone could be the leader of a station, as a leader, for example, had to be well versed in English. Furthermore some colleagues were more pastoral and talented for the spiritual ministry, whilst others were more practical.

It was during the visit of Cl Latrobe in 1816, that *Overseers* were first appointed in Genadendal,⁷⁷³ consisting of 24 men as heads of the families who have proved to live a decent Christian life. Their task was to keep law and order on the mission station. In 1825 Hallbeck went a step further and led the initiative to appoint an *Overseers Conference*, with the intention of meeting once every four weeks on a Sunday and deal with happenings in the congregation regarding their office and mandate. The first meeting took place on February 12th 1825 in the presence of all the European brothers.⁷⁷⁴ On the other stations overseers were also appointed.⁷⁷⁵ Reading through the reports, it is clear that the overseers played a constructive role. In 1825 a faithful overseer confronted two men who had slaughtered an ox not belonging to them. They were taken into custody.⁷⁷⁶ In 1830 the overseers in Genadendal found 6 people guilty of theft, after which they were imprisoned. This was a sad event, however it was encouraging that the local overseers discovered it and took action themselves.⁷⁷⁷ In 1834 Hallbeck wrote – with gratitude – about the helpfulness of the local overseers in maintaining morality and order.⁷⁷⁸ In the Genadendal Archive a Protocol Book of the Overseers Conference (*Protocol der Conferentie van Opzienderen te Genadendal*) is still extant, with its first minutes written down on March 26th 1827.

Since Hallbeck was superintendent for the entire South African mission, his involvement and influence spread much wider than Genadendal. Hallbeck's devotion to the mission was astonishing, and he seriously overburdened himself, sometimes to the detriment of his health and family.

As was the case with all missionaries, they had to send their children back to Europe for their education – an almost unthinkable sacrifice from a 21st century point of view. Hallbeck's first three children left for Europe in the beginning of 1825, Charlotta Gustava being six years old, Paul

⁷⁷² Cf. for example letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 14th 1824 (HA).

⁷⁷³ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 387-389.

⁷⁷⁴ *Nachrichten* (1828), 233.

⁷⁷⁵ *Nachrichten*(1828), 240; *Nachrichten* (1843), 650-651; Letter Latrobe to Herrnhut, Jun 7th 1816 in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 43; *Nachrichten* (1828), 240; *Nachrichten* (1843), 650-651.

⁷⁷⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 31st 1825 (HA).

⁷⁷⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 27th 1830 (HA).

⁷⁷⁸ *Nachrichten* (1835), 203.

five, and Carl only four years old! This was one of the most difficult days of Hallbeck and his wife's life. Their thoughts did not depart from their children. We read: *On the 6th of February* (the day the ship was to sail off from Cape Town) *we commemorated in our prayers... this company of three adults and nine children from four to eight years with heartfelt intercession.*⁷⁷⁹ The message that they arrived safely in England after a sea journey of nine weeks was received with much gratitude on July 21st.⁷⁸⁰ From the most distant coasts of Africa the only thing that they could do was to write letters to them, and to keep praying.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the role of Hallbeck in the establishment of Elim as new mission station. The Rules and Regulations accepted for sustaining the Christian lifestyle on the station were adopted in the ambiance of a changing context of a colony in political transformation. Hallbeck came as a young and inexperienced missionary, appointed as superintendent over a number of missionaries, most of whom were older than he was, and all having more experience than he. But, he proved himself to be master of the situation.

It is evident that Hallbeck was leading the second generation missionaries towards a new dispensation. The Moravian Mission now comprised of five stations: Genadendal, Groenekloof, Enon, Hemel en Aarde and Elim, while the concept of ministerial posts outside of the stations was already coined. Genadendal not only had the status of the oldest institution in the Cape Colony, it also became a role model for missionary societies entering the colony and beyond. Furthermore the Moravian Mission was eagerly awaiting the right moment to commence a mission among the Bantu, whether inside or outside the colonial borders.

The re-positioning of the Moravian Mission led by Hallbeck was firmly based in the long theological and ecclesiastical tradition of the Moravian Brethren. In terms of his approach, management skills and the updating of Rules and Regulations, Hallbeck consolidated the mission in the changing context with its challenges. He was in fact providing a foundation for the mission that would bridge the challenges of the nearby future.

⁷⁷⁹ "Demnach gedachten wir am 6ten Februar in unsrer ersten sonntägigen Versammlung beym Gebet der Kirchenlitaney dieser aus drey erwachsenen Personen und neun Kindern von vier bis acht Jahren bestehenden Gesellschaft namentlich mit herzlicher Fürbitte." *Nachrichten* (1828), 93.

⁷⁸⁰ *Nachrichten* (1828), 101.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REVIEWED RULES AND REGULATIONS, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SILO (1825-1828)

Introduction

On January 29th 1825 Lord Somerset with his wife and daughter visited Genadendal, on their way to the border of the colony, which would also include a stopover at Enon.⁷⁸¹ He reassured Hallbeck that he would do his best in support of the Moravian Mission.⁷⁸² This indicated that the excellent relation between the Moravian Mission and the colonial government (and governor) continued. Since its re-inception, Genadendal had functioned as a closed community according to principles in the Moravian tradition, as practiced in Herrnhut. Especially Khoikhoi, ex-slaves and people of colour found there a secure environment where a Christian lifestyle could be practised, without the continuous threat and group pressure from the non-Christian communities whence they came from, or the oppression and injustice they suffered at the hands of colonists. In 1826 a savings bank (“Sparkasse”) was initiated at Genadendal, which expected healthy fathers of families to save on a weekly basis something for later, in case their wives were widowed and their children orphaned.⁷⁸³ The prosperous school, church, farming and industries reflected a settled and organized community. Hallbeck wrote about an Englishman who visited Genadendal in 1826: *he expressed orally and later in writing that his expectations were exceeded by far, and when he wouldn't have seen it with his own eyes, he would not have believed that the Khoikhoi had made so much progress in many different trades.*⁷⁸⁴

At Hemel en Aarde Peterleitner and his wife were capable missionaries.⁷⁸⁵ Elim received an outstanding missionary at the end of 1826: Christian Ludwig Teutsch arrived, with his wife, from Germany in December 1826.⁷⁸⁶ With Elim successfully established, and Hemel en Aarde effectively incorporated into the mission, Hallbeck could devote more time to the mission as a whole.

⁷⁸¹ *Nachrichten* (1828), 93.

⁷⁸² *Nachrichten* (1828), 558.

⁷⁸³ *Nachrichten* (1828), 237.

⁷⁸⁴ “er äußerte mündlich und nachmals schriftlich, seine Erwartung sey weit übertroffen worden, und wenn er es nicht mit Augen gesehen hätte, würde er nicht glauben, daß es die Hottentotten auch in mancherley Handwerksarbeiten so weit gebracht haben.” *Nachrichten* (1828), 237.

⁷⁸⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 31st 1825 (HA).

⁷⁸⁶ *Nachrichten* (1829), 349. Teutsch passed away in 1852.

During the winter of 1826 he had to make a journey to Enon to settle matters at this frontier station. On his return he had to deal with public criticism raised to jeopardise Genadendal as a Christian institution. In March 1827 he revised the *Elim Rules and Regulations*⁷⁸⁷ thoroughly to provide Genadendal and the Moravian Mission as a whole with a new fundamental constitutional document. For the rest of 1827 and early 1828 he was occupied with the establishment of a new mission among the Thembu people in the interior.

The first part of this chapter is devoted to Hallbeck's visit to Enon,⁷⁸⁸ and the capable way in which he defended Genadendal against allegations and open questioning. The middle part consists of an in-depth analysis of the revised *Rules and Regulations* while the last part covers the establishment of a new mission station, Silo, outside the border of the colony.

Visit to Enon in August 1826

Already in 1825 it became evident that a visitation of the mission station Enon by the superintendent was needed. The settlement of the British immigrants during the past five years had transformed the region. Grahamstown became an important administrative and economic centre. Hallbeck observed in October 1825: *From Enon I have not heard anything since July. The Bantu stole now and then from the English colonists; but they are usually punished strictly for this, and they seem to be unable to do anything against the colony. – Everything that can possibly be done by the government to help the colony is pursued. At the mouth of the great Fish River and at the neighbouring Kowie they are building harbours, that are, to be honest, very dangerous. They build markets on the border for the neighbouring nations, and now they also want to propose the establishment of annual markets at different places in the inner districts etc. But to be honest all these facilities will be of little help, when God does not liberate us from the devastating rust on the crops.*⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁷ See **appendix 2**.

⁷⁸⁸ Hallbeck's work as superintendent necessitated a lot of travelling. Initially he made use of horses belonging to neighbouring farmers. In 1825 he was allowed to buy his own horse, which he called *Vrolyk*. Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 31st 1825 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Dec 8th 1830 (HA). He became an experienced rider, more than once undertaking the journey of around 1,000 km between Genadendal and the eastern Cape. A journey from Cape Town to Genadendal (ca. 130 km) lasted about three days, from Groenekloof to Genadendal about four days, and from Genadendal to Enon about two weeks. When having to go to Cape Town, Hallbeck often travelled via Groenekloof. *Nachrichten* (1824), 75.

⁷⁸⁹ "Von Enon habe ich seit Ende Julii nichts gehört. Die Kaffern stahlen dann u. wann unter den ... Englischen Colonisten; worden aber gewöhnlich dafür streng gezüchtigt, u. scheinen nichts mehr gegen die Colonie ausführen zu können. – Alles was von der Regierung zur Hülfe der Colonie kann gethan worden, wird versucht. An der Mündung des großen Fisch-Flußes u. an der benachbarten Kowie [?] legt man Häfen an, welche freilich sehr gefährlich sind. Für die benachbarten Volker legt man Märkte an der Gränze an u. nun wird auch darauf angetragen hin u. wieder in den

In 1826 Hallbeck travelled to Enon to ascertain himself of the situation, to inspect the mission station and to audit the books of the previous years. In a comprehensive report to Herrnhut he explained the circumstances:⁷⁹⁰ The lodgings on the station were too spartan. This was not conducive to the missionaries' health. The Enon *House Conference*, Hallbeck wrote, then decided to build a new house, large enough to be used as dining room, kitchen, and home for two missionary families. The financial records were in an appalling state, but the station's leader Schmitt was not dishonest, and no money was missing. For future reference Hallbeck taught Schmitt how to do the bookkeeping properly. Enon's main source of income was cattle breeding. Yet it proved that there was not enough pasturage, especially since the station was still growing in numbers. New markets, labour opportunities and a fairly stable situation prompted the inflow of Khoikhoi people, who preferred residing on the station.

The most serious challenge Hallbeck had to deal with related to the head of the station Schmitt and in particular his wife. She made life difficult for her husband and the colleagues. Hallbeck described her as ruling their marriage with absolute authority.⁷⁹¹ There were also serious allegations against her with regard to alcohol abuse. Hallbeck wrote: *the complaints are unanimous about sr. Schmitt, who is domineering everything in an incomprehensible way, and who has lapsed into drunkenness to such an extent, that even the Khoikhoi take offence to it.*⁷⁹² Hallbeck could have picked up sr. Schmitt's addiction earlier, if he had been a bit more suspicious. Already in 1821 he could have known that something was not in order. Hallbeck visited Enon at the time to inspect the finances of the station. His findings were that although there was a deficit over the recent years, the missionaries had done very much to contain the costs. Nevertheless, the high bill for wine was conspicuous. Initially Hallbeck defended his colleagues, saying that they were not abusing wine. To the contrary, the reason for the high bill was that wine was very expensive in the *Unterland* (eastern Cape).⁷⁹³ But later it became evident that more was at hand.

innern districten Jahrmärkte einzurichten u.s.w. aber freilich werden alle solchen Einrichtungen wenig helfen, wenn Gott uns nicht von dem verheerenden Rost befreiet." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 31st 1825 (HA).

⁷⁹⁰ Hallbeck, *Bericht des br. Hallbecks über seinen besuch in Enon, im Jahr 1826* (HA).

⁷⁹¹ "da sie aber die Machthabende ist" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 12th 1826 (HA).

⁷⁹² "Aber eben so einstimmig sind ihre Klagen über die Schw. Schmitt, die auf eine unbegreifliche Weise über alles herrscht, u. dabei so sehr in Trunkenheit verfallen ist, dass selbst die Hottentotten daran Anstoss nehmen." Hallbeck, *Bericht des br. Hallbecks über seinen besuch in Enon, im Jahr 1826* (HA).

⁷⁹³ *Protocol HC*, Jan 2nd 1822 (HA).

The abuse of alcohol remained an ever recurring problem on the mission stations.⁷⁹⁴ In the Colony an abundance of wine and liquor was produced, and could therefore be obtained at little cost. On the 1st of January 1829 a number of young people had to be expelled from Genadendal because of drunkenness. Hallbeck added that he was afraid that this evil would only increase in the future, since government had made it easier for the winegrowers to sell strong liquor.⁷⁹⁵

It was of course essential for the missionaries to set the right example. The mere fact that they produced brandy on the mission stations did cause questions also in Herrnhut in the 1830's. Although it wasn't sold, the mere fact that it was produced on the station caused offence. Hallbeck wrote: *With regard to the production of brandy, this is a natural appendix of the vineyards, and it would be a waste, when one would just throw away what produces the brandy, since it cannot be used for anything else.*⁷⁹⁶ Hallbeck then continued to mention that since they cannot do without brandy entirely – e.g. for medicinal purposes – it would be stupid to buy brandy from others. But he added: *I hope that I will still experience the day that brandy will be used on the station for medicinal purposes only... In the meantime no effort is spared to prevent both the brethren and Khoikhoi from drinking too much.*⁷⁹⁷ Apparently not all the missionaries showed the right example to their congregants with regard to the use of alcohol.⁷⁹⁸ In 1822 Hallbeck had to report to Herrnhut: *That br Beinbrecht has the tendency of enjoying too much strong liquor, cannot be denied; however in this regard he is so much under the supervision of his wife that I have only seen very seldom, that he had enjoyed too much.*⁷⁹⁹ More than a decade later Hallbeck wrote: *It seems as if br Sondermann, through God's grace, has left it totally behind him, and has become as of year and day a pleasant colleague, although he cannot always contain himself in flaring up against his wife and children. Br Stein is worthy of his name [Stein in German means 'stone'], and my frequent reminders were not fruitless, according to the proverb 'gutta cavat lapidem' [Latin for: a drop pierces a stone]; although he abstains more out of fear than out of inner persuasion. With the other brothers and sisters I have never encountered anything to remember. Concerning the Khoikhoi we endeavour as much as possible to advise abstinence, and the stage has indeed been reached, that the tanners, in stead of wine and brandy, are using*

⁷⁹⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Apr 18th 1821 (HA).

⁷⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1831), 867.

⁷⁹⁶ "Was bei uns das brandtwein-brennen angeht, so ist es ein natürliches appendix von Weingarten, u. es wäre eine Verschwendung, wenn man die Träler, die den brandtwein geben, u. die zu nichts anderen zu gebrauchen sind, wegwürfe" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 19th 1835 (HA).

⁷⁹⁷ "... ich hoffe noch immer den Tag zu erleben, dass brandtwein nur als Arznei unter uns gebraucht werden wird. Aber solche dinge lassen sich nicht erzwingen, u. es ist zu befürchten, dass wenn ich das ding mit Gewalt durchsetzen wollte, würde ich in andern Hinsichten mehr Unheil, als Nützen stiften. Mittlerweile wird keine Mühe gespart, um so wohl unter d. brüdern als Hottentotten das übermässige Trinken zu verhüten." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 19th 1835 (HA).

⁷⁹⁸ Müller, *200 Jahre Brüdermission 1. Band: Das erste Missionsjahrhundert*, 192-193.

⁷⁹⁹ "Dass br. Beinbrech eine Neigung zum übermässigen Genuss starker Getränke hat, kann nicht geleugnet werden; doch ist er in dieser Hinsicht so unter der Aufsicht seiner Frau, dass ich nur sehr selten bemerkt habe, dass er zu viel davon genossen" Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jul 23rd 1822 (HA).

*nothing but coffee, and among the blacksmiths and cutlers there is only one using wine, and not excessively. This result would not have been achieved, had the Khoikhoi not been prohibited to bring in liquor from other places. This prohibition however cannot function if they are not helped locally with the supply of what is still necessary, and of course much caution and firmness of the cellar master is mandatory.*⁸⁰⁰

One should bear in mind, though, that by the time it was uncommon to drink water as part of one's daily nutrition. Water was regarded as unhealthy, and it was indeed, especially in the cities. Schneider for example wrote that at the end of the 18th century in Malmö, Sweden, Hallbeck used to take a bottle of beer along to the primary school everyday. Although this beer didn't have as high of an alcohol level, nevertheless Schneider looked back on this once normal practice with some disbelief.⁸⁰¹

In July 1835 Hallbeck, together with the House Conference, went a step further and decided to abolish the produce of brandy on the station altogether. Furthermore the rule that had existed since the days of Br. Rose (1800-1805), namely that each missionary couple was entitled to four bottles of wine per week was reduced to two bottles per week. The missionaries were urged to commit themselves anew to moderation.

Coming back to Enon in the 1820's, br Schmitt and his addicted wife had to be removed from the station. They were replaced by br and sr Fritsch in 1826. Hallbeck noted in a letter to Schneider in October 1826 that *sr Fritsch is in every respect suitable as a leader's wife.*⁸⁰²

Despite all challenges, the Enon congregation grew. An excerpt from the Catalogue of Adult Members of the station Enon⁸⁰³ illustrates the point:

⁸⁰⁰ "Br. Sondermann scheint, durch Gottes Gnade, davon ganz abgekommen zu seyn, u. ist überhaupt seit Jahr u. Tag ein gefälliger College geworden, wiewohl er nicht immer gegen Frau u. Kinder sein Aufbrausen bändigen kann. Br. Stein ist seines Namens würdig, doch sind meine häufigen Erinnerungen nicht ganz fruchtlos gewesen, nach dem alten Sprichwort: gutta cavat lapidem; wiewohl es nicht zu verkennen ist, dass er sich mehr aus Furcht, als aus Grundsatz enthält. Bei den andern Geschw'n habe ich nie was zu erinnern gehabt. – bei den Hottentotten suche ich so viel wie möglich, Enthaltbarkeit zu empfehlen, u. es ist wirklich dahin gekommen, dass die Gärber, statt Wein u. brandtwein, nichts als Kaffee gebrauchen, u. unter Schmidten u. Messerschmidten gibt es nur ein einziger der Wein gebraucht, u. dieser nie in Uebermass. – dieses Resultat wäre hierher nie hervorgebracht, wenn es den Hottentotten nicht verboten wäre, Getränke von andern Plätzen hierher zu bringen; aber dieses Verbot kann nicht Statt finden wenn sie nicht an Ort u. Stelle zu dem bisweilen nothwendige bedarf können geholfen worden, wobei jedoch viele Vorsicht u. Festigkeit von Seiten des Kellermeisters erforderlich ist." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 19th 1835 (HA).

⁸⁰¹ Schneider, *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars.* 3rd ed. (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925), 6.

⁸⁰² "Schw. Fritsch ist in jeder Hinsicht eine passende Vorsteher's Frau" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 12th 1826 (HA).

⁸⁰³ GA.

Nr	Baptism and Name	Old Name and Place of Birth	Baptismal Candi-date	Baptised & by whom	Candi-date Lord Supper	First Lord Supper	Changes or Death
1	Lydia Pieters	Catharina Appels Kraal aan't Revier Zonder-eind	5 Sept 1818	18 Oct 1818 JH Schmitt	13 Apr 1819	23 Oct 1819	Died 26 Aug 1829 at Enon
2	Elias Beukes	Pitt. Aan't Karmelk Revier	23 Jan 1818	6 Jan 1819 JH Schmitt	30 Ma 1820	26 May 1821	Wife: Maria 11 Aug 1826 excommunicated 3 Nov 1826 readmitted Overseer to Silo Jan 1838
6	Mathilda Leeuwen-schieter	Auroria In Groot-vadersbosch	12 Aug 1818	6 Jan 1819 JH Schmitt			Died 29 Ma 1821 at Enon
9	Petrus Paarde-wachter	Klaas Aan't Brak Revier	16 Oct 1818	12 Sept 1819 JH Schmitt	13 Aug 1820	2 Feb 1822	Died 29 Sept. 1826 at Enon
16	Susanne Uithaler	Antje Aan't Olifants Revier	7 Apr 1819	6 Jan 1820 JH Schmitt	14 Oct 1820	26 May 1821	Husband Christian Afrikaner
17	Dorothea Reenjes	Gried in Hottentots Holland	12 Aug 1818	6 Jan 1820 JH Schmitt	19 Apr 1821	19 Jul 1823	
21	Lisette Stuurman	Flora Aan't Karmelks Rivier	5 Jan 1820	13 Aug 1820 JH Schmitt	19 Apr 1821	20 Nov 1836	Husband Josua Kleinhans
24	Phillipina Samson	Sarah Aan't Wynberg	5 Jan 1819	15 Oct 1820 JH Schmitt	27 Apr 1823	7 Sept 1827	Husband Salomo October

With matters concluded in Enon, the return journey in August took Hallbeck through the Karoo. This journey proved to be life threatening, because of the draught. The party also found itself surrounded by lions, elephants and other wild animals.⁸⁰⁴

Allegations by Rusticus⁸⁰⁵

Back in Genadendal, Superintendent Hallbeck was confronted with the hostile attitude of some of the neighbouring farmers, this time raised in the public domain as serious allegations. It is striking how the freedom of the press – acquired at the Cape in 1824 – immediately led to an attack on the mission stations from the side of the colonists.⁸⁰⁶ This came as no surprise to Hallbeck. In April 1824 he wrote: *Since the new year a new order has emerged here, in the sense that press freedom is allowed and an anti-government newspaper is published. Since our mission stations are one of the main curiosities of this Colony, they will probably be pulled into the public eye and subjected to criticism, just as the establishments of the London Society have already caused controversy. We cannot be cautious enough, and have great reason to pray to the Saviour for his guidance through this ... We do our utmost to maintain the favour of our beloved government, but this does not please our colleagues of the other societies, with whom we also want to live in harmony.*⁸⁰⁷

In the *Commercial Advertiser* of August 12th 1826 the neighbouring farmer Theunissen brought Genadendal under suspicion in a letter signed as *Rusticus*.⁸⁰⁸ He had a history of opposing the mission. Time and again he sowed discord between the Khoikhoi and the missionaries, and questioned the authority of the Genadendal structures. Some inhabitants were misled to disobey

⁸⁰⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 24th 1826 (HA).

⁸⁰⁵ See also **Appendix 1**: Correspondence between Hallbeck and the government about the Rusticus-episode, as well as the ensuing update of the Rules & Regulations by Hallbeck (GA).

⁸⁰⁶ Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7.

⁸⁰⁷ "Es ist seit Neujahr eine ganz neue Ordnung der dinge hier entstanden, indem die Press freiheit erlaubt ist u. eine Anti-Gouvernements Zeitung ausgegeben wird. Weil nun unsre Missionsplätze eine der Haupt-Merkwürdigkeiten dieser Colonie aus machen, so werden wir wahrscheinlich bald vor's Publicum hervorgeholt u. der Critik unterworfen werden, so wie die Etablissements der Londoner Gesellschaft schon zu einer Art Controvers Veranlassung gegeben. Wir können daher nicht vorsichtig genug seyn, u. haben grosse Ursache, den Hld um seine durchhülfe zu bitten ... Wir thun unser Aüsserstes um die Gunst unserer I. Obrigkeit zu geniessen, aber eben dieses misfällt unsern Mitarbeitern von andern Gesellschaften, mit denen wir doch auch gerne in Harmonie leben wollten." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824 (HA).

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 24th 1826; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider Dec 15th 1826; *Protocol HC*, Jan 18th 1827; *Nachrichten* (1827), 482; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 161-165.

the rules of the station.⁸⁰⁹ In the letter Rusticus contended that the missionaries of Genadendal, Elim and Zuurbraak enriched themselves by exploiting the poor Khoikhoi, making good profits from their shops, mills, guesthouses and from the sale of intoxicating liquor, although they had no licences.

On August 22nd 1826 Hallbeck replied, refuting the allegations.⁸¹⁰ He saw it as his duty to correct and contradict the unfounded statements regarding the institution and the missionaries. “The poverty of our neighbourhood and consequently also of the Hottentots,” Hallbeck wrote, “after such frequent failures of the crops, is notorious; but it is just as well known that none, who will and can work need suffer hunger, or commit crimes, which will bring him to an untimely end. And those who are unable to work are not left destitute here.” Neither the missionaries, nor the society are growing rich. Hallbeck rectified the allegations and in conclusion remarked: “Our Missions were flourishing and we had Missionaries as they ought to be at a time, when we were standing alone, objects of scorn and calumny, and strangers to that public applause, which much against our wish, has fallen to our share of late, and which has naturally raised the voice of envy. And we trust, that we are not yet so far degenerated, as not to be able to share in the sufferings of our ancestors with silent, but conquering patience, conscious that our motives are pure and our proceedings disinterested.”⁸¹¹

Theunissen (Rusticus) *again* replied, repeating not only stated allegations, but in fact added a few more.⁸¹² This time Hallbeck did not reply. In December 1826 he wrote to Herrnhut: *to be despised by the world we can – thanks to God – bear, although flesh and blood object. With*

⁸⁰⁹ Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 15th 1826; *Nachrichten* (1837), 482; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 161-165.

⁸¹⁰ Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 24th 1826; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider Dec 15th 1826; *Protocol HC*, Jan 18th 1827; *Nachrichten* (1827), 482; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 161-165.

⁸¹¹ Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1824; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 24th 1826; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider Dec 15th 1826; *Protocol HC*, Jan 18th 1827; *Nachrichten* (1827), 482; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 161-165.

⁸¹² Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7. The Poor Box was well organized. See Rules and Regulations (1827) (GA). Rusticus furthermore accused the missionaries that they sell the clothes received *as donations* from Europe. Hallbeck pointed to the reasons why they do this – to prevent jealousy among those who don’t get; to pay the transport costs; to support the poor box, where the remaining money goes to. So it happened in 1826 during a drought that about 20 men were employed to build three dams to ensure better water supply to the gardens during the dry season. Their salaries were paid from the Poor Box. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 12th 1826 (HA). The same happened in 1835 when some men had to repair the damage caused by flooding to the gardens. It was paid from Poor Box. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 8th 1835 (HA).

*regard to the newspapers our decision stands: we remain silent. Whether we, through our mere silence, have fulfilled our duty towards our Saviour and his cause is another question.*⁸¹³

Hallbeck though compiled a comprehensive report on the issue and informed Herrnhut, with evidence of the truth. "All the charges of Rusticus are invented" he stated, "to prove, that the proceedings of the Missionaries are dictated by self-interest, and that they are the oppressors, rather than the friends of the Hottentots. It would be very easy, not only to disprove this bold calumny, but by a host of undeniable facts, to establish the very reverse of this accusation. But we do not like to be the trumpeters of our own fame, as long as it can be avoided, and the Colonial Government, nay, I venture to say, the Public generally knows too much of our conduct from the beginning of this Mission to this very day, to be misled by such a writer as Rusticus. ... *the main objective of the Institute is Christian education, and the gradual civilisation of the Hottentots.*"⁸¹⁴

Hallbeck also sent his response on the letter in the *Commercial Advertiser* to Colonial Secretary Richard Plasket, on December 31st 1926. He did not request that judicial action be taken against Rusticus (something he could not do without consent of Herrnhut), but requested the government to look for ways and means to prevent such a slander attack to happen again. The governor answered that he was fully convinced of the missionaries' good intentions towards the Khoikhoi, and that should the missionaries nevertheless decide to take action, the government would take it into serious consideration.

About this event Hallbeck later wrote: *For many years the Brethren in Genadendal lived without any animosities, to the contrary, they were praised more than they wanted and deserved; only in the years 1823-1826 many accusations were spread against them, both in secret and publicly. Since they feared that the work of the Saviour would be jeopardized, they considered it necessary to present the matter before the government, and the result was that the governor became fully convinced of their innocence.*⁸¹⁵ The issue however led to the drafting of a new set of Rules and

⁸¹³ "Von der Welt belogen u. verleumdet zu werden, können wir, Gottlob! Ertragen, wie wohl es dem Fleisch u. blut zuwider ist, u. in Absicht auf die Zeitungen ist daher unser beschluss gefasst: wir schweigen. Aber ob wir mit blossen Stillschweigen unsere Pflicht gegen den Heiland u. seine Sache erfüllt haben, ist eine andere Frage." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 15th 1826 (HA).

⁸¹⁴ "Bemerkungen über den brief von Rusticus datirt 14 Nov. 1826, in No 71 von the South African Commercial Advertiser." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 15th 1826 (HA).

⁸¹⁵ "Seit einer langen Reihe von Jahren hatten die Brüder in Gnadenthal ohne Anfeindungen gelebt, im Gegentheil waren sie mehr, als sie wünschten und verdienten, gelobt worden; allein in den Jahren 1823 - 1826 wurden sowol im Geheimen als öffentlich manche Beschuldigungen gegen sie ausgestreut. Weil sie nun befürchteten, daß das Werk des

Regulations for Genadendal, that were intended to bring clarity as far as the internal order of the institution was concerned, as well as to protect the mission against future misrepresentation and suspicion. This was in fact also suggested by the answer of the governor to Hallbeck, dated January 12th 1827: “His Honor has further desired me to inform You, that if You will point out, what steps You wish good to take to prevent the evils You complain of, Your suggestion shall be taken into immediate consideration.”

The 1827 Rules and Regulations⁸¹⁶

Early in the new year Hallbeck engaged in revising the Rules and Regulations for Genadendal (“Ordeningen des Instituuts te Genadendal (Revisieerd 1827)”; or: “Rules and Regulations of the Institute at Genadendal revised in 1827”).⁸¹⁷ The accusations made by neighbouring farmer Theunissen (Rusticus), who i.a. publicly accused the missionaries of selling liquor and commodities without a license, underlined the need for a set of clearly stated and officially recognized rules and regulations not only for Genadendal, but for the Moravian Mission in the colony at large. For the inhabitants it would also be better, since the Khoikhoi were not always aware of how things were arranged exactly. The danger existed that they could, with the current setup, easily become suspicious that the missionaries were conducting a profitable business to their disadvantage.⁸¹⁸ In submitting the Regulations to the Governor on March 9th 1827, Hallbeck observed: “When this is done, I am of opinion, that we shall, at least for the present & for a long time to come, be able to preserve order without the usual coercive means, & without an additional Field Cornet or Special Heemr. for this place.”⁸¹⁹

The new Regulations “were read (in the Dutch language) in a general meeting of all Male Adults, who possess houses or gardens in Genadendal, on the fifth of March One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty Seven, and were unanimously agreed to.”⁸²⁰ Signed on behalf of the community by the seven Genadendal missionaries (H.P. Hallbeck, Joh. Lemmerz, C. Thomsen, Joh

Heilandes darunter leiden könnte, so sahen sie sich genöthigt, die Sache der Regierung vorzulegen, und der Erfolg war, daß der Gouverneur von ihrer Unschuld vollkommen überzeugt wurde” *Nachrichten* (1837), 482.

⁸¹⁶ See **Appendix 3**.

⁸¹⁷ A copy of these *Rules and Regulations* is in the Herrnhut Archive in Hallbeck’s handwriting (“Copie für Br. Schneider”). A copy, also in Hallbeck’s handwriting, is in the Genadendal Archive. Furthermore a copy in somebody else’s handwriting is in the Genadendal Archive with the addition on the first page “Enon Gemeinordnungen”. All three of these copies are in Dutch. There is also an English translation in Hallbeck’s handwriting in the Genadendal Archive. This translation is used here.

⁸¹⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 24th 1827 (HA).

⁸¹⁹ “Heemr.” refers to a Heemraad, the Dutch word used in the Colony for a government official. Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7.

⁸²⁰ Chapter Three, Rules and Regulations 1827. Also Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 19th 1827 (HA).

Stein, H.N. Voigt, J.G. Schultz, D. Luttring), Hallbeck then translated the Rules and Regulations into English from the Dutch original and sent them to the colonial government for approval. Richard Plasket, colonial secretary endorsed the document and sent it back to Hallbeck with an accompanying letter, dated March 16th 1827. “His Honor desires me to acquaint you in reply that He can have no hesitation in giving His sanction to Regulations which appear to him to have been drawn up with so much prudence and discretion, and which, without interfering in any way with the Laws of the Colony, seem to be extremely well adapted for the humane & beneficial object of the Institution.”⁸²¹

For the Moravian Mission the official recognition and approval of the Rules and Regulations, which were also accepted in Elim, Enon and Groenekloof in 1828,⁸²² was of great significance. The missions’ position and functioning in the colony were now guaranteed and the way in which its rules were applied also aligned with colonial jurisprudence. The 1827 Rules and Regulations were neatly structured in three chapters:

- Chapter I: Of Christian Doctrine, Church fellowship and general moral and social duties, consisting of 30 articles,
- Chapter II: Of Outward order and regularity of the Institution, with 31 articles, and
- Chapter III: Of the Superintendence of the Institution that entailed 16 articles.

The document was drafted to embody and express the common voluntary order as community and institution. Not all typical municipal regulations were mentioned though, e.g. the issues of health, sanitation and waste management. However, between the lines an awareness regarding these issues could be read, and, judged by the contemporary impression Genadendal made, it is evident that the missionaries did address these matters.

The first chapter concerns “Of Christian Doctrine, Church fellowship and general moral and social duties.” The Christian Doctrine includes matters like the authority of Scripture, “that the conduct of the members of the Congregation be conformable to its dictates,”⁸²³ the attending of the opportunities for instruction and edification,⁸²⁴ to “carefully improve the Sabbath,”⁸²⁵ and “that

⁸²¹ *Rules and Regulations (1827)* (GA). See also Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, March 19th & 25th 1827 (HA).

⁸²² *Nachrichten* (1830), 847; Krüger *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 165.

⁸²³ Article 1: “The **word of God**, contained in the sacred books, of the old and new Testament, is the only rule and standard of our doctrine and our conduct, and we are thus as a Christian Congregation in duty bound, carefully to watch, that the word of God be taught amongst us in its purity, and that the conduct of the members of the Congregation be conformable to its dictates.” Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸²⁴ Article 2: “We consider it as a sacred duty diligently and with due solemnity to attend the several opportunities which are here afforded us for **instruction** and edification, which is the more needful since a great number of us were but lately ignorant heathen, who stand much in need of instruction.” Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

the Holy Sacraments viz. Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper be administered amongst us according to the institution of Christ."⁸²⁶ These four articles are essentially the same as the 1824 Elim Rules and Regulations.⁸²⁷ No alterations were made.

The Church Fellowship comprises avoiding "useless and doubtful disputations... with people of other persuasions."⁸²⁸ "We consider all those," article six states, "who are born anew unto a lively hope by the Holy Spirit, though they may differ with us on minor points, as Brethren and Sisters in Christ, with whom we are desirous to live in peace and Christian fellowship." However, the community is "no less thankful to God for our more intimate connexion with the Protestant Church of the United Brethren; which we consider as a peculiar favour bestowed on us, and hence we can acknowledge none as a teacher amongst us, who is not appointed by the Direction of said Church."⁸²⁹ Following, idolatry and superstition⁸³⁰ is detested, cursing, swearing and the misuse of the Name of God rejected⁸³¹ and "under a sense of our human weakness and of the manifold dangers of soul and body, with which we are surrounded, to call on the name of the Lord in prayer, and hence family worship is strongly recommended to all the inhabitants of the place."⁸³² Obviously Hallbeck followed the 1824 Elim Regulations, which he wrote himself a few years earlier.

The general, moral and social duties included the Scriptural command of obedience to authorities and to submit to them "for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors, as those, that are sent by him - 1 Pet. 2: 13, 14," and therefore, "to the laws of the land, in which our lot is cast."⁸³³ The 1824 qualification *unless we are by judicially obtained freedoms and privileges exempted from them* is no longer added.⁸³⁴ Neither is there any reference made to justified disobedience in case authorities would demand submission that would explicitly be against the Word of God. The Moravian Regulations "can therefore not

⁸²⁵ Article 3: "It is in particular our duty, carefully to improve the **Sabbath**, as a day of rest and devotion and we will therefore avoid every thing by which this day of the Lord is profaned." Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸²⁶ Article 4: "As a Christian Congregation we feel it our duty to pay all diligence, that the Holy **Sacraments** viz. Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper be administered amongst us according to the institution of Christ, and solemnized with due reverence by the members of the Congregation." Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸²⁷ See **appendix 2**.

⁸²⁸ Article 5. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸²⁹ Article 6. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³⁰ Article 7. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³¹ Article 8. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³² Article 9. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³³ Article 10. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³⁴ "ten zy wy door wettig verkregene Vryheden en Vorregt daarvan ontslagen zyn" The 1824 Elim Regulations read: "Nademaal de heil. Schrift uitdrukkelyk leert en beveelt: Zyt alle menschelyke Ordeningen onderdanig om des Heeren wille; het zy den Koning, als de opperste Machthebbende; het zy den Stadhouderen, als die van hem gezonden worden, 1. Petr. 2:13; zoo willen wy ons als getrouwe en gehoorzame Onderdanen aan alle Landes wetten aller willigst onderwerpen, ten zy wy door wettig verkregene Vryheden en Vorregt daarvan ontslagen zyn."

interfere with or supersede any of the laws of the Colony. If transgressions against the criminal law should occur amongst us (which God forbid!) we consider ourselves bound, to make it known to the proper authorities.”⁸³⁵

In conformity with the 1824 Elim Regulations, Articles 12-17 are dedicated to “our duty to love all men, even our enemies,” and that inhabitants “will therefore take care, not to injure any individual, but on the contrary, endeavour to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of our fellow men.”⁸³⁶ Broadly speaking, it should be guided by the fact that all “dealings with our fellowmen must be marked by the strictest attention to truth and honesty, whoever defrauds or takes undue advantage of his neighbour forfeits his privileges as a member of our church.”⁸³⁷ It is thus expected of every inhabitant to be friendly and civil towards all men⁸³⁸ and that not only murder, theft, perjury, cheating and other sins, which are punishable by the laws of the land as grievous transgressions, but also malice, wrath, evil speaking, fighting, quarrelling, back biting, lying etc. be avoided.⁸³⁹ The brief Article 23 “We consider ourselves in duty bound, to be attentive to whatever is serviceable to health, for instance, cleanliness, proper clothing, suitable wholesome dwellings etc.”⁸⁴⁰ took care of issues like public health, sanitation and waste management. Then follow articles that guide honest industry⁸⁴¹ as a way to glorify God, “and that we therefore are bound to flee all sins, which defile and degrade body and mind; such as fornication, adultery, gluttony, drunkenness, smoking of Dagga etc.”⁸⁴²

Articles 23-28 are dedicated to holy matrimony, a cornerstone of Christian living “and of vital importance for the maintenance of social order.”⁸⁴³ The articles provide for its divine origin, its necessity and matters regarding its solemnisation.

As indicated, this 1827 revision is largely based on the 1824 Elim version, although Hallbeck now opted for a formulation more universal and less contextual.⁸⁴⁴ The final articles of chapter one

⁸³⁵ Article 11. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³⁶ Article 12. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³⁷ Article 16. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³⁸ Article 18. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸³⁹ Article 15. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴⁰ Article 23. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴¹ Article 24-26. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴² Article 27. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴³ Article 23. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴⁴ For example his article concerning marriage in the Elim version proved to be too strict to an outsider: *When an inhabitant marries with someone from outside the place, his spouse cannot for that reason be accepted among us, and thus everyone who takes this step therefore declares that he renounces his right to stay here.* (*Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim* (1824), 4.5 (GA). In the revised version of 1827 Hallbeck changed this to: “If a member of the Institution marries an Individual not belonging thereto in a regular and lawful manner, he is thereby not excluded from Church fellowship with us, but it must in every such case be left to those who superintend the Institution, to decide whether his partner can be admitted an inhabitant of the place.” *Rules and Regulations* (1827), 1.27 (GA).

rule the proper education of children,⁸⁴⁵ which presupposes a more structured schooling environment than the similar articles in the 1824 Regulations.

Chapter II entails rules regarding the outward order and regularity of the Institution. This is detailed in 31 articles. These rules provide for building regulations, a public fund to assist the erection of substantial houses⁸⁴⁶ and that the inspection in this regard is entrusted to one of the missionaries.⁸⁴⁷ Article 4 provides for a missionary that is “appointed to distribute garden ground and plough-land, and it is at the same time his duty to watch, that the land thus distributed be properly made use of.”⁸⁴⁸ Cultivation of ground and care for the crops are regarded as fundamental duties.⁸⁴⁹ Disputes are to be brought before the Inspector of Gardens.⁸⁵⁰ Houses could be sold to another inhabitant, “of which however due notice must be given to those who superintend the Institution, but the land cannot be sold, because it is not occupied as property.”⁸⁵¹ The prevention of damages is explicitly addressed.⁸⁵² The following precautions are stipulated:

- a. That the gardens are well fenced.
- b. That a sufficient number of watchmen take care of the crop on the fields.
- c. That one or more Herdsmen be appointed to look after the cattle.
- d. That cattle and horses be well secured during the night.
- e. That no pigs are allowed to run loose in the place.⁸⁵³

Overseers are to address and properly investigate appeals due to losses.⁸⁵⁴ If damage is done on what belongs to the community as a whole, for instance plantations, fence of the cemetery etc. the value of the damage is put into the Poor Box.⁸⁵⁵ Disagreements must be settled before the overseers and / or missionaries.⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁴⁵ Articles 29-30, Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA). 29: “It is a most important duty of those, whom God has blessed with **children**, or who have adopted the children of others, to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, which implies, that they are in early years made acquainted with their Creator and Redeemer, that they are made to attend School and Church, that they are accustomed to obedience and diligence, and that the parents do not only not give them offence, but as much as possible watch over them, that they are not led astray by others” etc. 30: “It is expected of the parents and Guardians, that they send their children to School at the age of six years, in order that they may have an opportunity to be instructed, before they must be called upon to earn their bread by daily labour.”

⁸⁴⁶ Chapter II, Articles 1 and 2. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴⁷ Chapter II, Article 3. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴⁸ Chapter II, Article 4. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁴⁹ Chapter II, Article 4. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵⁰ Chapter II, Articles 5-7. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵¹ Chapter II, Article 8, see also 9. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵² Chapter II, Articles 11 and 18. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵³ Cf. also Articles 12, 13, 14. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵⁴ Chapter II, Articles 15 and 16. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵⁵ Chapter II, Article 17. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵⁶ Chapter II, Article 19. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

Article 20 directs the reception of Khoikhoi and strangers. “Both the laws of the country,” it stipulates, “and the order of the Institution require, that every strange Hottentot or slave must produce his passport. No inhabitant is allowed to lodge any such stranger in his house overnight, until the Missionary, who is charged with this duty, has examined his passport. Whoever lodges such a visitor must have a watchful eye on him and not allow him to act against the rules of the Institution.”⁸⁵⁷

The next articles (21-24) stipulate that inhabitants should retire to their dwellings after the evening meetings in Church,⁸⁵⁸ that the intercourse between the sexes should be strictly according to the rules of morality,⁸⁵⁹ needless assemblies of young people, particularly in the evening, cannot be suffered, and all improper plays, games and sports, whereby the unhallowed passions are excited, must be discountenanced.⁸⁶⁰ Parents and guardians are responsible for the behaviour of the youth.⁸⁶¹ “No one is allowed to bring wine & spirituous liquors into the establishment, except a moderate quantity for his own immediate use.”⁸⁶² It continues: “With a view to obviate dangerous irregularities of this kind, the managers of the Institution have taken measures, that the members of the Institution can be supplied with wine in small quantities on the spot.”⁸⁶³ This article is also a new addition to the Regulations.

Furthermore “All the inhabitants are bound to take an equal share in the repair of roads, and watercourses, keeping the burying ground in order, lighting the Church, requisitions by Government, and other duties of a similar nature.”⁸⁶⁴ Everyone is bound to care for cleanliness of the roads and footpaths, and in particular be careful that the water is not defiled,⁸⁶⁵ furthermore care for the poor and sick should be taken. “The expenses connected therewith must be defrayed out of the Poor’s Cash, which is therefore strongly recommended to the kind consideration of all the members of the Institution.”⁸⁶⁶ This chapter is concluded with an exposition of the admission terms and conditions.⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁵⁷ Article 20. It concludes with: “With strangers we mean also such individuals as have forfeited their right of residing in the establishment.” Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵⁸ Chapter II, Article 21. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁵⁹ Chapter II, Article 22. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶⁰ Chapter II, Article 23. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶¹ Chapter II, Article 24. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶² Chapter II, Article 25. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶³ Chapter II, Article 25. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶⁴ Chapter II, Article 26. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶⁵ Chapter II, Article 27. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶⁶ Chapter II, Article 28. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶⁷ Chapter II, Articles 29-31. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

The last chapter of the Rules and Regulations focuses on the superintendence of the Institution. Except for the first article that was taken over from Latrobe's Regulations, the rest of the chapter is original. The first article encompasses the voluntary nature of the Rules and Regulations. They are "a brotherly Agreement between all the inhabitants of the place, in the due observance of which all are equally interested."⁸⁶⁸ This article functioned as a cornerstone in the 'DNA' of the Moravian settlements all over the world – the emphasis on the total voluntary nature of living together.

The superintendence of Genadendal is entrusted to the missionaries, fourteen church-Servants and eighteen overseers, whom the inhabitants are willing to honour and obey.⁸⁶⁹ These people are not authorized to prescribe laws to the rest, or to interfere with such matters as belong to the civil government of the colony.⁸⁷⁰ Their duties are explicated in article 4:

- a. "To preserve the discipline of the Church.
- b. To endeavour by strict vigilance to prevent disorders and offences against the law of the land, and the established rules of the Institution.
- c. To settle differences between the inhabitants of the Establishment in an amicable manner.
- d. To grant leave of residence to Newcomers, and to dismiss those, who have forfeited their privilege of residing here."⁸⁷¹

The management of church discipline is entrusted to the missionaries alone.⁸⁷² The procedures are explained in articles 6-8.⁸⁷³ Article 9 provides for the appointment of overseers, including the church-servants, "with whom the Missionaries meet at least once a month, to converse confidentially on the concerns of the Institution, point out defects in local arrangements, propose improvements etc."⁸⁷⁴ "The duty of settling differences devolves properly on the Overseers, but as they cannot meet on every trifling occasion, the current business of the day is transacted by the first Missionary, or if necessary, by the assembled Missionaries, who in this capacity must be

⁸⁶⁸ Chapter III, Article 1. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁶⁹ Chapter III, Article 2. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷⁰ Chapter III, Article 3. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷¹ Chapter III, Article 4. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷² Chapter III, Article 5. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷³ Article 6: "Before any one is excluded, he has a right to be heard in the presence of all the Missionaries."

Article 7: "The excluded is re-admissible, when he shows contrition over his deviations, and there is reason to hope a reform in his conduct." Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

Article 8: "In cases of repeated deviations and incorrigibility, the outward benefits of the Institution are likewise withdrawn from such an individual, viz. assistance in building, advance of seed-corn etc., and, as a last resource he is dismissed from the Institution." Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷⁴ Chapter III, Article 9. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

considered as the Commissioners of the Overseers, and in the following meeting of the Overseers report every occurrence of importance. Cases of intricacy are not decided, until the full assembly of Overseers has been consulted.”⁸⁷⁵

Admission to the institution and excommunication from it, always takes place with the knowledge and consent of the overseers.⁸⁷⁶ The following article outlines the duties of church servants: “The Church Servants, besides their duties as overseers, and of attending to cleanliness order and regularity in the Church, are also appointed to visit the sick, and two of them, chosen by the rest, have, together with one of the Missionaries, the charge of the Poor’s box.”⁸⁷⁷ The missionaries appoint them, while the other Overseers are elected by those communicant members of the congregation, who possess houses and gardens in the place. Only a communicant member of the congregation, who possesses a walled house and a cultivated garden, is eligible for the office of overseer.⁸⁷⁸ Any church servant or overseer, who must be publicly excluded, is at the same time dismissed from his office, “but he may be re-elected on a future occasion in case of a reform in his conduct and after having been re-admitted to his privileges, as a Member of the Church.”⁸⁷⁹

In conclusion the revised *Rules and Regulations* clearly testify to Hallbeck’s experience. For a decade he went through a process of revisions to arrive at a balanced and efficient document. His final version continued to be used for the rest of the 19th century and even into the 20th century, with only a few changes and additions made in 1857.⁸⁸⁰ In 1909 it was reprinted.

When one compares the 1827 Genadendal Rules and Regulations as drafted by Hallbeck with earlier versions like those by Loretz and Latrobe, it is clear that Hallbeck continues in the same tradition of Moravian theology and lifestyle. At the same time Hallbeck articulated and expanded the regulations in such a way that they were relevant for the situation and challenges found in the Cape Colony of the day. No wonder that these Rules and Regulations proved to be robust and general enough to be used for many years to come as well as on different stations, not only the Moravian mission stations. As a matter of fact, they became a model for many stations of other missionary societies as well.

⁸⁷⁵ Chapter III, Article 10. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷⁶ Chapter III, Article 11. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷⁷ Chapter III, Article 12. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷⁸ Chapter III, Article 14. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁷⁹ Chapter III, Article 15. Genadendal Rules & Regulations (1827) (GA).

⁸⁸⁰ For the changes and additions made in 1857, see **Appendix 4**.

Our attention now turns to another challenge that came Hallbeck's way. The governor officially requested the Moravian Mission to establish a mission station in the territory of the Thembu Chief Bavana.

Hallbeck's visit to the Thembu in 1827⁸⁸¹

Already in 1825 Hallbeck was approached by the government with the request to start a mission station among the black tribes in the eastern border regions of the colony.⁸⁸² The governor communicated to Hallbeck that a chief of the Thembu called Bavana expressed the desire for missionaries to stay and work amongst his people. The wish of the government was that the Thembu be instructed in the Christian faith and in agriculture and trades, and promised financial support for this undertaking.⁸⁸³ Hallbeck was hesitant, since other missionary societies were already involved in those regions – the London Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society. He preferred to first investigate the circumstances personally. Eventually in 1827 the opportunity came for him to do this.

Hallbeck first went to Cape Town to receive a letter of credence from the governor, needed for the journey, especially to introduce his commission to authorities in the interior. In addition an amount of money was made available by the government to defray the costs of the journey, a total of 50 pounds sterling.⁸⁸⁴ The brothers Schmitt and Lemmerz were asked to attend to Hallbeck's duties in his absence. Hallbeck's wife and one year old daughter Paulina accompanied him. The Helpers Conference mandated Hallbeck and br Fritsch from Enon to undertake the journey, to investigate, amongst other things, whether the Thembu Chief Bavana was really adamant to invite missionaries to work amongst his people, and whether a suitable location could be found to establish a station that would be viable in view of water supply, agriculture and stock breeding. The journey started on May 11th 1827 and lasted fifteen weeks. They arrived back in Genadendal at the end of August.

Hallbeck kept *a Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827*, which was published in the 1828 *Nachrichten*. At Enon they stayed for two weeks, while Hallbeck, as superintendent, attended to "innere und äussere Gelegenheiten." From Enon they continued

⁸⁸¹ Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also: *Nachrichten* (1828), 480-484, 698-804.

⁸⁸² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 8th 1825 (HA).

⁸⁸³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 168.

⁸⁸⁴ *Protocol HC*, Apr 19th 1827 (HA).

the journey, now accompanied by Fritsch, three Khoikhoi, one black person and one Thembu, all of them inhabitants of Enon. Hallbeck's wife and daughter stayed behind. The Daily Watchword encouraged them: "I am with you and will watch over you wherever you go" (Genesis 28:15). On the so-called Springbok Flats they saw numerous antelopes and other animals like quaggas and rhinos. He mentions that before the Thembu came into this part of the country, the fields were roaming with wild donkeys, hartebeest, gnu, eland, predators, etc. It was wintertime and as they arrived in the Winter Mountains it reminded him of a typical winter scene in his fatherland Sweden.

The first Thembu people they met on the road were to his surprise in possession of knives fabricated in Genadendal. They also greeted them in proper Dutch – *Goeden Dag*.⁸⁸⁵ Less impressive was that they had an apparatus to smoke dagga (marijuana). While travelling Hallbeck received a letter from the magistrate of Somerset, requesting him first to come to the town. The magistrate also sent two horses for this purpose. In Somerset he was informed that the government had in mind the termination of the so-called *Non-Intercourse-System*, which prohibited the Bantu from entering the colony. The government thought it would be in the interest of better relations between the black peoples and colonists if the markets on the border were opened again, enabling all to buy and sell from one another. Henceforth blacks would be allowed to visit the towns on the border, however not more than twenty persons at a time. Hallbeck also used his time in Somerset to visit Rev G Morgan, the Dutch Reformed minister of the town, who assisted them greatly. Morgan was one of the Scottish pastors that had arrived in the colony together with Murray and Smith. Furthermore Hallbeck visited some mission friends.⁸⁸⁶

Hallbeck was struck by the change in attitude of the recognised Dutch Reformed Church, that historically played a significant role in frustrating the Moravian Mission. *How much did the times change with regard to Christian tolerance in this country since thirty years! – After Genadendal was established, a clergyman who is still alive did his utmost to prevent the Brethren from using their bell to call the people together for the church service, and now does his colleague in Somerset in front of his congregation implore that the door for the Brethren may be opened wide*

⁸⁸⁵ "sie uns mit einem holländischen 'Goeden Dag' freundlich begrüßt hatten" Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also: *Nachrichten* (1828), 743.

⁸⁸⁶ "Wir benutzten die Zeit, die Bekanntschaft des Predigers, Herrn Morgan, der Frau Hart und des Herrn Stretch in der Nähe von Somerset zu machen, welche warme Freunde unsrer Mission sind, und uns viele Liebe und Freundschaft erwiesen." Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

to the heathen.⁸⁸⁷ Hallbeck referred here to the Stellenbosch Rev Meent Borchers, who managed to pressurize the DEIC governor to prohibit the Moravians from ringing their bell.⁸⁸⁸ After thirty years indeed the circumstances have become much more agreeable for the Moravians!⁸⁸⁹ Rev Morgan often paid visits to the mission stations. In 1829 he was planning to travel to the second Dutch Reformed synod in Cape Town, but because of weather conditions he got stuck at Enon, where he stayed for quite a while.⁸⁹⁰ In 1831 he visited Enon again.⁸⁹¹ Another pastor, who sympathised with the Moravians, was Ballot from George. He came to South Africa in the late 1820's after having studied theology in Utrecht (Netherlands). He visited Genadendal in 1828 and also recalled with gratitude his visit to Zeist and the love he experienced there.⁸⁹²

From Somerset the company travelled across the colonial border into the territories of the Thembu Chief Bavana. In meeting Bavana, Hallbeck and his party were accompanied by Magistrate Rennie and two border farmers, Zacharias de Beer and Christian Moller, who had good relations with the chief. The Bible text for the day from Isaiah 56: 8 gave them hope: "I will gather still others to them besides those already gathered." Bavana, surrounded by his councillors, received them officially.

Hallbeck described Bavana as a man of high stature. After the traditional ceremony of greetings and exchanging of gifts, they sat around the fire and carefully started negotiations. Bavana voiced his satisfaction to receive Hallbeck and his party and he promised to accompany them to a suitable place to establish a mission station. He also urged the missionaries not to travel any further, fearing that they would meet other chiefs eager to invite them to their territories. Chiefs at the time were contesting with one another for missionaries and regarded them as a matter of prestige and a form of protection against attacks from other tribes.⁸⁹³

That evening Fritsch led a prayer meeting in the presence of Bavana. The next two days they visited the promised area. It was provided with two rivers, the Oskraal - and Klipplaat River, and

⁸⁸⁷ "Wie sehr haben sich doch die Zeiten in Hinsicht christlicher Duldung auch in diesem Lande seit dreißig Jahren verändert! – Nachdem Gnadenthal angefangen worden war, machte ein noch lebender Geistlicher sich ein Gewissen daraus, den Brüdern zu erlauben, eine Glocke zu gebrauchen, um das Volk zum Gottesdienst zusammen zu rufen, und sein College in Somerset betet mit Herzens-Wärme vor seiner versammelten Gemeinde, daß den Brüdern die Thüre unter den Heiden recht weit geöffnet werden möchte." *Nachrichten* (1828), 729.

⁸⁸⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 61-62.

⁸⁸⁹ Hans Peter Hallbeck *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also: *Nachrichten* (1828), 729.

⁸⁹⁰ *Nachrichten* (1832), 390.

⁸⁹¹ *Nachrichten* (1833), 926.

⁸⁹² *Nachrichten* (1831), 34.

⁸⁹³ *Nachrichten* (1828), 767; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 169.

the missionaries could indicate a locality of their own choice. Beautiful pastures surrounded the rivers. The continuous flow of the rivers impressed Hallbeck.⁸⁹⁴ This indicated sufficient water supply for the intended station. The prospective area was located about one day's journey per horse from the Glasgow Missionary Society's station Chumie, and four days per horse from Enon (or three if one could change horses). It is a region, Hallbeck wrote, where the great rivers of South Africa start, for example the Orange River, Great Fish River and others.

Hallbeck perceived it impossible to sign a treaty or contract with Bavana, because of *the low step of culture* they were living in.⁸⁹⁵ He added that this was also the case with the stations of the English missionaries in the regions: *Even the Bantu nations, who live so close to each other, know nothing about designated borders, and try as peaceful neighbours to cope with each other; and likewise it happens with all the mission stations of the English in Bantuland.*⁸⁹⁶

The evening of the second day Bavana requested the missionaries to hold a prayer meeting again. This time his seven wives were with him. It seemed as if the singing made a great impression on them. On Sunday the Moravians held a church service at the wagon, attended by Bavana and some Thembu. That same afternoon however the Thembu started to shout, sing and dance and it did not stop until midnight. Hallbeck wrote: *if we had not come to know the friendliness of these people in advance, we would definitively have feared that a swarm of cannibals were dancing around their savage sacrifice, since this music – if this can anyhow be called music – seems to be fitting only for such a bloody feast.* When Hallbeck asked Bavana the next morning about the event, he answered that *they always have this custom when they slaughter a cow.*⁸⁹⁷

Hallbeck was conscious of the fact that the invitation of Bavana was politically motivated. It was *not because he longed to hear the Gospel and to repent, but because of the defeats he had*

⁸⁹⁴ Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

⁸⁹⁵ "Weiter konnten wir mit ihm nicht kommen, denn davon kann gar nicht die Rede seyn mit Leuten, die auf einer so niedrigen Stufe der Cultur stehen, einen bestimmten Vertrag abzuschließen" Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also: *Nachrichten* (1828), 771.

⁸⁹⁶ "Selbst die Kaffern, die so dicht neben einander gedrängt sind, wissen von keiner Grenzbestimmung, und suchen als friedliche Nachbarn mit einander zurecht zu kommen; und so verhält es sich auch mit allen Missionsplätzen der Engländer im Kaffernlande." Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

⁸⁹⁷ "hätten wir die Gutmüthigkeit dieser Leute nicht gekannt, so würden wir unfehlbar in den Wahn gerathen seyn, daß ein Schwarm von Canibalen um die Opfer seiner Grausamkeit jauchzend tanze; denn nur zu einem solchen Blutfeste schien diese Musik – wenn dies anders eine Musik genannt werden kann – geeignet zu seyn. Als wir am folgende Morgen den Bavana um den Grund dieser Lustbarkeit fragen ließen, antwortete er, daß es by ihnen Sitte sey, immer so zu thun, wenn sie ein Rind schlachteten." Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

suffered under the Fetchannas he was feeling weak, and was looking for protection and security.⁸⁹⁸ He thought that having a mission station would improve his relations with the colony. It was also a fact that the colonial government mainly supported the project for political reasons.⁸⁹⁹ Nevertheless Hallbeck considered that the Lord had opened the door by using human ambitions and fears for His purpose.⁹⁰⁰

In addition Hallbeck pointed to the following: the place offered by Bavana is suitable, and he and his people are willing to receive the missionaries. Furthermore, the present poor state of the Thembu could make them more receptive to the Gospel, in view of Jesus' words – that for the rich it is difficult to enter the kingdom of God. The fact that the despised Thembu were poorer and in dire circumstances compared to the other tribes made them, according to Hallbeck, more willing to accept the Gospel: *so it is also proven in Bantuland, that the rich could hardly enter the kingdom of God, and that God has chosen the base and despised of this world.*⁹⁰¹ As possible obstacles Hallbeck mentioned the language and the typical traditions and customs of the nation. In that regard he stressed the importance of visiting other mission stations already established in the land of the Bantu.⁹⁰²

On their way back the group paid a visit to the mission stations Chumie and Lovedale, especially to gather information about the language, customs and traditions of the black tribes. In his Journal Hallbeck gave an overview of the mission work among these peoples until then. There were already six mission stations in the region:⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁸ "nicht weil er ein Verlangen hatte, das Evangelium zu hören, und sich zu bekehren, sondern weil er sich nach der durch die Fetkanas erlittenen Niederlage schwach fühlte, und auf diese Weise Schutz und Sicherheit suchte" *Nachrichten* (1839), 839.

⁸⁹⁹ "und daß die Kolonial-Regierung seine Bitte deshalb unterstützte, weil sie ihrerseits die Anlegung einer Mission für das zweckmäßigste Mittel ansah, ohne sich in die Händel der Nachbarn zu verflechten, dem schwachen Bavana zu Hilfe zu kommen, der bloß gestellten Kolonialgrenze eine Schutzwehr zu verschaffen, und bei vorfallenden Unruhen in Silo einen Stützpunkt zu haben, und die Erfahrung hat gelehrt, daß weder die Tambukkis noch die Kolonial-Regierung in ihren Erwartung sich getäuscht haben. Durch die in Folge des letzten Kaffernkrieges herbeigeführte Besitznahme des Landes bis zum Wittkay trat ein anderes Verhältniß ein, welches aber nur von kurzer Dauer war, und die hiesige Mission steht nach der Rückgabe der gemachten Eroberungen wieder auf dem alten Fuß, d.h. Silo gehört nicht zum Kolonialgebiet; aber die Regierung thut was sie kann, um den Ort zu schützen, weil er für die Kolonie von Nutzen ist." *Nachrichten* (1839), 809-810.

⁹⁰⁰ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 169.

⁹⁰¹ "wie es sich den auch im Kaffern-Lande überhaupt beweiset, daß die Reichen schwerlich in das Reich Gottes hineingehen können, und daß Gott das Unedle vor der Welt und das Verachtete erwählet hat." Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also *Nachrichten* (1828), 794.

⁹⁰² Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also *Nachrichten* (1828), 794-796.

⁹⁰³ "Es gibt gegenwärtig sechs Missions-Plätze im Kaffernlande, nemlich Chumie und Lovedale in Verbindung mit der Missions-Societät zu Glasgow, Browelees Niederlassung am Büffel-Fluß von der Londoner Missions-Societät, und Wesleyville und Mount-Coke, Methodisten-Niederlassungen; und vor Kurzem ist der in Westindien bekannte Missionar Strewsbury nach dem Lande des Hinza gegangen, um dort eine Mission anzufangen. Von diesen Missions-Plätzen ist

- Chumie and Lovedale, connected to the Glasgow Missionary Society;
- The settlement of Browelees at the Buffalo River, connected to the London Missionary Society;
- Wesleyville and Mount Coke, both Methodist stations;
- Recently the missionary Strewsbury went to the land of Hinza to start a station there.

Of these stations Chumie was the oldest – established in 1819. It was also the largest. In Chumie Thompson was the leading missionary. Missionaries Ross and Bennie were working at Lovedale. It struck Hallbeck that in Chumie and Lovedale the missionaries were still using interpreters for their preaching, proving that the language remained a challenging barrier. In Lovedale a small printing press was operated. The Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments and a few prayers had already been printed in Xhosa. The missionaries had started with a dictionary, but not yet with a grammar – because of the complexity of the language. Hallbeck expressed the fear that Xhosa was just as difficult as the language of Greenland – where the Moravians were working on dictionaries and grammars.

As for the effect of the mission work of these six stations, Hallbeck was not yet convinced. *They maintain their influence mainly by beads and other gifts to the Bantu.*⁹⁰⁴ He met a rainmaker in the neighbourhood of Chumie: *It was a humiliation for the so called rainmaker, although living in the environs, but never receiving gifts or visits from Chumie, that the Lord blessed their gardens and fields so extraordinary, that they were even able to sell corn on the public market...*⁹⁰⁵

Hallbeck also visited Grahamstown where the soldiers (including those from Genadendal) were stationed. He found the men well cared for and preached in one of the churches.⁹⁰⁶ Yet they were exposed to many temptations during their service, *especially with regard to drunkenness and carnal sins.*⁹⁰⁷

Following the structure he employed in 1823 in his description of the Khoikhoi to the Commission of Enquiry, Hallbeck included in his Journal an exposition of the origins and fate of the Thembu people. They were raided by the Fetchannas and robbed of their cattle. Consequently they fled

Chumie der älteste.” Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also *Nachrichten* (1828), 787.

⁹⁰⁴ “Sie erhalten aber meistens durch Corallen u. andre Geschenke an die Kaffern ihren Einfluss” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 24th 1826 (HA).

⁹⁰⁵ “Zur Demuthigung des sogenannten Regenmachers, der in der Nähe wohnt, aber keine Geschenke und Besuche von Chumie erhält, segnete der Herr ihre Gärten und Felder so außerordentlich, daß sie sogar Korn zu dem öffentlichen Markt nach Fort Wiltshire bringen können” Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also *Nachrichten* (1828), 795.

⁹⁰⁶ Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

⁹⁰⁷ “Sie sind freilich grossen Versuchungen ausgesetzt, besonders was Trunkenheit u. Fleischliche Versündigungen angeht” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 24th 1826 (HA).

towards the colony, close to which they were living at the time of Hallbeck's visit. The government then made plans to settle them in the Winter - and Storm Mountains between the White and the Black Kei Rivers. Some colonists on the border disapproved of that, but the magistrate communicated to them that the intended area did not belong to them, and recommended they rather befriend the Thembu. Bavana also requested the magistrate of Somerset for some farmers, in order to teach him agriculture as well as protect him against the Fetchannas. The magistrate however advised Bavana to establish a mission station in his area. Hallbeck's impression was that the Thembu are less bellicose than the rest of the black tribes and therefore more prone to receive the Gospel.⁹⁰⁸

Hallbeck also gave a description of the typical clothing of the Thembu.⁹⁰⁹ They were decorated with many rings and beads. The women had many tattoos and painted their bodies red. The little girls only wear small skirts, and the boys were naked. Most striking however was the many buttons the women were wearing. Buttons functioned among them as money. The *kraal* was the central place where most of the activities took place – meetings, eating, dancing, etc.⁹¹⁰ The *kraal* was also used as a burial place for the chiefs. The ordinary people did not receive a burial; their bodies were left behind in the field for the predators. An average Thembu *kraal* consisted of a father – head of the family – with his wives, children and subjects, altogether not many. They were living in beehive type of huts, grouped around a cattle *kraal* made of thorn tree branches. Bavana had seven wives. Chiefs, especially, could afford to have more wives. Gaika, for example, had thirteen, and Hinza, fourteen. It was usual that each of the chief's wives had her own hut.

With regard to the gender roles and work distribution Hallbeck wrote: *The women have to do all the work, they are, to put it like this, the slaves of their husbands, who only look after the cattle, fence the gardens, and are the hunters and warriors.*⁹¹¹ It is noteworthy that this is said against the background of the Moravian patriarchal family structure. According to the Moravians the Biblical gender roles did assign the husband to be the head of the family, yet this did not mean that the women could be treated like slaves, or that the men could enjoy a lazy lifestyle. Hallbeck wondered whether it was because of the hard work that the women had to do, that the men's bodies were so much bigger than those of the women.

⁹⁰⁸ Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

⁹⁰⁹ Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

⁹¹⁰ Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA).

⁹¹¹ "Ueberhaupt müssen die Weiber alle Arbeit verrichten; sie sind, so zu sagen, die Slavinnen ihrer Männer, die nur auf das Vieh Acht haben, die Gärten umzäunen, und dabey Jäger und Krieger sind." Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukkis u. Kaffern, im Jahr 1827* (HA). See also: *Nachrichten* (1828), 797.

On their return to Genadendal in August 1827, the establishment of a mission station among the tribe of Bavana was discussed and approved by the Helpers Conference. Hallbeck also wrote to Herrnhut and in January 1828 approval for the proposed undertaking was received. Herrnhut regarded this as a promising step for the furtherance of the Gospel in Africa.⁹¹²

Establishment of a new mission station (1828)

The establishment of a station among the Thembu was delayed for some time, because shortly after Hallbeck's visit the Fetchanna Chief Mfecani attacked Bavana.⁹¹³ Consequently Bavana and his people sought refuge within the borders of the colony. Bavana promised the governor to move out of the colony back to the Oskraal River, on the condition that missionaries came to these areas. Therefore Hallbeck was urged by the government to proceed with his plan. The station would be under the protection of the government and a military post would be established in the locality, if necessary. The government's promise of protection and a gift of two hundred pounds were gratefully accepted,⁹¹⁴ but the offer of a military post did not materialise.

Nevertheless the government gave orders to the officials in the border region to assist the missionaries wherever possible.⁹¹⁵ Lemmerz (Genadendal) and Hoffman (Groenekloof) were called to do the pioneer work, accompanied by a number of Khoikhoi and black inhabitants of Enon who agreed to move thither. Wilhelmina Stompje also requested to accompany the missionaries. For years she had been praying to receive the opportunity to witness about Jesus Christ among her own people.⁹¹⁶ In Latrobe's Journal we already read about her requesting him in 1816: "she came to beg, that we would send teachers to her nation, who were in the dark, ignorant of God."⁹¹⁷ She later proved to be of great value to the missionaries, especially as an interpreter.⁹¹⁸ Also Daniel Kaffer, the first black person baptised at Genadendal in 1808, joined the party as interpreter.⁹¹⁹

The work started on May 20th 1828, the date of institution of Silo (as the station would be called), under the leadership of the missionaries JF Lemmerz and JF Hoffman, who were appointed to this

⁹¹² *Protocol HC*, Jan 2nd 1828 (HA).

⁹¹³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 170.

⁹¹⁴ *Protocol HC*, Febr 20th 1828 (HA). Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 170.

⁹¹⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 13th 1828 (HA).

⁹¹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1828), 976; *Protocol HC*, Jun 23rd 1828 (MASA & HA).

⁹¹⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 96.

⁹¹⁸ Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Memoranda im bezug auf die gegenwärtige Lage der dinge in Silo* (1837) (HA).

⁹¹⁹ *Protocol HC*, Nov 8th 1827 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 170.

task by the Mission Conference and the UEC.⁹²⁰ Several inhabitants of Enon and a blacksmith accompanied them. Hallbeck noted that if only one Thembu would be brought to Jesus as a reward for his sufferings, it would already be worthwhile.⁹²¹

The party was introduced to Bavana, clothed in a kaross of leopard skin,⁹²² by Major Dundas.⁹²³ Then the place earmarked the previous year by Hallbeck and Fritsch were located and inspected.⁹²⁴ However, they regarded the Klipplaat River more suitable than the Oskraal River, and received permission from Bavana to start there. In the *Nachrichten* the meaning of this name is explained: Klipplaat River means *Rocky River*, and it was added that Hallbeck's surname has the same meaning in Swedish.⁹²⁵

The establishment of a mission station among Bavana's people, and under the circumstances, was a calculated risk. Hallbeck was aware of the consequences. It implied hard and patient work, and a lot of perseverance. According to Spangenberg's mission textbook the proclamation of the Gospel to the heathen should be achieved in terms of the application of subsequent steps:

- Start with the testimony about Jesus Christ, what He did to save mankind from eternal death – his life on earth, his death and resurrection, and faith in Him.
- Then explain that our Lord Jesus Christ has a Father in heaven that has created everything.
- Explicate the fall of man in sin and the future coming of a day on which all humans, who have not accepted the testimony of the Gospel, will go into eternal darkness.
- Then inform the heathen about the Holy Spirit. He teaches us to understand the words of Jesus and accept them with our heart, He guides us in life on the way that is pleasing to God, He warns us when we come across danger, how to avoid it, He convinces us that we are God's children and share in his love, and He works in us love, peace, joy, patience and everything that is good.⁹²⁶

According to the textbook a first sign of repentance is when a person shows the desire to hear more. They should be taught in depth, for example what sin is, about God's anger because of

⁹²⁰ *Nachrichten* (1830), 380.

⁹²¹ *Nachrichten* (1828), 977.

⁹²² "Karoß von Tigerfellen" – *Nachrichten* (1830), 520.

⁹²³ *Nachrichten* (1830), 391.

⁹²⁴ *Nachrichten* (1830), 400.

⁹²⁵ *Nachrichten* (1828), 982.

⁹²⁶ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* Barby (1784), 29-32.



Johannes Lemmerz, one of the pioneer missionaries of Silo¹

¹ Printed and written on the portrait: "Johannes Lemmerz Missionar der Brüdergemeine Geboren den 6 August 1784 Heimgegangen den 5 Mai 1855". Portrait still to be found in the church building of Silo.

mankind's fall in sin, and the steps that Christ took to work reconciliation.⁹²⁷ A following sign of repentance is a sincere grief about a sinful lifestyle, and the realisation that the new life in Christ cannot be reconciled with the continuation of a sinful lifestyle.⁹²⁸ A thorough knowledge of personal sin is therefore needed. Notwithstanding the in depth teaching, the mission textbook discourages the habit of expecting the converts to learn many questions and answers by heart before they are allowed as members. On examining a convert, searching questions have to be asked, not only to test knowledge, but also to ascertain whether there is repentance and commitment from the heart.⁹²⁹

Conclusion

During the first ten years of Hallbeck's ministry, four mission stations were added: Enon, Hemel en Aarde, Elim and Silo. The establishment of a new station, with all the preparations involved, was a time consuming matter, especially for the superintendent. With each new station Hallbeck's responsibilities increased. Yet in an amazing way he managed. And, more was to come. In contrast to a society like the LMS, the Moravians earned the trust of the government. With the establishment of Silo, which materialised on the request of both the Thembu Chief Bavana and the colonial government, an old ideal of the Moravians came to fulfilment, namely to work among the black nations. Although both Bavana and the colonial authorities acted with their own agenda in mind, Hallbeck used the opportunity, realising that ultimately God is in charge. He seized the possibility with both hands to establish a physical presence outside the borders of the colony, in order to proclaim the Gospel in those regions. Although the Moravians in general and Hallbeck in particular had a very constructive relationship with the authorities, this did not mean that they could be reduced to mere pawns of the colonial government. Not only the Rules and Regulations Hallbeck revised in 1827 testify to this, but also the way Hallbeck made sure that their own conditions were met, before establishing Silo in 1828.

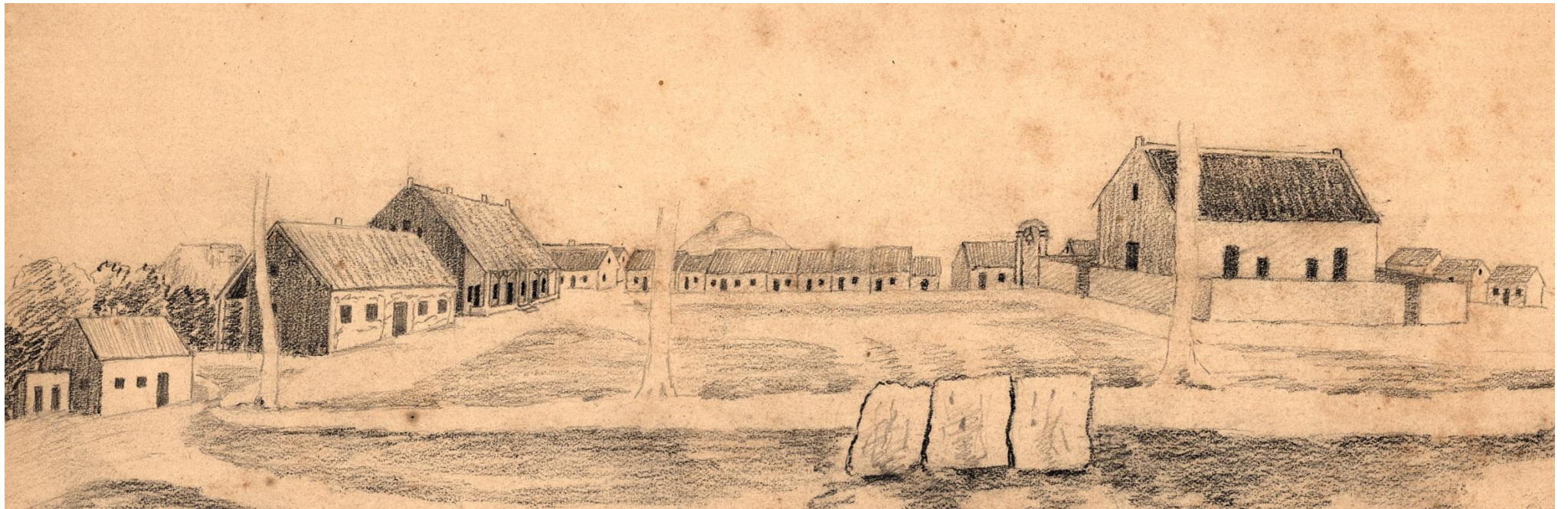
The next chapter follows Hallbeck's superintendency from around August 1828 to the end of 1831. It was an eventful time. Silo had to be evacuated, due to the outbreak of war. This imposed high demands on Hallbeck's leadership. The colony received a new governor. And, in 1828 John Philip published his *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes together with detailed accounts of the progress of the Christian*

⁹²⁷ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* Barby (1784), 35-36.

⁹²⁸ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* Barby (1784), 47.

⁹²⁹ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* Barby (1784), 37.

missions, exhibiting the influence of Christianity in promoting civilization, which was a critical and anti-colonial interpretation of the history of the Cape of Good Hope. And in 1831 Hallbeck institutionalised a new direction in education by opening a school for infants in Genadendal.



Pencil sketch of Silo.¹

¹ HA.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHALLENGING TIMES FOR A SUPERINTENDENT, AND DEVOTED TO EDUCATION (1828-1832)

Introduction

Eighteen twenty-eight was a watershed year in the colony's history. The Somerset dispensation spent its time. Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (1772-1842)⁹³⁰ was inducted as governor of the Cape of Good Hope on September 9th 1828. During his term (until 1833) he was mainly occupied with the slave issue, stability of the eastern border and stimulating the hard-pressed economy of the colony. He approved the construction of a pass across the Hottentots Holland Mountains, which was completed in 1830, to offer farmers in the Genadendal-Swellendam region better access to the economy. All living on the other side of the mountain welcomed this pass, according to Hallbeck.⁹³¹

In 1828 *Ordinance 50* was promulgated, cancelling the restrictive laws of Lord Caledon of 1809. This ordinance gave the Khoikhoi equal rights before the law, including the right to own property.⁹³² The *Ordinance* led to an increased influx of Khoikhoi into the mission stations. Also in Genadendal, Hallbeck wrote, this ordinance was read to the Khoikhoi, admonishing them to make proper use of these rights they had now received, and not to abuse them.⁹³³ This ordinance was to a large extent prioritised and profiled in Britain by the energetic superintendent of the London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope, Dr John Philip.

Genadendal remained one of the most valued mission stations in the colony. It received many missionaries from the British, the French as well as the German missionary societies. In the beginning of 1828 Rev Miles, superintendent of the LMS whilst Philip was in England, visited Genadendal. In 1828 Mr Anderson, missionary of Pacaltsdorp, visited, and was *delighted with God's work here*.⁹³⁴ The three pioneers of the *Paris Evangelical Missionary Society* stayed a few

⁹³⁰ Cf. *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek* III, 168-170.

⁹³¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 14th 1830 (HA).

⁹³² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 162.

⁹³³ *Nachrichten* (1831), 52.

⁹³⁴ "welcher sich über das hiesige Werk Gottes herzlich freute." *Nachrichten* (1831), 51.

days at Genadendal in 1829 on their way to the interior.⁹³⁵ In July 1829 Mr Thompsen, missionary in Chumie, spent time in Genadendal.⁹³⁶ In August 1829 Sir Andries Stockenström (1792-1864), general-commissariat of the eastern districts of the colony, called on the town, accompanied by his wife.⁹³⁷ On November 17th 1829, the Governor Sir Lowry Cole and his wife stayed over.⁹³⁸ He was on his return journey from the border district, where he paid a visit to Enon on October 26th 1829. Since he had studied at a German university, he apparently enjoyed to converse with the missionaries in the “hochdeutscher Sprache.”⁹³⁹

The first part of this chapter offers an exposition of John Philip’s interpretation of the context of the colony, as well as Hallbeck’s perspective on these convictions and viewpoint. As will be pointed out, Philip’s interpretations incepted differentiation among the mission societies. The following part considers Hallbeck’s role in the management of the mission between 1828 and 1832. The last section is devoted to Genadendal as educational centre of consequence and new directions in this regard.

John Philip’s *Researches in South Africa* unearthed injustice and oppression

The 1823 Commissioners of Inquiry, sent to the Cape of Good Hope to investigate and assess the situation with regard to inter-group relations and in particular the circumstances of the Khoikhoi, not only verified the local state of affairs, but also called for submissions from the proper authorities as well as key role players in the colony, which included the missionaries. In 1823 Hallbeck officially responded in writing on behalf of the Moravian Mission in South Africa and provided an overview of the position of the Khoikhoi and congregants. At the time, the influential superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, John Philip,⁹⁴⁰ also met with the commissioners. Philip became convinced that the “old system” under the Dutch rule, characterized by “inhumanity towards the natives” and embodied in abuses, suffering and oppression,⁹⁴¹ as a matter of fact continued under British colonial government “and were now confirmed by government proclamations, accompanied with all the authority and sanction of

⁹³⁵ *Genadendal Diary*, Dec 18th 1829 (MASA); Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 189.

⁹³⁶ *Nachrichten* (1831), 882.

⁹³⁷ *Nachrichten* (1831), 883.

⁹³⁸ *Nachrichten* (1831), 885.

⁹³⁹ *Nachrichten* (1832), 390.

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. Andrew Ross, *John Philip (1775-1851): Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa* (Aberdeen: University Press, 1986).

⁹⁴¹ John Philip, *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes* (London: James Duncan, Paternoster-Row, 1828), Vol. 1, xvii.

colonial law.”⁹⁴² His Majesty’s commissioners had “no power to make alterations in the system,” he concluded, “and were even uncertain what influence their opinion might have on the ministers at home.”⁹⁴³ Eventually he decided to present his “memorials detailing the oppressions and sufferings of the natives”⁹⁴⁴ in person to the colonial authorities in London, where he arrived in April 1826.⁹⁴⁵

When it became clear that the British government maintained reservations and was not prepared to “meet him with assurance that they would do justice to the oppressed and deeply injured native inhabitants of South Africa,”⁹⁴⁶ he saw no alternative other than to publish his two volume *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes together with detailed accounts of the progress of the Christian missions, exhibiting the influence of Christianity in promoting civilization* in 1828.⁹⁴⁷

The first volume was dedicated to the Cape Colony. Roughly the first hundred pages offer an exposition of the history of the Cape of Good Hope, which commenced with the Dutch occupation in 1652. His presentation of the history is based on a selection from the corpus of famous travel literature, in which the Cape society, its peoples, fauna and flora are depicted. Philip follows the trajectory of a critical interpretation, in which the emphasis is on the social injuries and oppression suffered by the indigenous peoples of the country. The rest of the volume is committed to the history and immediate context of the Cape of Good Hope since it became a British colony in 1795. The work and mission stations of the London Missionary Society are placed at the core of his argument and interpretation, in which the critical assessment is maintained.

The second volume, based on the same pre-occupations, considers the missionary enterprise of the mission society outside the borders of the colony, combined with a review of the peoples living there. In his preface, the trajectories of his interpretations, his motive and intention, as well

⁹⁴² Philip, *Researches*, Vol 1, xx.

⁹⁴³ Philip, *Researches*, Vol 1, xxii.

⁹⁴⁴ Philip, *Researches*, Vol 1, xxii.

⁹⁴⁵ Philip, *Researches*, Vol 1, xxii.

⁹⁴⁶ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxiv, see also xxiii. “There are crimes and conspiracies against man, in his collective and individual capacity, which strip the guilty of all the respect due to the adventitious circumstances connected with rank and station; and to know that such combinations exist, and not to denounce them, is treason against the throne of Heaven, and the immutable principles of Truth and Justice” xxv.

⁹⁴⁷ John Philip, *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes* (London: James Duncan, Paternoster-Row, 1828) vol. 1 & II.

as the outcomes are excellently argued. For the purposes of this study, we thus paid close attention to Philip's preface.

The manifested injustice committed to and oppression of the natives of South Africa are unfolded in his presentation of history. Their oppressed condition is the golden thread of the colony's history and the existence of colonial society. The question under discussion is a mere question of civil rights, according to Philip. "We ask nothing for the poor natives more than this that they should have the protection the law affords to colonists."⁹⁴⁸ Philip points out that in addition to "the unalienable rights conferred upon them by their Creator" the Khoikhoi also have prescriptive rights in their favour. They are, by colonial law, considered to be a free people and consequently to be treated as such in their possessions, properties and their persons.⁹⁴⁹ Of these rights the natives of South Africa have been deprived. Their right to a fair price for their labour, to be exempted from cruelty and oppression, to choose the place of their abode and to enjoy the society of their children, have been violated by the system.⁹⁵⁰

Philip argues that the injustices and oppression of the traditional system were not only effectively exposed by the work of the missionaries, but that "a missionary society, possessing the efficiency necessary to bring savages or barbarians" into a state of civilization, "is an apparatus, which human government can neither fabricate nor conduct with success."⁹⁵¹ Missionaries therefore played a pivotal role in establishing civil liberty as one of the fruits of civilization and of the "secondary blessings, which Christianity brings." These "furnish its triumphal car, facilitate its progress, consolidate its empire, and extend its conquest."⁹⁵²

This train of thought offered Philip the opportunity to harvest appreciation for the work of the LMS by pointing at their beneficial influence for the British cause: "While our missionaries, beyond the borders of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, and happiness, they are, by the most unexceptionable means, extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire."⁹⁵³ "This pivotal role should

⁹⁴⁸ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxvi.

⁹⁴⁹ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxvi-xxviii.

⁹⁵⁰ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxvi.

⁹⁵¹ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxvii.

⁹⁵² Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxix.

⁹⁵³ John Philip, *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes* (London: James Duncan, Paternoster-Row, 1828) vol. 1, ix. See also: "Triumphs gained by such weapons, occasion no tears, and present no disgusting details; they are the triumphs of reason over ignorance, of civilization over barbarism, and benevolence over cruelty and oppression. X. Missionaries deserve to "occupy a chief seat among the friends and benefactors of the human race." "His labours smooth the way of the triumph of science; produce the produce of the

therefore be met with all efficient aid which government can afford us in the prosecution of our labours.”⁹⁵⁴

Philip is therefore confident that “the friends of humanity and of religion in England” will petition the British throne and parliament that the natives of South Africa (including the tribes beyond the borders of the colony) “may have those rights secured to them, which have become necessary to the preservation and extension of religion among them.”⁹⁵⁵ By using their efforts to put an end to the slavery of the aborigines within the colony “they will by this single act do more for the promulgation of the gospel in South Africa”⁹⁵⁶ than all the funds raised to support the missions. Procuring for the people their civil rights, Philip continues, would end their position as being trained by the missionaries as a separate people. They would be in a position to participate in the religious instruction of all colonists.⁹⁵⁷ When they receive equal protection by law, mission stations would cease to be places of refuge. Aborigines, “now living as a separate people,” will become amalgamated with the other parts of the colonial population⁹⁵⁸ and participate in society as recognized citizens.⁹⁵⁹ The cause of the poor natives is the cause of humanity as well as our common Christianity.⁹⁶⁰

It is beyond the limits of this research to trace and explicate the reception of Philip’s *Researches* in Britain and in South Africa.⁹⁶¹ In the contemporary colonial society in the Cape of Good Hope, the *Researches* were disapproved of. Among the colonists, especially in the interior and border districts, the negative reputation of missionaries and mission societies prevailed. Colonial authorities also disapproved of Philip’s interpretation and line of thinking. Some LMS missionaries also were not of the same opinion. In Genadendal, and among other missionary societies, questions were raised that indicated Philip’s political agenda. Although they were aware of the injustices committed towards their congregants, they opted for a different approach to address the problem.

earth; by multiplying the hands employed in its cultivation; and create new demands for the manufacturers of his own country while he is lessening the miseries of his fellow-creatures, elevating savages and barbarians to a state of civilization, and cheering them with the hope of a life to come.” (vii).

⁹⁵⁴ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xvii.

⁹⁵⁵ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxix.

⁹⁵⁶ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxix.

⁹⁵⁷ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxx.

⁹⁵⁸ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxx.

⁹⁵⁹ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxxi.

⁹⁶⁰ Philip, *Researches*, Vol I, xxxv.

⁹⁶¹ Philip’s *Researches* had a profound impact on nationalist and indigenous (church) historiography where the role of (British) missionaries connected with and as agents of the British Empire received a negative and critical evaluation.

A different approach

In November 1829 the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, visited the respective mission stations of the LMS. He was very disappointed with the state of these stations. Many buildings that had been built not long ago with foreign money, had already fallen into a dilapidated state. Cole and his company also subjected the Moravian stations Enon and Genadendal to a similar close investigation, and were pleasantly surprised. Hallbeck wrote: *In Theopolis and Bethelsdorp they were disappointed in their expectations ... I tried to avoid this sensitive topic, but he did not rest until he had spoken his heart, and it became evident that he was just as negative about the work of the LM Society as his predecessors. In order to impress the royal commission of enquiry not long ago, improvements were made with foreign money in Theopolis and Bethelsdorp, and the Hottentots were encouraged to build bigger houses... But these buildings are already in decline, these useless buildings are dilapidated and the installed trades have been terminated, it became clear once again, that when something is done to show off, it will not last.*⁹⁶² At the same time Hallbeck realised how unwise it was for the directors of this society to send Philip back to South Africa, since *the world now has a point to stand on when they equate the spirit of the Doctor with the spirit of the Society.*⁹⁶³ The decision to send him back would only further jeopardize the LMS' reputation in the colony.

When W Elliot of the LMS visited Genadendal in 1830, he also criticised the disorderly state of the LMS stations. Hallbeck agreed with him and added that the London missionaries interfered too much with politics.⁹⁶⁴ In a letter to Herrnhut Hallbeck wrote regarding Elliot's visit: *A few days ago we received a visit by the missionary Elliot of the London Society. According to him they had to start all over, would they still want to achieve anything. The Hottentots in Theopolis and Bethelsdorp are starving in their big houses... In London I once saw a cartoon of the Emperor Paul. On his outstretched right hand one could read the word 'Order', on his left hand the word 'Counter-order', and on his chest 'Disorder'. This is the true image – Gott sey es geklagt! – of the*

⁹⁶² "In Theopolis u. Bethelsdorf fand er sich aber in seinen Erwartungen getäuscht... Ich suchte diese kitzliche [?] Materie sorgfältig zu vermeiden, aber er ruhete nicht, bis er mir hierüber sein Herz geöffnet hatte, u. ich erfuhr, dass er von der Arbeit der L.M. Gesellschaft eben so ungünstig denkt, als sein Vorgänger. Um auf die königlichen Commissarien zu imponiren wurden kurz vor ihren besuch mit Hülfe fremden Geldes allerlei Verbesserungen in Theopolis u Bethelsdorp vorgenommen u. die Hottentotten wurden angesspornt grosse schöne Häuser zu bauen ... Aber es ist damit schon lange den krebengang gegangen; die zwecklosen Gebäude sind verfallen, die eingerichteten Profession haben aufgehört u. es hat sich wieder bewiesen, dass was zur Schau gethan wird, nicht von dauer seyn kann." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 14th 1829 (HA).

⁹⁶³ "Mit der L.M. gesellschaft wollen sie nichts zu thun haben, weil, wie der baron schreibt, der Geist derselben dem Geiste Christi u. seiner Apostel nicht gemäss ist. Es war ein grosser Fehler der Directoren jener Gesellschaft, den Doctor Philip wieder hieher zu schicken, weil die Welt nun gewissermassen ein Recht hat den Geist des Doctors für den Geist der Gesellschaft zu halten." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 14th 1829 (HA).

⁹⁶⁴ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 34; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 186.

*state of the London Miss. Society in South Africa, never mind how much they want to conceal it in their reports, and the true cause of it is their interference with political disputes.*⁹⁶⁵ On his way back from Silo in June 1830 Hallbeck visited Bethelsdorp once more, and could see with his own eyes how dilapidated the station had become.

In the colony, Dr Philip's reputation was damaged beyond repair when he lost the case against him in the Supreme Court in Cape Town because of his book *Researches in South Africa*. In his endeavours to provide evidence of abuses against the Khoikhoi, he used allegations against colonists and officials that proved to be untrue. For this reason one official, Mackay, took him to court and won the case.⁹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, according to Hallbeck, his 'friends in England' intervened to indemnify him. Clearly a constructive relationship was not possible between these two superintendents. Hallbeck wrote: *I try to avoid him as much as possible.*⁹⁶⁷ A differentiated comprehension of the colonial context between Hallbeck and Philip became evident.

Meanwhile Hallbeck's relation with the newly arrived *Rhenish Missionary Society* (RMS) flourished. The first four missionaries of the RMS, Von Wurmb, Leipoldt, Zahn and Lückoff, visited Genadendal as their first destination after their arrival in Cape Town in 1829. Afterwards Von Wurmb and Leipoldt embarked on establishing a mission station in the Cederberg Mountains, which they called Wupperthal. G Leipoldt specifically visited Genadendal to learn from their approach as directed by superintendent Hallbeck.⁹⁶⁸ He was introduced to all the trades and immediately appreciated how important these home industries were for a mission station. Just as was the case with the Moravians, the Rhenish Missionary Society who had sent them, did not financially support them with a salary. Leipoldt's colleague Von Wurmb was a medical doctor and received permission from the authorities to practise in the colony. In this way he secured some income for the Wupperthal mission station.⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁵ "Seit ein Paar Tagen haben wir einen besuch von Herrn Elliot, Miss. Der London Gesellschaft. Nach seiner Meinung müssen sie ganz von vorne wieder anfangen, wenn etwas aus ihrer Sache werden soll. Die Hottentotten in Beth. U. Theopolis wollen [?] in ihren grossen Häusern verhungern... In London sah ich einst eine Caricatur vom Keiser Paul. In der aufgehobenen rechten Hand stand: order – in der linken counter-order, u. auf der brust disorder. Dies ist das wahre bild – Gott sey es geklagt! – von dem Zustand der London Miss. Societat in Süd-Africa, so sehr sie es in ihren Reports zu verbergen suchen; und die wahre Ursache dieses unglücklichen Zustandes ist ihre Einmischung in politische Streitigkeiten." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1830 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 11th 1823 (HA); Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 34; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 186.

⁹⁶⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 23rd 1831 (HA).

⁹⁶⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider Apr 23rd 1831 (HA).

⁹⁶⁸ See also Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 201-202.

⁹⁶⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 9th 1831 (HA).

The Moravians cooperated most with the two (other) German societies – the *Rhenish Missionary Society* and the *Berlin Missionary Society*. From the start these two societies made it clear that they desired to establish settlements with agriculture and trades, following the pattern of Genadendal.⁹⁷⁰ In 1829 the Rhenish missionaries took a copy of the Regulations (as compiled by Hallbeck) from Genadendal and utilized them with barely any adaptations, in their settlements (like the station Wupperthal in the Cederberg Mountains).⁹⁷¹ They also made use of the Moravian Hymnbook. The Rhenish missionary Lückhoff was active in the Stellenbosch area and ordered a number of copies of the hymnbook from Genadendal, which he used in his ministry.⁹⁷²

In 1831 the governing board of the Rhenish Missionary Society in Germany requested Hallbeck to preside over their joint missionary conference. This would not have happened if there were doubts about Hallbeck's competencies, faithfulness to the Evangelical doctrine, or stance with regard to the spirit of the age. Hallbeck however had to decline due to time constraints. He did indicate though that he was willing to offer advice when needed.⁹⁷³ The same Board asked him again to visit the Rhenish stations in 1836, before he left for Europe and to report on them while in Europe. Again Hallbeck could not spare the time.⁹⁷⁴ However he had extensive deliberations with the Board in Barmen during his visit to Germany.⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁷⁰ Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 201-202.

⁹⁷¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 14th 1829 (HA).

⁹⁷² *Nachrichten* (1833), 934.

⁹⁷³ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 28th 1831 (HA).

⁹⁷⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

⁹⁷⁵ In this regard the following assertion of Hertzsch is historically not tenable: "Hallbecks Verhältnis zu anderen in Südafrika tätigen Missionsgesellschaften war distanziert" (Hertzsch, "Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans-Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika (1817-1840)" (2002), 242, 247. See also Hertzsch, *Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika 1817-1840* (1999), 68. Hallbeck was much appreciated and respected by especially the BMS and the RMS, but also by many missionaries within the LMS. Anshelm writes correctly: "Hallbeck war jetzt einer der bekanntesten und geschätztesten Missionsmänner seiner Zeit. Sein Name kam oft in den Berichten und Briefen vor, die die Missionare anderer Missionsgesellschaften an ihre vorgesetzt Behörde schrieben, und seine Missionsberichte wurden in den Missionszeitschriften sowohl in Deutschland wie auch in England, Holland, Schweden und Dänemark veröffentlicht. So war es ganz natürlich, daß auch andre Missionsgesellschaften während seines Europaaufenthalts die Verbindung mit ihm suchten. Schon auf der Reise von London nach Herrnhut kam er einer Einladung der Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft nach, und in ihrer Zeitschrift, dem "Barmer Missionsblatt", heißt es von Hallbecks Besuch: (III 6): "Auch uns ist kürzlich die Freude geworden, einen lieben, hochgeachteten, der Brüdergemeine angehörigen Arbeiter im Weinberg des Herrn bei uns zu sehen, den Missionssuperintendenten Hallbeck (ein Schwede) aus Gnadenthal, der uns auf seiner Reise nach Herrnhut besuchte. Da er die meisten unsrer in Südafrika arbeitenden Brüder persönlich kennt, die bisweilen Gnadenthal aufsuchen, um aus eigener Anschauung die vortrefflichen Gemeindevorrichtungen kennen zu lernen, so freute es uns sehr, aus seinem Munde das gute Zeugnis zu hören, daß alle unsre Brüder fest im Glauben stehen und ein für die Sache des Herrn brennendes Herz haben. Wir sahen es auch als eine gnädige Fügung an, daß uns Gelegenheit geschenkt worden war, mit einem so vertrauten Mann über die Angelegenheiten unsrer dortigen Stationen beraten zu können, und wir dürfen hoffen, daß durch Gottes Gnade diese Beratungen zum Nutzen und Segen für die uns anvertrauten Heidengemeinden gedeihen." Die Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft hatte ursprünglich gewünscht, daß Hallbeck vor seiner Europareise eine Visitationsreise zur ihren Missionsstationen machen möchte, was jedoch Hallbecks Zeit nicht erlaubte hatte (III 7)." Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 59-60.

With these German societies the Moravians had no significant doctrinal differences. For this reason it was not difficult for some churches of the RMS to assimilate into the Moravian Church in the 20th century. Where Hallbeck faced challenges as to his leadership especially during the 1820's, in the 1830's there was a growing appreciation for his work, his foresight, experience and competencies.

Hallbeck's superintendency (1828 – 1831)

At Genadendal, except for his duties as superintendent, Hallbeck was occupied with the day-to-day management of affairs of the town. He realized that, although he had his share of the carpentry work (making chairs, tables and cupboards),⁹⁷⁶ the situation required differentiation and expertise in order to sustain the South African enterprise meaningfully. Already in March 1827 he had raised the need for an administrator for Genadendal in a letter to the UEC.⁹⁷⁷ He considered it undesirable for a missionary to have to deal with the farmers at the mill at 9 o'clock, and then to stand on the pulpit an hour later. This might work in Labrador or Greenland he pointed out, but not in South Africa, just as it was unacceptable in Germany or North America. As he put it in a letter he wrote to Herrnhut: *To be preacher damages the businessman, and through manifold unfitting external occupations the one who is suited more for temple- and school service, is only useful half of his time.*⁹⁷⁸

He thought it better that a clear line be drawn between the spiritual tasks (ministry of the Word and Sacraments or, as Hallbeck called it, the 'temple-service') and the business activities ('household-service'). He envisaged that the person appointed to deal with external affairs could eventually develop, in cooperation with the government, into a special *Heemraad* for Genadendal.⁹⁷⁹ The UEC in Germany was however concerned that in such a case, the financial burden on Herrnhut would become unbearable.

Hallbeck was not only successfully⁹⁸⁰ leading the South African mission at large, attending to problems with regard to human and financial resources, outlining and implementing strategic

⁹⁷⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 13th 1828 (HA).

⁹⁷⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 19th 1827 (HA).

⁹⁷⁸ "Den Tempel-dienst und den Haushalt-dienst ein bischen mehr aus einander zu halten. Das Prediger-seyn wollen verdirbt den Wirtschafts-bruder, u. durch mancherlei unschickliche aüssere beschäftigungen wird derjenige, der mehr zum Tempel- u. Schul-dienst geeignet ist, nur halb brauchbar." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 19th 1827 (HA).

⁹⁷⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 19th 1827 (HA). *Heemraad* is the Dutch term for a government official still widely in use by then in the colony.

⁹⁸⁰ It is a testimony to Hallbeck's capabilities that in a time when Moravian stations across the world struggled with growing debts – especially after the abolition of slavery – Genadendal was self-supportive. For the year 1831 Hallbeck

decisions, in particular pertaining to the establishment and management of new stations, maintaining official correspondence, but also attended to ministerial duties not limited to Genadendal. Yet his senior and much older colleague Clemens accused Hallbeck of neglecting his spiritual duties: *What is the use of running around the whole day preoccupied with external affairs and then, exhausted and tired, in the evening to lead the devotional hour without proper preparation, or to regard the pastoral conversations as a waste of time.*⁹⁸¹

Clemens struggled to cope with the momentum the South African mission had gained with the addition of the new stations, as well as the social changes that took place in the colony. Clemens wrote in 1827: *Twelve years ago with my arrival the Helpers Conference was instituted. Its aim was to assist the leader of the mission and give the opportunity for joint reflexion. Br Hallbeck is the chairman and has been adorned by the Lord for this position with great gifts. He acts fast, ponders on the issues in advance, then proposes them to the members of the Helpers Conference present, who are often surprised by the new plans. 'No objections?' – 'Decided!' – and then those absent are informed about what has been decided. But when those present or absent want to meditate on the matter and have something against it, then it is often too late, and the decision is carried on in name of the Helpers Conference, without really having the full consent of all the members.*⁹⁸² This indicated a strained relation between Clemens and Hallbeck. The latter defended himself by characterising Clemens as slow and cumbersome, suffering of *laziness fever*.⁹⁸³ As happens so often in conflict situations, the dark side of someone's character is brought to the fore. This also applied to Hallbeck. Perhaps he went a step too far by writing to Herrnhut that the main problem with his colleague was that he was too fat!⁹⁸⁴

for example reported a surplus on the budgets of Genadendal and Enon. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1832 (HA).

⁹⁸¹ "Was hilft es wohl, den ganzen Tag in äußern Angelegenheiten umherzujagen und dann, matt und müde, gegen Abend die Andachtsstunde zu halten, ohne sich gründlich vorbereitet zu haben, oder gar seelsorgerliche Gespräche als Zeitvergeudung anzusehen" Letter Clemens, Nov 8th 1828, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 33.

⁹⁸² "Die Helferkonferenz wurde bei meiner Ankunft vor zwölf Jahren eingerichtet. Sie sollte dem Vorsteher der Mission Hilfe leisten und Gelegenheit zu gemeinsamen Überlegungen über das Ganze geben. Br. Hallbeck ist der Präses und ist auch vom Herrn für diesen Posten mit großen Gaben ausgerüstet. Er handelt schnell, überlegt die Sache selbst vorher, legt sie dann den anwesenden Mitgliedern der Helferkonferenz vor, die oft von den neuen Plänen überrascht werden. 'Keine Einwendungen?' – 'Beschlossen!' – und dann wird den Abwesenden mitgeteilt, was beschlossen worden ist. Wenn dann die Anwesenden oder Abwesenden in Ruhe über die Sache nachdenken und etwas dagegen einzuwenden haben, dann ist es oft zu spät, und der Beschluß geht im Namen der Helferkonferenz weiter, ohne eigentlich die volle Zustimmung aller Mitglieder zu haben." Letter Clemens, Dec 1827, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 32-33.

⁹⁸³ "Faul-Fieber" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 27th 1830 (HA).

⁹⁸⁴ When Berthelsdorf once asked Hallbeck what the problem was with Clemens, Hallbeck answered that he is suffering from the illness of the prophet Jonah, not being satisfied in the place where he has to minister. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 8th 1825 (HA). Another condition he was suffering from was obesity, as well as gout. This – Hallbeck wrote – could perhaps be the main reason for Clemens being so slow in his correspondence. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 24th 1827 (HA).

In Groenekloof the deficits continued as long as Clemens held the leadership position.⁹⁸⁵

Following a visit to Groenekloof, Hallbeck noted to the Helpers Conference: *There is an atmosphere of passivity among the Brethren, and [that according to him] no improvement is to be expected unless a thrifty leader gifted with common sense is appointed there.*⁹⁸⁶

The superintendent had to yield much time to the exhausting supervision of missionaries that presented questionable conduct and problems. The missionary Voigt was also one of them. He was transferred from Groenekloof to Genadendal in 1822, where Hallbeck could keep a close eye on him.⁹⁸⁷ In a letter to Schneider in January 1828, however, Hallbeck observed that *Br. Voigt is still stretching the patience of his colleagues to the extreme; he is and stays an unsolvable mystery.*⁹⁸⁸

On April 9th 1828 Hallbeck had to share the sad news that it has become known that Voigt had permitted himself too much freedom with one of the unmarried sisters. The Helpers Conference

⁹⁸⁵ Financial State Moravian Mission Stations in the Hallbeck Era: Surplus: √ deficit: -

	Genadendal	Groenekloof	Enon	Hemel & A	Elim	Silo	Clarkson
1818	√	-					
1819	-	-	-				
1820	-	-	-				
1821	-	-	-				
1822	-	-	-				
1823	√	-	-				
1824	√	-	-	√			
1825	√	-	-	√			
1826			-				
1827	-	-	-	√			
1828	√	-	-	√	-		
1829	√	-	√	√	-		
1830	√	-	√	√	-		
1831	√	-		√	-	-	
1832	√	-	√			-	
1833	√	-	-	√	-		
1834	√	-	-	√	-	-	
1835	√	-	-	√		-	
1836							
1837							
1838	√	√	-		√	-	
1839	√	√	-	√	√	-	-
1840							

⁹⁸⁶ "Br. Hallbeck, der auch in Groenekloof besucht hat, berichtete, daß er mit Schmerz gewahr geworden, daß es bei dortiger Mission aus Mangel an Thätigkeit u. Energy bei verschiedenen der dortigen Geschw. so wohl in Innern als Außern sehr lahm hergeht, u. daß nach seiner Hinsicht keine beßerung zu erwarten ist, bis man einen thätigen mit gesunden Einsichten begabten Vorsteher dort anstellen kann." *Protocol HC*, Aug 7th 1830 & Jul 13th 1831 (MASA & HA).

⁹⁸⁷ Letters Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1822 & Jul 23rd 1822 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Jan 2nd & Aug 13th 1822 (HA).

⁹⁸⁸ "Br. Voigt übt noch die Geduld seiner Mitarbeiter gar sehr; er ist u. bleibt ein unauföslliches Räthsel." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 13th 1828 (HA).

was unanimous that Voigt could no longer be allowed to conduct church services. Furthermore, he could not continue to be responsible for the mill, since there he had too easily the opportunity to speak with young women in private. In addition it was decided to relocate Voigt and his family to Elim, where his wrongs were less well-known to the community than in Genadendal. There they could wait until the final outcome would be received from the UEC, with regard to the recommended return to Europe. The Helpers Conference expressed their opinion that Voigt was not only ineffectual, but also detrimental to the mission.⁹⁸⁹

Although Voigt agreed with the measures proposed, when the day of his removal to Elim dawned, he kept his bed and pretended to be ill. The impression arose that he had exaggerated his mental and physical condition to delay the move to Elim.⁹⁹⁰ Even when the UEC's permission to repatriate him at last arrived in December of that year, it could also not be put into effect.⁹⁹¹ Voigt refused to leave. In September 1829, when his wife fell pregnant again, this was also utilized as a reason to remain at Genadendal.⁹⁹² It was used as an excuse to delay the departure to Europe.⁹⁹³

The HC noted that he was only sleeping, eating and drinking. It was unjustifiable that he was allowed – his colleagues complained – just like the other missionaries who were working hard – to have free access to wine and brandy from the cellar.⁹⁹⁴ It became evident to Hallbeck that Voigt was not suffering from mental illness. *I have become acquainted with mental illnesses the times I gave pastoral care to patients in a madhouse in my fatherland for many years. In my observation br Voigt has a mental illness only in so far as one can call a burst of anger or other passions a mental illness.*⁹⁹⁵ It remained difficult to keep Voigt industrious. The superintendent noted (a bit sarcastically) in a letter to Schneider that he managed to get him to collect insects, and that he even came back with some beetles.⁹⁹⁶ Contrary to her husband, sr Voigt had been longing for years to go back to Europe.⁹⁹⁷ The family eventually repatriated to Europe in 1831.⁹⁹⁸ Considering the 'Voigt episode', it is remarkable that about the only time we read something

⁹⁸⁹ Protocol HC, Apr 9th & Apr 21st 1828 (HA).

⁹⁹⁰ Protocol HC, May 20th 1828 (MASA & HA).

⁹⁹¹ Protocol HC, Dec 16th 1828 (MASA & HA).

⁹⁹² Protocol HC, Sept 16th 1829 (MASA & HA).

⁹⁹³ Protocol HC, Nov 12th 1829 (MASA & HA).

⁹⁹⁴ Protocol HC, Nov 12th 1829 (MASA & HA).

⁹⁹⁵ "Ich habe gute Gelegenheit gehabt, mit Gemüthskranken bekannt zu werden, da ich in meinem Vaterland in einem grossen Irrehaus Jahre lang täglich ein u. ausging u. gewissermassen der Seelsorg der Kranken war. Nach meinen beobachtungen ist br. Voigt gemüthskrank nur in so fern einer Aufwellung von Zorn u. andern Leidenschaften eine Gemüthskrankheit genennt werden kann" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 14th 1829 (HA).

⁹⁹⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 15th 1830 (HA).

⁹⁹⁷ Protocol HC, Oct 13th 1830 (MASA & HA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Sept 18th 1829 (HA).

⁹⁹⁸ Protocol HC, Febr 7th 1831 (MASA & HA).

positive concerning him was in 1820, when the protocol of the Helpers Conference reported the happy news that brother and sister Voigt were on their way to South Africa...⁹⁹⁹

With the arrival of Lehmann in 1829 new problems arose. Like Voigt this young brother seemed to be allergic to hard work. When Hallbeck visited Groenekloof, he noticed that his only business was to feed the chickens. In 1831 a whole week of Hallbeck was wasted when he was called to Groenekloof to mediate in a conflict between two missionaries. On his arrival he discovered that the one had shot three chickens of the other, since the animals did not respect the border between the respective gardens. Obviously the actual problem was not the chickens, *the real matter is a lack of love and trust on all sides*. Hallbeck identified a number of factors that had led to this gridlock: *the often thoughtless gossiping of br Clemens, the lack of entrepreneurship of sr Clemens, the boastings of br & sr Meyer, the hot-temperedness of br Lehmann as well as the exaggerated thrift of his wife...* Hallbeck was of opinion that relocation is very desirable, but the HC did not see this as a possibility until reinforcements had arrived from Europe. And perhaps the best solution was to appoint a wise and diligent leader to the station, who would be willing to carry the burden he is imposing on others.¹⁰⁰⁰ Between the lines we sense here quite some dissatisfaction with Clemens' leadership in Groenekloof.

Early in January 1830 Hallbeck indicated the immediate needs of the South African mission to Herrnhut. His list included the following:

- A missionary for Silo who would be able to master the Thembu language;
- A carpenter;
- A competent missionary with the skills to lead Enon, which included a fluency in English;
- An administrator for Genadendal, with the ability to write well, to take over some of the superintendent's tasks.¹⁰⁰¹

On the one hand Hallbeck was constantly in need of more missionaries for the new stations, urging Herrnhut to send capable men. But, on the other hand, he was challenged by the incompetency of missionaries on the existing stations. In 1830 he wrote that a Helpers Conference will be held soon, and that *there will definitively be difficult discussions, what one has*

⁹⁹⁹ *Protocol HC*, Nov 6th 1820 (HA).

¹⁰⁰⁰ "aber der wahre Grund ist Mangel an Liebe u. Zutrauen auf allen Seiten." "das manchmal unbesonnene geschwätz des br. Clemens, der Mangel an Wirtschaftsgabe bei Schw. C., das gross sprechen u. wenig leissen bei Geschw. Meyer, die störnigkeit u. unbesonnene Hitze des br. Lehmans so wie die vielleicht zu ängstliche Sparsamkeit seiner Frau ..."
Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 26th 1831 & Aug 27th 1830 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Aug 7th 1830 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰⁰¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1830 (HA).

to do with the plenty, plenty of ballast, since one cannot just throw them overboard.¹⁰⁰² The dire need for capable men is like a refrain through his letters. It even started to overshadow other matters.

Luttring(hausen) – at the time stationed in Genadendal and Hallbeck’s right hand – assessed the pivotal role Hallbeck was playing in the mission. He wrote to Herrnhut: *I can imagine the enormous confusion that will happen would br Hallbeck be called home by the Lord unexpectedly.*¹⁰⁰³ And this was indeed feared in August 1830, when Hallbeck became seriously ill once more because of an ulcer in his throat. Even Hallbeck himself thought that his time on earth was over.¹⁰⁰⁴ Luttringhausen was worried. He wrote to Herrnhut: *As far as I know, there is no brother on the South African mission field able to replace Hallbeck. The work has become so extensive, and what is a huge challenge for other brothers, yes even impossible, is for him easy. Because he has gone through all the schools, and especially such a brother is needed to replace him.*¹⁰⁰⁵

During this time the Leper Institution Hemel en Aarde presented its own challenges. Peterleitner wrote that it was not possible – as with the other mission stations – to send people away who persisted in their sinful lifestyle.¹⁰⁰⁶ Some members had to be excommunicated from the congregation.¹⁰⁰⁷ But, on the other hand, the stories of those who repented were the more moving, like a woman named Christina Burgers, who had lost both her hands and feet because of the disease. With all her external misery she had the great joy of knowing her Saviour as the Redeemer of her sins and her eternal consolation.¹⁰⁰⁸

In 1829 Peterleitner suffered a stroke. It happened while he was baptising a congregant in the chapel. A day later he died, aged sixty.¹⁰⁰⁹ Hallbeck immediately rushed to Hemel en Aarde on

¹⁰⁰² “... wiewohl es gewiss eine äusserst schwere Ueberlegung seyn wird, wo man mit dem vielen vielen ballast hin soll, den man ihn doch nicht über bord schmeissen kann.” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 14th 1830 (HA).

¹⁰⁰³ “ich stelle mir die große Verwirrung vor, die entstehen würde, wenn Br. Hallbeck einmal plötzlich vom Herrn heimggerufen werden sollte” Letter Luttringhausen, Aug 26th 1830, in Anshelm *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 33.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 27th 1830 (HA).

¹⁰⁰⁵ “So weit mir bekannt ist, gibt es auf unserm südafrikanischen Missionsfeld keinen Bruder, der an Br. Hallbecks Stelle treten könnte. Die Arbeit ist so viel umfassender geworden, was andern Brüdern schwer fällt, ja, fast unmöglich ist, das ist ihm ein Leichters. Denn er is durch alle Schulen gegangen, und grade ein solcher Bruder wäre als Ersatz für ihn erforderlich” Letter Luttringhausen, Aug 26th 1830, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 33.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Nachrichten* (1826), 239.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Nachrichten* (1828), 856.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Nachrichten* (1828), 854.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Protocol HC*, Apr 28th 1829 (MASA & HA).

horseback. He accompanied Leitner's wife back to Genadendal, where her husband was buried.¹⁰¹⁰

The day after the funeral Hallbeck returned to Hemel en Aarde to see to matters.¹⁰¹¹ In September 1829 a successor for Peterleitner arrived – the missionary Tietze from Groenekloof.¹⁰¹² Hallbeck introduced him personally to the institution. Henceforth Hallbeck managed all the administration of the Leper Institution himself.¹⁰¹³ The government also preferred this arrangement.¹⁰¹⁴

Hallbeck had to submit a quarterly report to the authorities. For example, the last report of 1830 indicated the following:

- Quarterly Report of the Leper Institution at Hemel en Aarde of the months October November and December

Number on the book at the beginning of the quarter	Admitted	Born	Died	Re-moved	De-serted	Remain at the end of the quarter						
						Male Hottentots & Free Blacks	Female Hottentots	Male Slaves	Female Slaves	Healthy Hottentots	Healthy Children of Patients	Total
109	2	1	7	2	2	45	36	13	2	2	3	101

1830

H.P. Hallbeck

Superintendent

Since Hemel en Aarde was not far from Genadendal, Hallbeck could indeed make frequent visitations. In October 1830 he baptised three lepers.¹⁰¹⁵ In the year 1831 he paid seven visits to the institution.¹⁰¹⁶

¹⁰¹⁰ Letter Hallbeck to his children, May 13th 1829 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1831), 876.

¹⁰¹¹ *Nachrichten* (1832), 540.

¹⁰¹² *Nachrichten* (1832), 549; *Protocol HC*, Jul 27th 1829 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰¹³ *Protocol HC*, Oct 15th 1827 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Sept 18th 1829 (HA). In December 1829 plans were drawn up to erect a kitchen building at Hemel en Aarde. This architectural plan is still in the Genadendal Archive. It gives insight into the method and materials with which buildings were erected by the time – stone, clay, unburnt brick, burnt brick, cow dung, sand, lime, shells, yellow wood, thatch, bamboes.

¹⁰¹⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Sept 18th 1829 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Sept 16th 1829 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰¹⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 14th 1830 (HA).

¹⁰¹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1834), 63.

Affairs on the stations Elim and Enon during 1828 to 1830 did not raise much concern. The missionaries CL Teutsch, Ch Thomsen and CF Nauhaus served at Elim during this period, and in Enon the missionaries J Fritsch, JG Hornig and JF Hoffmann. Apparently all was in good hands and administration. In 1828 a Wesleyan Methodist missionary from Somerset visited Enon, preached there in the morning, and attended a baptism in the afternoon. He was so impressed with the baptismal liturgy that he bought a number of the liturgical hymnbooks.¹⁰¹⁷

White colonists in the vicinity of Elim were very thankful for an opportunity for their children to receive an education, although, Hallbeck reported, some were too proud to have their children educated together with Khoikhoi and slaves.¹⁰¹⁸ The stable growth necessitated more pastures and arable lands for the inhabitants. In 1830 Hallbeck (on behalf of Elim and the Helpers Conference) asked permission from the UEC to buy a neighbouring farm, belonging to a Samson Dyer, who had offered it at a reasonable price.¹⁰¹⁹

The mission station Silo, though, went through a difficult time. This demanded a committed input from Hallbeck.

Crisis at Silo (1828)

The first pioneering months of the station were not easy. As long as the missionaries Lemmerz and Hoffmann had no proper houses to stay in, the lions posed a real threat.¹⁰²⁰ However, they started their work in faithfulness, not knowing what the future would bring. One of the first things Lemmerz, who led the station, did, was to visit Chumie in order to become better acquainted with the missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society and the way in which they approached the work among the black tribes.¹⁰²¹ With the help of an interpreter, Lemmerz started a catechetical class, utilizing the questions and answers compiled by his English colleagues at Chumie.¹⁰²²

By June 1828 the colony and the inhabitants in the border regions were again subjected to tension, uncertainty and violence. This put the most eastern and northern mission station of the Moravians, on the banks of the Klipplaat River, in jeopardy. Hallbeck reported in a letter to

¹⁰¹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1831), 77.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1828), 685-686.

¹⁰¹⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 14th 1830 (HA). See also letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 28th 1831 (HA).

¹⁰²⁰ *Nachrichten* (1830), 517-518.

¹⁰²¹ *Nachrichten* (1830), 526.

¹⁰²² *Nachrichten* (1829), 387.

Herrnhut dated June 23rd 1828 that the peace was disturbed again because of a powerful chief called Chaka. With his thirty thousand soldiers¹⁰²³ he had already subjugated seven independent black tribes, with the intention that all the tribes should acknowledge him as chief. Apparently he had no hostile intentions against the colony,¹⁰²⁴ yet he sent one of his captains to Algoa Bay to ascertain how the colony was reacting to his march.¹⁰²⁵ In the colony, an army of about 1,800 men consisting of colonists and Khoikhoi was recruited,¹⁰²⁶ among them men from various mission stations.¹⁰²⁷ Hallbeck was of the opinion that the Thembu and other tribes' fate would have been certain, would the colonial army had not come to their help.¹⁰²⁸

The invasion of the Zulus in the eastern parts of Thembuland¹⁰²⁹ as well as the fact that the Fetschanna nation had again burgled Thembu in the neighbourhood of their cattle and had killed several people,¹⁰³⁰ caused the Thembu residing in the vicinity of the mission station to move away. The missionaries thought it better to retreat. They went to the Klaas Schmitt's River, about thirteen hours from the Klipplaat River.¹⁰³¹ Here a military post was stationed.¹⁰³² This was only five months after the work in Silo had started.¹⁰³³

On November 4th 1828 Hallbeck reported that it was safe again for the missionaries to return.¹⁰³⁴ This was only possible because the government had taken special measurements to establish a military post nearer to the Klipplaat River. Furthermore, the fact that a delegation of Chaka had arrived in Cape Town to negotiate a treaty of friendship with the colony, also had a positive influence on the decision to resume the work. Later that month the brothers returned.¹⁰³⁵ Two months later Hallbeck reported the news that Chaka was killed by a conspiracy, which included his own brother on September 23rd 1828, and that his armies were retreating again in an eastern direction.¹⁰³⁶ The missionaries were not sure what the consequence of his death would be for the mission.¹⁰³⁷ Only the future would tell.

¹⁰²³ In another case an estimation of 24,000 men is made – *Nachrichten* (1830), 544.

¹⁰²⁴ *Nachrichten* (1828), 983-984.

¹⁰²⁵ *Nachrichten* (1831), 36.

¹⁰²⁶ *Nachrichten* (1830), 545.

¹⁰²⁷ *Nachrichten* (1831), 72.

¹⁰²⁸ *Nachrichten* (1831), 45.

¹⁰²⁹ *Nachrichten* (1829), 387.

¹⁰³⁰ *Nachrichten* (1829), 388-389.

¹⁰³¹ *Protocol HC*, Nov 13th 1828 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1831), 54.

¹⁰³² *Nachrichten* (1829), 394-395.

¹⁰³³ *Nachrichten* (1831), 98.

¹⁰³⁴ *Nachrichten* (1829), 396.

¹⁰³⁵ *Nachrichten* (1831), 105.

¹⁰³⁶ *Nachrichten* (1829), 569; *Nachrichten* (1831), 60.

¹⁰³⁷ *Nachrichten* (1831), 81.

And indeed, the year 1829 proved to not be a tranquil year for Silo. Lemmerz stressed the need for a military post closer to Silo: *If we will not be protected by the government, our station will fail. Apart from the fact that one can never be sure about the Fetschannas, the Thembu are also waging war with the Bantu and among themselves.*¹⁰³⁸ There were disputes between Bavana and another Thembu captain, Chaleta. Towards the end of January 1829 the Thembu were attacked by the tribe of Makomo, killing several people and robbing six thousand cows.¹⁰³⁹ Hallbeck noted in February 1829 that the future of this mission station was tottering.¹⁰⁴⁰

The missionaries had the impression that the poor among the blacks were more receptive to the *Message of peace*.¹⁰⁴¹ In 1829 Lemmerz reported that he haven't yet experienced open ears and hearts among the Thembu.¹⁰⁴² In February 1829 the first Thembu people received permission to become inhabitants, almost eight months after the start of the work.¹⁰⁴³ In 1830 Hallbeck shared the news with gratitude that the first person outside the borders of the colony had been baptised by Moravian missionaries – a woman from the *Mantatee* nation.¹⁰⁴⁴ She received the name *Salome*.¹⁰⁴⁵

Hallbeck's visit to Silo (1830) and the continuation of a challenging ministry

In May 1830 Hallbeck paid an eight-day visit to Silo. He travelled all the way from Genadendal – a thousand kilometers – on horseback. In consultation with him it was decided to move the station upstream, in order to be safer against possible floods.¹⁰⁴⁶ According to Hallbeck real challenges for the future missionaries would be issues like polygamy and the custom of circumcision, without which a man had no civil rights.¹⁰⁴⁷

In the same year the mission station had to use firearms in self-defence, in which seven attackers were killed. After having received a report on these sad events, the Helpers Conference in Genadendal critically evaluated it. *A letter of br Halter of Dec 6th reports, that on Nov. 29th a*

¹⁰³⁸ "Demnach ist, wenn wir von der Obrigkeit nicht beschützt werden, unsere Lage mislich. Denn außerdem, daß man vor den Fetchannas nie ganz sicher ist, führen auch die Tambukkis mit den Kaffern und unter einander Krieg" *Nachrichten* (1829), 570-571.

¹⁰³⁹ *Nachrichten* (1829), 718.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Nachrichten* (1829), 719.

¹⁰⁴¹ "Botschaft des Friedens" *Nachrichten* (1830), 539.

¹⁰⁴² *Nachrichten* (1829), 570.

¹⁰⁴³ *Nachrichten* (1831), 837.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Protocol HC*, Febr 2nd 1830 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰⁴⁵ This happened on Jan 6th 1830. Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 15th 1830 (HA).

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Nachrichten* (1832), 903; *Protocol HC*, Febr 2nd & March 6th 1830 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰⁴⁷ See also *Nachrichten* (1830), 399.

*bunch of Bantu stole a herd of cattle at Klipplaat, and that after they were pursued, the Bantu attacked their persecutors, thus a skirmish was unavoidable, during which 7 Bantu were killed, and the Klipplaat people remained unharmed, and got their cattle back. Br Halter and his colleagues are very embarrassed about this, and ask what they should do, to prevent such unfortunate bloodshed. – Under the circumstances there it is almost impossible to totally prevent such misfortune, because when one would have allowed without any resistance the cattle theft, this evil would only become worse, as they had experienced in the year 1828. – We can give no other advice, than to endeavour as much as possible to spare human life, and that such instances should be reported immediately to the authorities.*¹⁰⁴⁸

When the chief Bavana once attended a church service, the missionaries warned him with the words of Jesus, that he and his people should grasp the opportunity to accept the Word of God, lest Jesus would have to cry about them as He cried for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who had despised Him and did not accept His grace and love.¹⁰⁴⁹ Later the missionaries complained that no change in Bavana's attitude and life could be detected, and that his continuous begging was very annoying.¹⁰⁵⁰ They warned him that one day he would not only have to give an account of his own soul to the Lord Almighty, but also as to those of his subjects.¹⁰⁵¹ When talking with him about the necessity of repentance, Bavana always opted to talk about other things.¹⁰⁵² In a letter dated February 21st 1831 Halter wrote: *It is strange that the same man, who was the cause for the establishment of this station, would later often oppose the mission work.* In the same letter Halter wrote that Bavana was killed in September 1830. This was a huge setback, since the missionaries always kept some hope that one day Bavana would repent.¹⁰⁵³ His son Mapasa succeeded him. A complicating factor was that Mapasa initially accused the missionaries of killing his father, indicating that he therefore wished for their departure. Yet Halter wrote: *we have a mighty Lord on our side.*¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁴⁸ "Ein brief vom br. Halter von 6 Dec. meldet, daß am 29 Nov. ein Haufen Kaffern eine Heerde Vieh am Klipplaat stahlen, da dieselben nachgesetzt wurden u. ihre Verfolger anfielen, so konnten diese ein Gefecht nicht vermeiden, wobei 7 Kaffern fielen, u. die Klipplaatler unbeschädigt blieben, u. ihr Vieh wieder kriegten. Br. Halter u die übrigen Geschw. sind hierüber sehr verlegen, u. fragen wie sei es thun sollen, um den unglücklichen blutvergießen vorzubeugen. – Under den dortigen Umständen ist es kaum möglich, solchen Unglück ganz vorzukommen, denn wenn man die beute des Vieh ungehindert nehmen ließe, so wurde das Uebel nur ärger werden, wie sie es im J. 1828 erfuhren. – Wir wissen keinen andern Rath zu geben, als daß man suche, Menschenleben zu schonen, so viel es nur möglich ist, u. daß solche Fälle sogleich an die behörden berichtet werden." *Protocol HC*, Dec 22nd 1830 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Nachrichten* (1830), 549.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Nachrichten* (1831), 844.

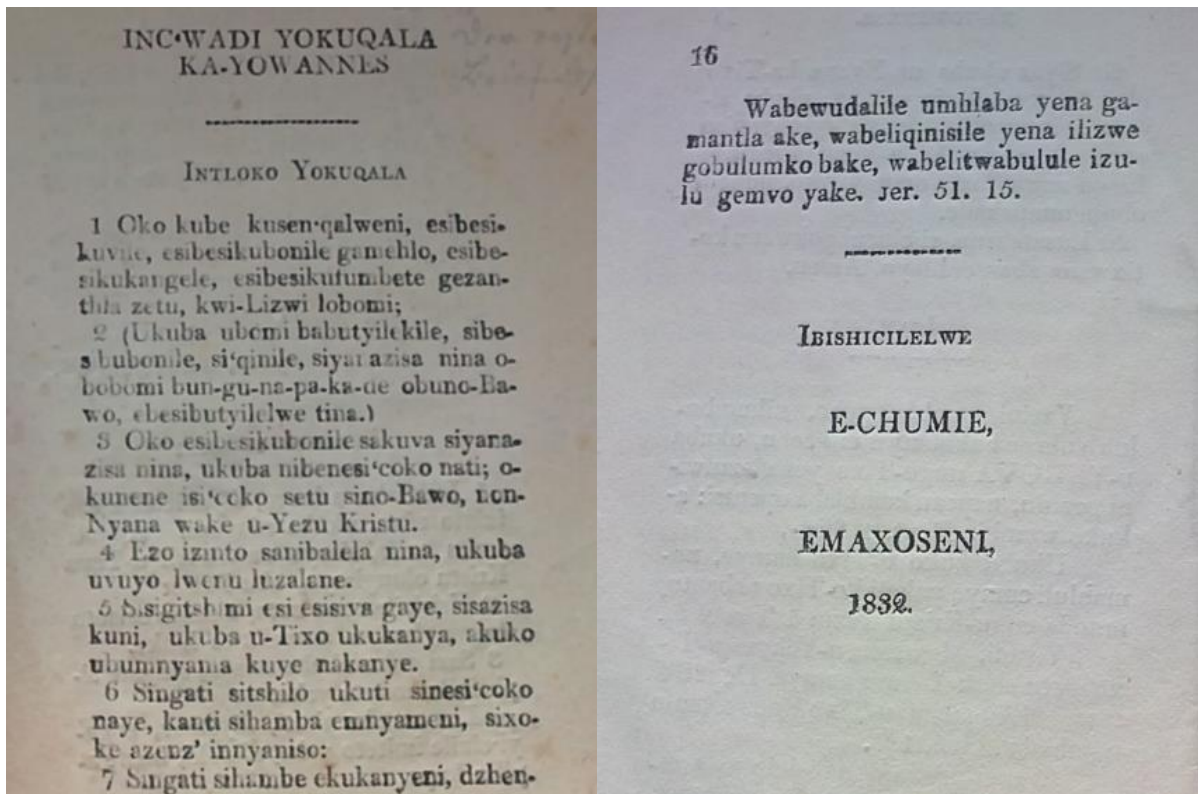
¹⁰⁵¹ *Nachrichten* (1831), 845.

¹⁰⁵² *Nachrichten* (1832), 895.

¹⁰⁵³ *Nachrichten* (1833), 752.

¹⁰⁵⁴ "merkwürdig, daß derselbe Mann, welcher die Gelegenheit zur Anlegung dieser Mission gewesen war, ihr in der Folge vielfach in den Weg trat, indem er Vielen hinderlich war, zu uns zu ziehen." "daß wir einen mächtigeren Herrn auf unserer Seite haben" *Nachrichten* (1831), 929-930.

The station was to survive. The missionaries were appalled by the gruesome way the Thembu were murdered by enemies from time to time.¹⁰⁵⁵ They could only look on, unable to do anything about it, since they were outside the sphere of the jurisdiction of the colony.¹⁰⁵⁶ Sometimes conflicting tribes requested the missionaries to judge among them, for example in cases of cattle disputes. However, the missionaries answered that according God's Word they were not entitled to interfere with governmental issues.¹⁰⁵⁷ Despite all these difficulties there were also promising signs, like when in September 1831 five Thembu families pledged to live according to God's Word and the Regulations of the congregation.¹⁰⁵⁸



First and last page of the Xhosa translation of the Gospel of John, as printed in 1832 in Chumie.¹⁰⁵⁹

The station officially received its name – Silo, as proposed by Hallbeck – in 1831. The UEC had initially put forward the name Grünau to be considered, but the Helpers Conference objected. Neither the Thembu, nor the English or the Dutch would be able to pronounce it.¹⁰⁶⁰ Hallbeck wrote to Herrnhut that it was difficult to choose an indigenous name, since the black tribes spoke

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Nachrichten* (1831), 835.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Nachrichten* (1831), 111.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Nachrichten* (1831), 847.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Nachrichten* (1835), 70.

¹⁰⁵⁹ HA.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Protocol HC*, Jun 25th 1830 (MASA & HA).

more than one language. A biblical name (Silo) seemed to be the best solution to the problem. Herrnhut as well as the colonial government gave their approval¹⁰⁶¹ and Silo received its name. The work progressed¹⁰⁶² and the interpreter, Wilhelmina, helped in the school for girls.¹⁰⁶³ There they learned amongst other things to say the Lord's Prayer in their own language.¹⁰⁶⁴ In 1832 a translation of the Gospel of John was printed at Chumie.¹⁰⁶⁵

In relation to the management of the diverse personalities and opinions of the missionaries, as well as the supervision of mission stations indicated in the preceding paragraphs, it is clear that Hallbeck was challenged on a variety of issues. He had to strategically lead, which he did. One particular aspect of his work was the education in Genadendal. During the early 1830's Hallbeck and his wife initiated a significant development.

Education at Genadendal – new directions

The idea to erect a nursery school for infants (in German *Kleinkinderschule*), originated with Hallbeck and his wife. Often the fathers were away from Genadendal for extended periods of time, while the mothers were occupied in the gardens during the day, which left many of the infants uncared for. A nursery school would meaningfully address this problem. When the new governor, Sir Cole, visited Genadendal in 1829, Hallbeck mentioned the possibility, perhaps hoping for some financial assistance.¹⁰⁶⁶

With the help of donations in the subsequent years a building was erected for the nursery school, which opened its doors on September 12th 1831. A total of 144 children from ages 3-5 attended the opening, including the children of the missionaries. Initially the children were a bit frightened. Hallbeck however took his handkerchief, put it on his head to serve the purposes of a hat and played his violin until the children started laughing. This nursery school was the first of its kind in the country. When the acting governor TF Wade (1784-1846)¹⁰⁶⁷ visited Genadendal in 1833, it was the infant school with the young Khoikhoi teacher Ezekiel Pfeiffer that impressed him most: *he expressed his astonishment about the skilfulness, rest and decency with which my young helper executed the school exercises, communicating with the children about religion,*

¹⁰⁶¹ Letter Halbeck to Schneider, May 9th 1831 (HA). See also *Protocol HC*, May 19th 1831 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰⁶² *Nachrichten* (1832), 889.

¹⁰⁶³ *Nachrichten* (1831), 844.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Nachrichten* (1833), 698.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Nachrichten* (1832), 880.

¹⁰⁶⁶ He arrived at the Cape on Sept 7th 1828 – *Nachrichten* (1831), 48.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Beyers, C.J. ed. *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek*, Part 2, 847.

*natural sciences and other topics on their own level, knowing how to elicit the most interesting answers from them.*¹⁰⁶⁸

Hallbeck's interest in Ezekiel Pfeiffer started in August 1828, when the latter's mother passed away. Ezekiel, thirteen years old, was the best learner in school. Hallbeck and his wife then educated him – together with some other promising boys – during the morning hours,¹⁰⁶⁹ in order to prepare him to become a future help in the school.¹⁰⁷⁰ With the inception of the nursery school in 1831 he was employed as a teacher, together with Hallbeck's wife and sr Sondermann.¹⁰⁷¹ When the missionary Schopmann was relocated to Elim in 1834, Ezekiel Pfeiffer took over his place to teach in the boys' school.¹⁰⁷² Hallbeck reported: *Ezekiel Pfeiffer (a Khoikhoi) shows great faithfulness and punctuality in his office as schoolmaster.*¹⁰⁷³ Ezekiel even preached to the children in church.¹⁰⁷⁴

Yet Ezekiel was not the first indigenous teacher. Already in 1828 Hallbeck was involved in appointing a Khoikhoi lady, who could read very well, in the girls' school.¹⁰⁷⁵ She became the first indigenous teacher in the colony, though she remains incognito, as her name is neither mentioned in Genadendal's Diary, nor in Hallbeck's letters to Herrnhut.

The example of Ezekiel encouraged Hallbeck to train more young boys. In 1840 after some years of thorough training the second Khoikhoi young man, Alexander Haas, was ready to be appointed teacher in the nursery school.¹⁰⁷⁶ Hallbeck and his wife also adopted a young girl (who had lost her mother) named Elisabeth Jacobs to train her to become a teacher. However her health was fragile and she passed away in July 1840.¹⁰⁷⁷

¹⁰⁶⁸ "ihre Verwunderung auszudrücken über die Gewandtheit, Ruhe u. Anstand mit welchen mein junger Gehülfe die Schulübungen leitete, u. über religiöse, naturgeschichtliche u. andere Gegenstände die Kinder auf eine ihrer Fassungskraft gemässe Weise zu excomuniren, u. die interessantesten Antworten heraus zulocken wusste" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Nov 4th 1833 (HA).

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Nachrichten* (1829), 386.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Nachrichten* (1831), 44.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Nachrichten* (1832), 138.

¹⁰⁷² *Protocol HC*, May 7th 1834 (MASA & HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 178.

¹⁰⁷³ "Ezekiel Pfeiffer (ein Hottentotte) beweiset große Treue und Punctlichkeit in seinem Amt als Schulmeister" *Nachrichten* (1835), 203.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Protocol HC*, Aug 21st 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 13th 1828 (HA): "Br. Luttring ist br. Lemmerz' Nachfolger in der Mädchenschule, u. um ihm dieses Geschäft zu erleichtern, ist eine brave Hottentottin, die gut lesen kann, u. bis jetzt gelegentlich in der Schule gedient hat, als beständige Lehrerin angestellt, wofür ihr eine kleine Vergütung... aus dem Schul-Fond gegeben wird." See also *Diarium Genadendal*, Jan. 1828; *Nachrichten* (1831), 29.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 10th 1840 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1841), 309.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Nachrichten* (1843), 61-62.

The Genadendal School commenced every week day at eight and finished at noon.¹⁰⁷⁸ The children learned Bible stories, prayers, letters of the alphabet, numbers, writing, and about nature. The curriculum consisted of five parts:

- 1 History of the Old Testament
- 2 Life, Sufferings and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ
- 3 Natural History
- 4 Morning Lesson (*Morgen-les*)
- 5 Singing

Hallbeck composed poems in Dutch, being summaries of the Old and New Testament history, morality and natural history. They were used for many years, even after Hallbeck's death.¹⁰⁷⁹ For example on the history of the Old Testament Hallbeck wrote a long poem. To quote some parts of it:¹⁰⁸⁰

"In den begin schiep God het heir
Des hemels, aard, lucht, land en meer.
Den zesden dag was't werk gedaan,
Den zevenden ving Sabbath aan."

...

"Reeds Abraham was zeer bejaard,
Toen eenen zoon hem Sara baart,
Dien hij op Gods bevel daarna
Als offer bragt naar Moria.

Dus Izaak werd een beeld van't Lam
Van God, dat op des cruises stam
Zich slagten liet en met geduld
Zijn bloed vergoot voor onze schuld."

...

*In the beginning God created the host
Of heavens, earth, air, land and sea.
The sixth day the work was done,
The seventh day Sabbath was on.*

...

*Abraham was already old,
When Sara bore to him a son,
But he took him on God's command
To Moria as sacrifice thereupon.*

*So Isaac became an image of the Lamb
of God, who on the cross allowed
with patience to be sacrificed
for our guilt had shed his blood.*

...

¹⁰⁷⁸ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Oct 24th 1832 (HA).

¹⁰⁷⁹ *Nachrichten* (1844), 553.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein-Kinder-Scholen zamengesteld door Peter Hallbeck, Bisschop der Broeder-Kerk* (Genadendal: Boek-Drukkerij der Normaalschool, 1859/1872/1886), 5-12.

“Der slangen gift maakt velen bang,
Dan wordt gemaakt de Kop’ren Slang,
Die ons een beeld van Jezus is,
Ons leven en behoudenis.”

...

“Maar Salomo viel af, helaas!
Van God, en deed dat zondig was,
Daardoor ontstond na zijnen tijd
Verdeeldheid en oneenigheid.”

...

“In Babylon’s gevangenis
Treurd’ Juda nu, toch heilzaam is
Hun deze tucht, want daardoor werd
Nu menig hart tot God bekeerd.”

...

“Der Makkabeën heldenmoed
Verijdelde des vijand woed’;
En Judas’ rijk bleef dus bewaard,
Tot dat de Heer verscheen op d’ aard.

Welk wond’ren van barmhartigheid,
Van wijsheid, magt, gerechtigheid,
en waarheid, dit geheiligd, oud
Verhaal voor ons gemoed ontvouwt!

Ach leer daarvan elk menschenkind,
dat wie God vreest en trouw bemint,
Gelukkig is, en dat gewis
Des Heeren woord waarachtig is.”

On the life, sufferings and death of Jesus Christ Hallbeck also wrote a poem for the children to memorize:¹⁰⁸¹

*The serpents’ poison scared many,
so a snake was made of brass,
to point our hopes to Jesus,
our life and salvation.*

...

*But Solomon lapsed in sin, alas!
And did what God forbade,
And so it happened after his days
That discord and quarrel had to arise.*

...

*In Babylon’s prison Judah mourns
But this punishment proves
For the better to become,
To God many a heart repents.*

...

*The bravery of the Maccabees
Thwarted the enemies’ anger;
And Judah’s empire endured,
Until the Lord on earth appeared.*

*What wonders of mere grace,
Of wisdom, power, justice and truth
this history so holy and old
For our soul does unfold.*

*Oh may each and every one from this,
learn that who loves and fears the Lord
is happy, and that indeed for sure
The truth of his Word shall endure.*

¹⁰⁸¹ Hallbeck, *Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein-Kinder-Scholen zamengesteld door Peter Hallbeck, Bisschop der Broeder-Kerk*, 13-18.

“Vier duizend jaar naar Adams val,
Verscheen als kind, in eenen stal
Te Bethlehem, Gods Zoon en nam
Op zich de schuld van Adams stam.”

...

“Maar zijne huld en nedrigheid
Verwekt weldra der priestern nijd,
Geen Farizeë of Schriftgeleerd
Hem als profeet en Rabbi eert.”

...

“Pilatus nu moet regter zijn
En vindt van schuld den Heiland rein,
Maar Barnabas hij laat ontslaan,
En Jezus moet ter slagting gaan.”

...

“Betaald was nu des zondaars schuld,
Het reddings-werk volmaakt vervuld,
Dus zinkend’ in den duist’ren nacht
Des doods hij roept: Het is volbragt!

Dit was zoo lang de wereld staat
Het grootst’ moment voor Adams zaad,
Ontnomen was den dood zijn magt
En ‘t leven werd ons weer gebragt.”

*Four thousand years after Adams’ fall,
Appeared as child, in a manger
In Bethlehem, God’s Son and took
On Him the guilt of Adam’s race.*

...

*But his humbleness and fame
Soon provoked the priests’ envy
To honour him as prophet and Rabbi
Did no single scribe or Pharisee.*

...

*Though Pilate had to be the judge
In the Saviour he found no guilt as such,
Whilst Barnabas was set free,
Jesus had to face the slaughter.*

...

*Paid was now the sinner’s guilt
Redemption in perfect accomplished,
And sinking in the darkest night
Of death he cried: it is finished.*

*This was as long as the world had been
The greatest moment for Adam’s seed,
Bereaved was death now of its sting
And life to us he could bring.*

With these poems the history of salvation was taught to the children. They learned to read the Bible not only as a historic account, but also as the revelation of the living God, and how God prepared through the ages in the Old Testament for the coming of his Son Jesus Christ, who brought salvation for Adam’s seed. The poems taught the children that the God who had made a covenant with the patriarchs and other personages of Scripture, is the same God preached by the missionaries, and who made a covenant with them as well. From his Word the people of Genadendal could learn who their heavenly Father is, and how He is dealing with his children.

Here follows an example of a poem for the *Morgen-les* (*Morning Lesson*):¹⁰⁸²

“Als ik van slaap verkwikt ontwaak,	<i>When I wake up refreshed,</i>
Is't dankgebed mijn eerste zaak;	<i>The first I do is say thanks;</i>
Ik danke God, wijl Hij mij geeft	<i>I thank God, 'cause He grants</i>
Wat lijf of ziel van noode heeft	<i>What my body and soul needs</i>
Ik bid tot God want Hij is goed	<i>I pray to God 'cause He is good</i>
Dat voor het kwaad hij mij behoed;	<i>That from evil He will protect me;</i>
Dan wasch ik mij, en trek mij aan	<i>Then I wash and clothe myself</i>
En maak mij klaar naar school te gaan.”	<i>And get ready to go to school.</i>

Hallbeck also wrote poems to acquaint the children with the different animals:¹⁰⁸³

“De Olifant is groot en vaal;	<i>The Elephant is grey and big;</i>
Zijn vel is dik en ruw en kaal;	<i>thick and rough and bare his skin;</i>
Zijn oog is klein, en groot zijn oor,	<i>His eye is small, and big his ear,</i>
Zijn tand is wit en geeft ivoor;	<i>His tooth is white and ivory bears;</i>
Hij is zeer slim, en met den snuit	<i>He's very clever, and with his trunk</i>
Trekt hij somtijds de boomen uit.	<i>Sometimes he pulls out the trees.</i> ¹⁰⁸⁴

‘t Kameelpaard loopt met ongemak,	<i>The Giraffe's walk is without ease</i>
Zijn rug zakt af gelijk een dak,	<i>His back like a roof so steep</i>
Zijn groote lijf is bont gevlekt,	<i>His big body spotted all over</i>
Tot achttien voet zijn hoofd hij strekt.	<i>Eighteen feet high he stretches his head</i>
Twee stompe hoorns ‘t Kameelpaard heeft,	<i>And on top of it two blunt horns,</i>
Hij doet geen kwaad, van gras hij leeft.”	<i>But he won't harm, and eats only grass.</i>

“De Paauw is fraai van pluim en start,	<i>The Peacock's beauty is in its plume and tail</i>
Maar is daarbij van weinig waard;	<i>But for the rest of little use it is;</i>

¹⁰⁸² Hallbeck, *Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein-Kinder-Scholen zamengesteld door Peter Hallbeck, Bisschop der Broeder-Kerk*, 34-36.

¹⁰⁸³ Hallbeck, *Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein-Kinder-Scholen zamengesteld door Peter Hallbeck, Bisschop der Broeder-Kerk*, 19-31.

¹⁰⁸⁴ How the elephants pull out trees Hallbeck witnessed himself when he visited the Witte River area in the Eastern Cape: “wir sahen an den zahllosen frischen Spuren und den neuerlich abgebrochenen Zweigen und ausgerissenen Dornbäumen, daß nur wenig Stunden vor unserer Ankunft große Heerden da gewesen waren.” *Nachrichten* (1820), 678-679.

Een ieder leer die les daarvan,
Dat zonder deugd niets baten kan.”

*Let everyone therefore learn this lesson,
That without virtue nothing avails.*

There is also a poem on the zebra and the – by then not yet extinct – quagga:

“Voor schoonheid is alom vermaard
De Zebra of het Wilde Paard,
De Zebra men ligt temmen kan,
Docht heeft men niet veel nut daarvan.

*Enjoying from its beauty much fame
Is the wild horse or zebra,
An animal so easy to tame,
Yet not for man so useful.*

De Quagga lijkt naar ‘t Wilde Paard
In grootte en in levensaad;
Toch is hij niet zoo fraai van kleur
En lijkt hierin den Ezel meer.”

*The quagga looks like the wild horse
In size and in character;
Yet in colour it is not as smart
Resembling more a donkey in this regard.*

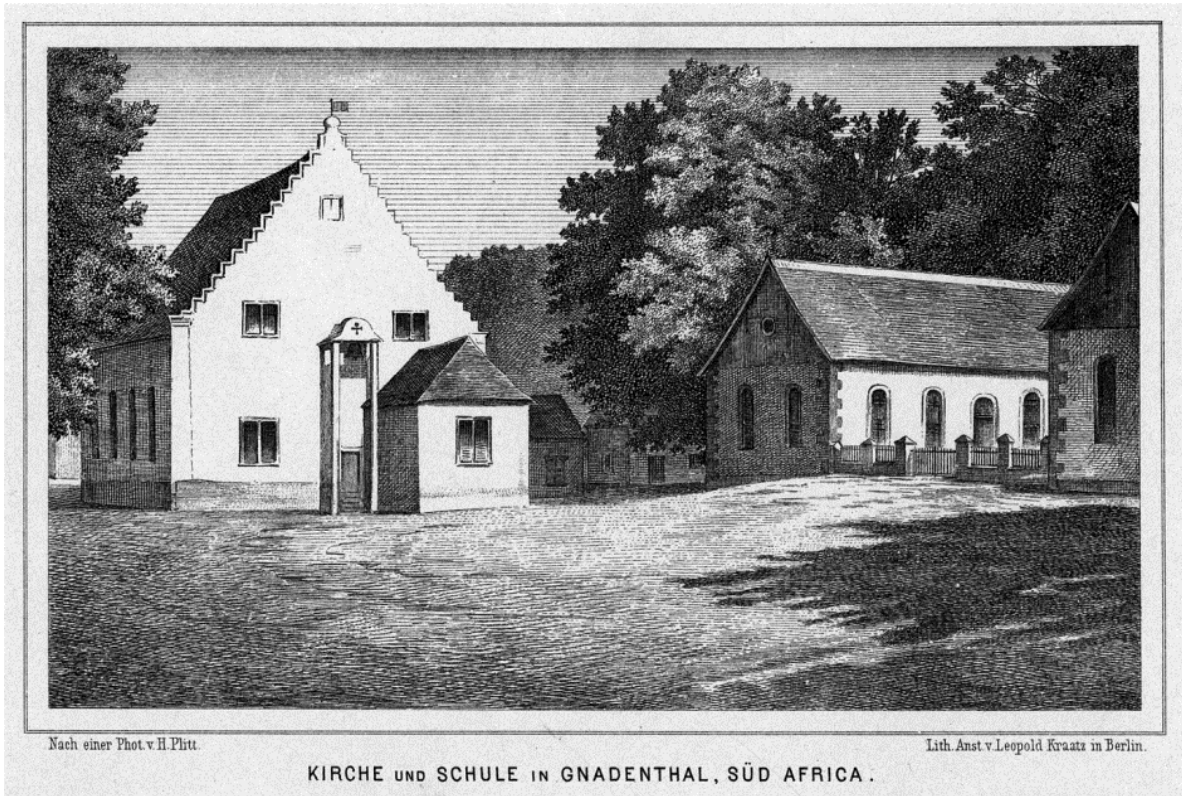
Twenty years after Hallbeck’s death it was decided to publish the poems due to popular demand. The first edition was printed in Genadendal in 1859: *Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein-Kinder-Scholen zamengesteld door Peter Hallbeck, Bisschop der Broeder-Kerk (Easy Lessons for the use of Small Children Schools compiled by Peter Hallbeck, Bishop of the Brethren’s Church)*. Two hundred copies were printed. A second edition followed in 1872 and a third in 1886. In the preface of the third edition mention is made of the fact that a generation who had learnt these poems in their childhood, have become parents themselves now, and are using them in everyday life to teach their own children. According to GA Zahn, superintendent of the Rhenish Mission, the poems were used widely inside and outside the colony.¹⁰⁸⁵

Hallbeck especially enjoyed being involved with the nursery school: *It is for me a joy I cannot describe to be involved as teacher in the school for small children.*¹⁰⁸⁶ In Basel a booklet called *Die namen van Jezus (The Names of Jesus)* was printed especially for the Khoikhoi children. It displayed on each page another name of Jesus (like Christ, Son of God, Lord, Creator, Saviour etc.) with Scriptural references, a poem and a verse to sing. To encourage the children, this book was offered to each who made good progress at school. Hallbeck regarded it as vital to teach the children the Gospel when they were still young: *it is an invaluable gain when you plough the field,*

¹⁰⁸⁵ Foreword in Hallbeck, *Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein-Kinder-Scholen zamengesteld door Peter Hallbeck, Bisschop der Broeder-Kerk*.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “kleine Kinderschule ... Eine nicht zu beschreibende Freude genieße ich seit einigen Monaten als Lehrer in der letztgenannten Anstalt.” *Nachrichten* (1832), 635.

even before thorns and thistles can take over.¹⁰⁸⁷ About the main objective of education Hallbeck was very clear: *what can we offer to our children at school that is more precious and useful than the Bible and the ability to read it?*¹⁰⁸⁸ Furthermore Robinson's *The Harmony of the four Gospels* was used intensively, describing the history of Jesus' life on earth from the four Gospels. The children at school were given the *Harmony* to practise their reading skills, whilst at the same time becoming acquainted with Jesus' life and ministry.¹⁰⁸⁹



*School at the right hand side, next to the church in Genadenthal.*¹⁰⁹⁰

Regular school attendance was often problematic. During harvest times the schools on the mission stations had to be closed altogether.¹⁰⁹¹ But this improved gradually. In 1832 Hallbeck reported that even illness could not keep the children away from school,¹⁰⁹² and that more than

¹⁰⁸⁷ "Es ist schon ein unberechenbarer Gewinn, daß das Feld bearbeitet wird, noch ehe es von Dornen und Disteln überwachsen ist." *Nachrichten* (1832), 635.

¹⁰⁸⁸ "was können wir unsern Kindern aus der Schule mitgeben, das köstlicher und nützlicher für sie wäre als die Bibel und die Fähigkeit, dieselbe lesen zu können?" *Nachrichten* (1840), 243.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 23rd 1832 (HA).

¹⁰⁹⁰ HA.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Nachrichten* (1824), 765.

¹⁰⁹² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1832 (HA).

300 children were attending the schools in Genadendal.¹⁰⁹³ In 1835 the school building was extended, to accommodate more children.¹⁰⁹⁴

Exams were taken on a regular basis to test the children's progress. In August 1828 for example an inspection showed that 68 of the 123 girls were already able to read. Throughout the years it remained Hallbeck's task to examine children, not only in Genadendal, but also on the other stations.¹⁰⁹⁵ In 1833 he was impressed with how well the girls had learnt the *Small Catechism* by heart. Often the progress of the boys lacked behind, because they neglected school to look after the cattle.¹⁰⁹⁶ When the Dutch traveller Teenstra visited the Genadendal school in 1830, he wrote: *What surprised me and made me marvel, was to see the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th spelling book of our Groninger teacher H. Wester... Who would have expected this here in a little town so far away from the world?*¹⁰⁹⁷ On October 22nd 1833 Sir Thomas Francis Wade, governor of the colony from 1833-1834, visited Genadendal. Although he was impressed by the work, he was disappointed that the English language was not taught yet. As a matter of fact, since Hallbeck happened to be absent, there was nobody on the station able to converse with him. In the greatest hurry by Schopmann from Elim who could speak some English, was summoned to Genadendal.¹⁰⁹⁸

When the school building was expanded in 1834-1835, it was done with the help (one can presume here: manual labour) of the parents and donations from friends of the school. There were no costs to be incurred from the mission (meaning: funds from the Missions Conference in Herrnhut).¹⁰⁹⁹ However, parents were not expected to make financial contributions for the education of their children. Whenever this was raised, parents kept asking why they should pay for the education, which had been provided for nothing in the past.¹¹⁰⁰ Probably the inception of the *School Conference* by Hallbeck in 1837 was an attempt to boost ownership in terms of

¹⁰⁹³ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 23rd 1832 (HA). *Nachrichten* (1832), 635; *Nachrichten* (1834), 55. This number increased to 330 in 1833 – *Nachrichten* (1836), 98.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 29th 1835 (HA).

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1836), 118.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1836), 100.

¹⁰⁹⁷ "Wat mij als het ware verraste en in groote verwondering bragt, was het zien van het 1ste, 2de, 3de en 4de spelboekje van onzen Groningerlandschen schoolopziener H. Wester ... Wie zou dit hier hebben durven verwachten op een zoo afgelegen van de wereld gescheiden dorpje?" Teenstra, *De Vruchten Mijner Werkzaamheden*, 135. Teenstra was referring to: H. Wester, *Spelboekje voor eerstbeginnende Leerlingen* (Groningen: J. Oomkens) 1804.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Nov 4th 1833 (HA). See also Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 179.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 10th 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁰⁰ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 268.

financial contributions.¹¹⁰¹ The *School Conference* on its turn had to report to the Helpers Conference.

All children attended the same school – whether black, brown or white – including the children of the missionaries who were still too young to be sent to Europe. This situation was not unique. In the 18th and first half of the 19th century this was normal in the colony. In Stellenbosch for example, although there was a slave school run by the local missionary society, children of all backgrounds attended the town school.¹¹⁰² Through the years some of the colonist farmers applied for admittance of their children to the school at Genadendal. Hallbeck was quite willing to accept them. He thought that the missionaries might just as well educate the children of the farmers, as shoe their horses. Later however more private tutors were used on the farms.¹¹⁰³

Education thus constituted a decisive trajectory in the work and impact during Hallbeck's time as superintendent of the Moravian Mission in South Africa. In the subsequent chapters this matter will be addressed even more comprehensively.

The relationship with the farmers in the Genadendal and Elim areas also showed signs of change. Slowly wrong perceptions about the Moravian mission stations started to disappear. A farmer close to Elim lived for several years under the impression that the missionaries were members of a rich society. After the missionaries having explained to him that this was definitively not the case, but that the mission station had to rely on donations from and hard work of the inhabitants as well as the missionaries, it made such a deep impression on him that he decided to make part of his estate available for Elim's cattle to graze on. The matter was referred to the Helpers Conference in Genadendal, and the offer was gladly accepted.¹¹⁰⁴ Another colonist, Mr De Bruin, whose farm was on the way between Genadendal and Elim, was a member and elder of the Dutch Reformed Church in Caledon. Yet he also often visited the church services in Elim.¹¹⁰⁵

It is evident that – partly because of hostile rumours – misconceptions did prevail among many a farmer regarding the mission stations. It is also evident that the colonist farmers did not form a homogenous group as far as spiritual life was concerned. These things had an impact on the relation between mission and farmers. In following chapters we will pay more attention to this.

¹¹⁰¹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 245.

¹¹⁰² Veltkamp, "Meent Borchers. Predikant in overgangstijd", 135.

¹¹⁰³ Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 7th 1833 & March 23rd 1833 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 178.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Nachrichten* (1831), 737.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Nachrichten* (1831), 727.

As for Hallbeck's family life, he had to attend to the health of his wife and children. In 1832 he wrote to Herrnhut about the frequent "Nervenfieber"-attacks of his wife. This was the case especially after having given birth. It had happened already with the birth of their firstborn.¹¹⁰⁶ In October 1831 Hallbeck travelled with his wife and daughter Paulina to Cape Town to consult two well-known doctors. Paulina was mentally retarded because of an illness she had during her first year. Hallbeck's wife still suffered from depression.¹¹⁰⁷ Both doctors advised them to spend some time by the ocean – exploiting the healthy seawater and air. In 1832 they travelled to an agreeable place at the coast near Hemel en Aarde – according to Hallbeck on the shore of the Indian Ocean. They stayed close to the sea for a few weeks, in a small house, which was erected for that purpose.¹¹⁰⁸ Hallbeck accompanied them, but also combined it with a visit to Elim. Hallbeck regarded Elim as the place with the healthiest climate in the already very healthy climate of South Africa.¹¹⁰⁹ The incoming sea air right on the shore was regarded as having healing powers.

Conclusion

Our research has now reached more or less the year 1832. From the information it is clear that the Moravian Mission continued to build on the platform that was created in the 1820's. Genadendal, although there were setbacks from time to time, continued to be a success story. This contrary to the LMS stations struggling with a number of issues. Genadendal continued also to serve as a model for new missionaries and societies arriving in South Africa. Especially the relations with the (other) German societies were excellent. Genadendal saw in particular in the field of education a significant development in these years. The work on the other stations continued as well, some with promising results (like Elim and Enon), others with more challenges (like Groenekloof and especially Silo).

The context – the colony – was also changing. This would bring great challenges to the – by now – extensive missionary enterprise of the Moravians. Hallbeck had to deal with them in the following years.

¹¹⁰⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Jul 6th 1818 (HA).

¹¹⁰⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 28th 1831 (HA).

¹¹⁰⁸ *Nachrichten* (1835), 58-59; Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 23rd & Apr 28th 1832 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, May 10th 1832 (HA).

¹¹⁰⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, March 19th 1827 (HA).

CHAPTER NINE

AWAKENING IN THE WEST AND ANOTHER WAR IN THE EAST (1832 – 1835)

Introduction

The current chapter deals with the years 1832 to 1835, still intent on highlighting the role of Hallbeck in the establishment of the Moravian Mission in the Cape Colony, and its impact not only on the inhabitants of the mission stations, but on society at large. The Elim and Genadendal regions experienced an awakening or revival in 1832. The “Erweckung” was incepted by the ministry of the missionaries. The revival had a positive impact on relations between the different groups (farmers, Europeans, Khoikhoi) and therefore ‘softened’ the consequences of the abolition of slavery (1834 de jure and 1838 de facto) in the western Cape. Hallbeck was intensively involved in the abolition debate and all preparational measures taken in the colony. The abolition of slavery – the blackest of all evils as Hallbeck called it – was welcomed by him and the Moravian Mission.

Meanwhile Genadendal maintained its reputation to serve as a role model for all missionary societies entering the colony. A map of Genadendal, drawn in 1832 and recently discovered in the Herrnhut Archive in Germany, provides an exact layout of the centre of this Christian town. From here Hallbeck supervised the Moravian Mission inside and outside the colony. In Groenekloof August Clemens questioned Hallbeck’s leadership and the direction in which he took the Moravian Mission. The young and gifted Bonatz was allocated to Silo. In December 1834 the colony was unexpectedly drawn into the 6th Frontier War. Enon and Silo were threatened and suffered a period of uncertainty and danger.

In dealing with this period of time in the history of the Moravian Mission, the chapter focusses on the awakening or revival in the Genadendal-Elim region, the 1832 layout of Genadendal, the reception of the abolition of slavery in the mission, Hallbeck’s leadership and the challenge of Clemens. The chapter concludes with the positive impact the missionary Bonatz (junior) made when he assumed the leadership in Silo and the devastation of the frontier war shortly afterwards.

The 1832 “Erweckung” (Awakening) in the Overberg

In the 1830’s Elim increasingly saw farmers attending the church services. The missionaries remarked: We are not only a *Khoikhoi-church*.¹¹¹⁰ In 1832 events in the neighbourhood of Genadendal and Elim led Hallbeck to conclude that a spiritual awakening or revival (the German word used is “Erweckung”) had started.¹¹¹¹ Clearly the Moravian ministry – through the grace and blessing of God – effected a change of heart among many farmers in the regions of Genadendal and Elim. Hallbeck wrote, looking back on the festive days at the end of 1832: *More than ever was the crowd of farmers attending, and their behaviour was exceptionally edifying... Our lodgings, both schools, and some of the bigger rooms were full of people, spending the time between the services and before the sermon on January 1st with singing from our Hymnbook... and many used the opportunity to buy Hymnbooks... Like a refreshing well in the desert, that is what Genadendal has become through the grace of God for the whole region, everyone who is thirsty, hurries hither, and so we have arrived in a lovely solidarity of spirit with most of our neighbours, something that would have seemed almost impossible a few years ago.*¹¹¹²

The spiritual awakening had its origin in the ministry of Hallbeck to the wife of one of the farmers. Hallbeck informed Schneider. *The wife of our neighbour, he wrote, is the first sign known to us of an awakening among the farmers. Last week she sent a request that I visit her, and when I arrived at her bed ... she said repeatedly: You were sent by the Lord into this country, to save my soul from damnation; she reminded me of a conversation I had with her a number of years ago, which apparently proved to be of a lasting blessing to her and through her to her husband and the whole region, and of which she has forgotten no word. She added that the*

¹¹¹⁰ *Nachrichten* (1833), 933.

¹¹¹¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 5th 1832 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1837), 485; Beyers, C.J. ed. *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek* (Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing: 1981), s.v. “Hallbeck, Hans Peter”, Part 4, 218.

¹¹¹² “Aber größer als je war der Andrang von Colonisten, u. höchst erbaulich ihr betragen. Viele von ihnen hatten bis nach Sonnen Untergang die erneüendste Arbeit verrichtet, u. führen nachher beim Mondschein hieher zur Kirche. Unser Logis, unsere beiden Schulen, u. noch ein Paar geräumige Stuben waren voll Menschen, welche die Zeit zwischen den Versammlungen u. vor d. Predigt am 1 Jan. mit Singen aus unserem Gesangbuch zubrachten, indem draußen tiefe ehrbietige Stille herrschte, u. viele kauften bei der Gelegenheit Gesangbücher, um an dem Gesang mit Theil nehmen zu können. – Als nach der Neu Jahrs Predigt bekannt gemacht wurde, daß Nachmittags, wie gewöhnlich, eine Versammlung für die Fremden seyn sollte, kamen die guten Leute in Verlegenheit, weil sie nicht gerne die Versammlung versäumen wollten, u. die Arbeit auf den Felde auch keinen Aufschub litt, u. waren unschlössig, was zu thun, bis einer von ihnen sagte: Habt Ihr vergeßen, wie wir in frühern Jahren thaten, wenn wir zu Lustbarkeiten zusammen kamen, wie wir demjenigen, der erst aufbrachen wollte, das Pferde-Geschirr zerschnitt? – dis veranlaßte erbauliche Gespräche, beinahe alle blieben hier, wohnten die Nachmittags Versammlung andächtig bei, u. kehrten gegen Abend dankbar u. voll Freude nach Hause. Wie ein erquickende Quelle in der Wüste, so ist Gnadenthal durch die Gnade Gottes für die ganze Umgegend geworden; wer durstig ist, eilt hieher, u. so sind wir in einer gar lieblichen Geistes-Verbundenheit mit den meisten unserer Nachbarn gekommen, die uns vor wenig Jahren beinahe eine Unmöglichkeit schien.” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 7th 1833 (HA).

*attendance of our church and the tracts I gave her to read became spiritual nourishment for her soul. However the means which the Saviour used to open her heart for the Gospel was not me, but a snake¹¹¹³ whose poison had threatened her life. That was probably the first spark of the fire that started to spread in our region during the recent years.*¹¹¹⁴ Hallbeck added that even Theunissen (Rusticus) – the farmer who had publicly attacked Genadendal with articles in the newspaper *Commercial Advertizer* – had of late become amiable.

Thus Hallbeck wrote: *Shortly before the new year one of these awakened neighbours requested me to accept his 6 children into the school, for which he would willingly pay, and others had uttered the same wish to my colleagues, they even had already arranged with Khoikhoi, with whom their children would eat and stay. Whether the matter is feasible, we still have to investigate ... and indeed it is for us no less appropriate to teach the children of the farmers, than to shoe their horses and repair their wagons, as long as we do not neglect our core business.*

Hallbeck of course referred here to the mission work – the preaching of the Gospel.¹¹¹⁵ There can be no bolder testimony of the quality of education in Genadendal, and the trust the missionaries had fostered among the farmers than for them to send their children to learn with the Khoikhoi and even to stay with them. Evidently the attitude of these colonists towards the Khoikhoi on the mission stations had changed. Genadendal had become a refreshing well in the desert, a desirous place to be, indeed.

Hallbeck prayed that this awakening as was happening among the farmers would also crush the hearts of the inhabitants of Genadendal.¹¹¹⁶ The missionaries expressed the hope that this

¹¹¹³ “Eidere” can probably also be translated as *viper, puffadder or lizard*.

¹¹¹⁴ “Die Frau unsers Nachbarn, das erste uns bekannte Beyspiel von Erweckung unter den Bauern, liegt jetzt gefährlich krank. Vorige Woche ließ sie mich um einen Besuch bitten, und als ich zu ihrem Bette trat, faßte sie mich mit Inbrunst bey der Hand, und sagte wiederholt: Vom Herrn sind Sie in dieses Land geschickt, um meine arme Seele vom Verderben zu retten; und erinnerte mich sodann an eine Unterredung, die ich vor einigen Jahren mit ihr hatte, welche, wie es scheint, ihr und ihrem Mann und der ganzen Gegend zum bleibenden Segen geworden ist, von welcher sie kaum ein Wort vergessen hatte. Sie erzählte ferner, daß der Besuch unsrer hiesigen Kirche, und die Traktätchen, die ich ihr zu lesen gegeben, seit jener Zeit die Nahrung ihrer Seele gewesen. Das Mittel, dessen sich der Heiland bediente, um ihr Herz für das Evangelium empfänglich zu machen, war eigentlich nicht ich, sondern eine verächtliche Eidere, durch deren Gift ihr Leben in Gefahr gerieth. Dieses war nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit der erste Funke von dem Feuer, das sich seit ein paar Jahren in der hiesigen Gegend immer mehr ausgebreitet hat.” *Nachrichten* (1834), 206-207; *Nachrichten* (1836), 104; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹¹¹⁵ “Kurz vor Neu jahr ersuchte mich einer dieser erweckten Nachbarn, seine 6 Kinder in die Schule zu nehmen, wofür er gerne bezahlen wollte, u. andere haben bei den übrigen Geschw’n denselben Wunsch zu erkennen gegeben u. so gar die Hottentotten besprochen, bei denen ihre Kinder eßen und logiren sollten. Ob die Sache ausführbar ist, muß näher überlegt worden ... Wir haben auf keinen Fall zu befürchten, daß die Obrigkeit oder Geistlichkeit es ungerne sehen würden, u. gewiß ist es für uns nicht minder paßend den bauern ihre Kinder zu unterrichten, als ihnen ihre Pferde u. Wagen zu beschlagen, wenn wir nur unser Haupt-Geschäft nicht versäumen.” Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 7th 1833 & March 23rd 1833 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 178, from *Genadendal Diary*, IX, Jan 9th 1834, Febr 22nd 1834; X March 1st & 2nd 1834.

¹¹¹⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Nov 4th 1833 (HA).

spiritual awakening among many farmers would benefit the Khoikhoi, since – as they noted – the demeanour of the colonists had a profound influence on the way how they treated their Khoikhoi laborers.¹¹¹⁷

The Moravian hymnbook *Lofzangen*, which comprised about seven hundred hymns and was printed in Zeist (Holland) especially for the congregations at the Cape in 1826, was very popular among the farmers.¹¹¹⁸ Ninety copies were sold in the first two months of 1834 alone, and most farms in the proximity of Genadendal and Elim were in possession of this hymnbook.¹¹¹⁹ In July 1835 Zeist again sent a chest, containing amongst others more than 600 hymnbooks, to South Africa.¹¹²⁰ One of the farmers near Elim was surprised by the low price of the hymnbook. Normally – he said – when an article becomes very popular – the price also increases.¹¹²¹

The 1832 awakening was the first of its kind in South African history. The missionaries experienced it as a gift from above. The reason why they came to South Africa was not primarily to minister to the colonists. Yet through their activities and personal example an awakening among the colonists was born. These events made a deep impression on Hallbeck. While in Europe in 1836, contemplating on his African ministry, he wrote a poem on the awakening:

*Once in that distant land
on her deathbed a woman unwell spoke to me:
From God you were sent hither,
Besides Him I thank yóú
that I know Him. And what she said
still echoes in my soul.*

*Who knows how many souls
the Lord has prepared
to save from the grip of sin
in which they are still kept.
Therefore we eagerly leave
to help pulling them into the net.¹¹²²*

¹¹¹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1835), 65.

¹¹¹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1835), 65.

¹¹¹⁹ *Nachrichten* (1834), 209.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. list of contents of chest, in *Briewe van Zeist aan H.P. Hallbeck 1818-1840* (GA).

¹¹²¹ *Nachrichten* (1838), 672-673.

¹¹²² "9. Einst sprach zu mir im fernen Land - Im Sterben eine Kranke. - Von Gott bist du hierher gesannt - Nächst Ihm ich dir verdanke, - Dass ich Ihn kenn. Und was sie sprach; - Hüllt [?] auch in meiner Seele nach.

The awakening seized the larger Overberg region, being the wider vicinity of Genadendal, stretching from there until Cape Agulhas in the south, and until the Gourits River (the eastern border of the Swellendam district) in the east.¹¹²³

These events were also recorded with thanksgiving in Europe. From Holland someone wrote (Hallbeck received the letter only three days before his death): *how beautiful and a reason for thanksgiving it is ... that also in the country around so much life and awakening is arising, so that on different places preaching points are necessary, to address the need that became alive.*¹¹²⁴

Genadendal according to a townplan from 1832

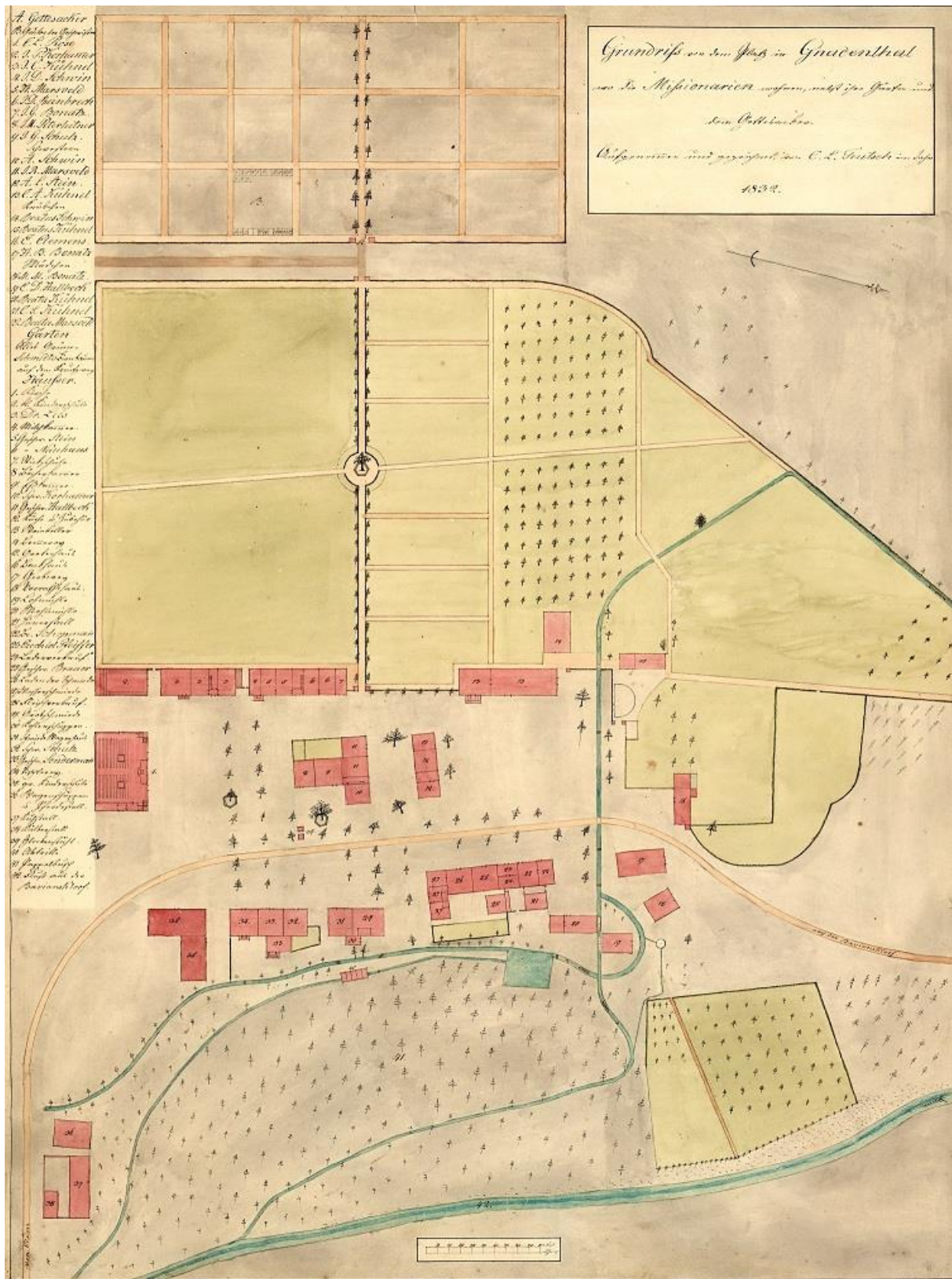
The Herrnhut Archive holds a map of Genadendal (hitherto unknown in South Africa), drawn in 1832 by Hallbeck's colleague Ludwig Teutsch. Carefully drawn with color pencils, it provides a window to an organized and flourishing town, depicting exactly where all the missionaries stayed, the church, the schools, the buildings for the different trades, the wine cellar, even the toilets built over one of the canals. It elucidates not only the position and size of the buildings in the 1830's, but also the specific use of each. Furthermore, the cemetery, the vineyards and orchards of the missionaries and the exact course of the channels are indicated. Indeed, everything was drawn with meticulous accuracy by Teutsch.

This map is obviously of great cultural-historic significance. The same applies to the maps of Elim, Silo and Clarkson from this period, uncovered in the Herrnhut Archive during our research as well.¹¹²⁵

10. Wer weiss wie viele Seelen noch - Uns d.. der Herr beschieden - Zu retten aus dem Sünde-grif - Worin sie jezt ermuden. - Darum gehen wir auch gerne hin - Zu helfen in dem Netze ziehen." Hallbeck, *Von Pilgersinn* (HA)¹¹²³ "An ihm und seiner Frau hatten wir die unerwartete Freude erweckte Leute kennen zu lernen, die von der Gnadenheimsuchung, welche vor einigen Jahren in der Gegend von Gnadenthal ihren Anfang genommen, kräftig waren ergriffen worden, und sich nun unseres Besuches herzlich freuten, mit Bitte, künftig nie vorbei zu fahren, ohne bei ihnen einzusprechen. Bis zum Gauritz Fluß, der Grenze des Swellendammer Distrikts, soll diese Erweckung ziemlich allgemein sein, jenseits desselben aber ist Alles noch todt und gleichgültig." *Nachrichten* (1839), 701.

¹¹²⁴ "... danken wir Ihm dafür, daß er fortfährt, auch so erfreuliche, ermunterende früchte eurer Arbeit sehen zu lassen, von denen dein brief eine deutliche beweise enthält. Wie schön u. dankenswerth ist es. Daß während die Gemeinen blühen u. an Quant u. anzahl wachsen, auch auf dem Lande umher so viel Leben u. Erweckung entsteht, daß hier u. da Predigtplätze nöthig waren, um das rege geworden bedürfniß zu befriedigen." Letter JW Verbeek to Hallbeck, Jul 6th 1840 (GA).

¹¹²⁵ Cf. chapters 6,12,13.



Ground Plan of the Place in Genadenthal where the Missionaries stay, including their gardens and the God's Acre. Recorded and drawn by CL Teutsch in the Year 1832.¹¹²⁶

¹¹²⁶ "Grundriss von dem Platz in Genadenthal wo die Missionarien wohnen, nebst ihre Gärten und dem Gottesacker. Aufgenommen und gezeichnet, von C.L. Teutsch im Jahr 1832." (HA)

Legend of Map:

- A. Gottesacker (*God's Acre*)
- B. Gräben der Geschwister (*Graves of brothers and sisters*)
1. C.L. Rose
 2. J.P. Korhammer
 3. J.C. Kühnel
 4. J.D. Schwin
 5. H. Marsveld
 6. J.D. Beinbrech
 7. J.G. Bonatz
 8. J.M. Peterleitner
 9. J.G. Schulz
- Schwestern (*Sisters*)
10. A. Schwin
 11. J.R. Marsveld
 12. A.L. Stein
 13. C.A. Kühnel
- Knäbchen (*Boys*)
14. Beatus Schwin
 15. Beatus Kühnel
 16. E. Clemens
 17. H.B. Bonatz
- Mädchen (*Girls*)
18. M.M. Bonatz
 19. E.D. Hallbeck
 20. Beata Kühnel
 21. C.S. Kühnel
 22. Beata Marsveld
- Gärten (*Gardens*)
- Alles Grüne (*All Green*)
- Schmidt's birnbaum auf dem kreutzweg
(*Schmidt's pear tree on the crossing*)
- Häusser (*Houses*)
8. bücherkammer (*Bookroom / Library*)
 9. Eßkammer (*Dining Room*)
 10. Schw. Korhammer (*sr. Korhammer*)
 11. Geschw. Hallbeck (*br. & sr. Hallbeck*)
 12. Küche ud Zubehör (*Kitchen & Asseccories*)
 13. Weinkeller (*Wine Cellar*)
 14. brennerey (*Distillery*)
 15. Gartenhaus (*Garden House*)
 16. Backhaus (*Baking House*)
 17. Gerberey (*Tannery*)
 18. Vorrathshaus (*Storehouse*)
 19. Lohmühle (*Mill for tanning of leather*)
 20. Mehlmühle (*Flour Mill*)
 21. Hünenstall (*Chicken Coop*)
 22. br. Schopmann
 23. Ezechiel Pfeiffer
 24. Lederverkauf (*Selling of Leather*)
 25. Geschw. Brauer (*br. & sr. Brauer*)
 26. Laden der Schmiede (*Shop of the Smithy*)
 27. Messerschmiede (*Smithy for production of knives*)
 28. Fleischverkauf (*Selling of Meat / Butchery*)
 29. Grobschmiede (*Large Smithy*)
 30. Kohlenschuppen (*Coal Shed*)
 31. Schmiede Wagenhaus (*Smithy Wagonhouse*)
 32. Schw. Schulz (*sr. Schulz*)

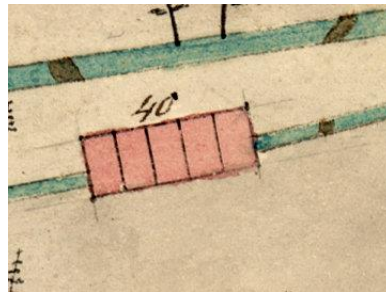
1. Kirche (*Church*)
 2. kl. Kinderschule (*small Children School*)
 3. Dr. Lees
 4. Milchammer (*Milk Room*)
 5. Geschw. Stein (*br. & sr. Stein*)
 - 6 " Nauhaus (*br. & sr. Nauhaus*)
 7. Stickschule (*Needle Work School*)
 33. Geschw. Sondermann (*br. & sr. Sondermann*)
 - 34 Tischlerey (*Joiner's Workshop / Carpentry*)
 - 35 gr. Kinderschule (*big Children School*)
 36. Wagenschuppen ud Pferdestall (*Wagon Shed & Horse Stable*)
 - 37 Kuhstall (*Cow Stable*)
 - 38 Kälberstall (*Calves Stable*)
 - 39 Glockenstuhl (*Bell*)
 - 40 Abtritte (*Toilet*)
 - 41 Pappelbusch (*Poplar Bush*)
- Fluß aus der Bavianskloof (*River coming from the Baviaanskloof*)



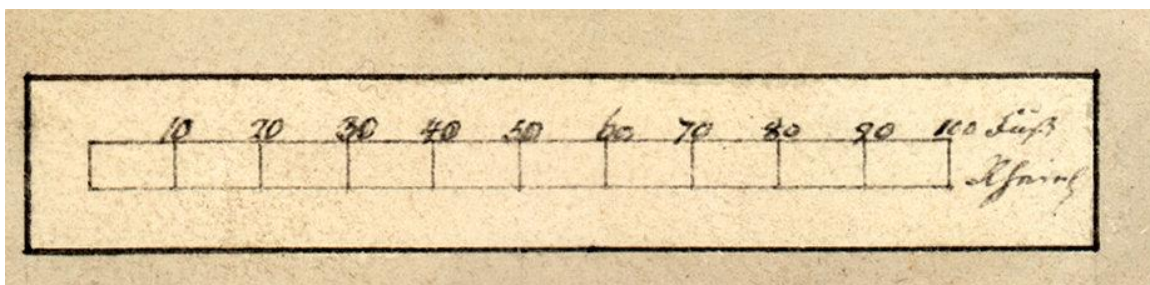
Town centre as drawn on map

Since this map was only recently rediscovered, it should be discussed in more detail.

The central part of the map depicts buildings that are still extant in Genadendal, such as the middle house (Nr. 8-11), the house of the first missionaries (Nr. 12, restored in the 1980's), the wagon shed (Nr. 31),¹¹²⁷ mill (nr. 20)¹¹²⁸ and smithy (Nr. 29). It also deliniates buildings that have been demolished, such as the garden house (Nr. 15), which was located according to Hallbeck close to the twenty-five thousand vines, and which served as a storage for the garden implements and as a roof to sit under and repose for those taking a walk in the gardens.¹¹²⁹ The map also indicates the existence of a second mill, the so-called *Lohmühle* (Nr. 19), used for the tanning of leather.¹¹³⁰ This mill has also disappeared, although traces of its existence still remain on the spot.



Toilets (Abtritt)



Scale (Fuß Rheinisch)

The town centre depicts the residence of the Hallbeck family in the western wing (nr. 11 on the map) of the middle house. They moved there in May 1829. Before that the family stayed next to the carpenter's workshop (nr. 33 on the map). With the relocation of the family Lemmerz to Thembuland, Hallbeck moved into the middle house, and the family Sondermann, who came from Groenekloof, moved into their former house (nr. 33).¹¹³¹

¹¹²⁷ Erected in 1829.

¹¹²⁸ This mill was enlarged in 1829. Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Jan 26th 1830 (HA).

¹¹²⁹ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Jan 26th 1830 (HA).

¹¹³⁰ The construction of this mill started in 1832. Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Oct 24th 1832 (HA).

¹¹³¹ Letter Hallbeck to his children, May 13th 1829 (HA).



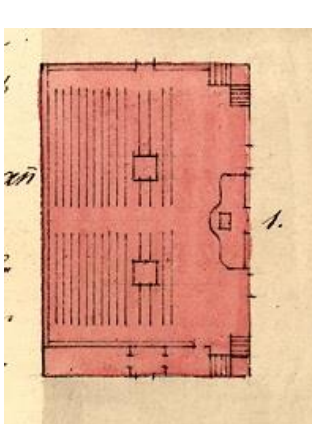
Eastern flank of town centre



The two mills (19 & 20)



God's Acre, with graves of missionary workers and – children indicated



Church built in 1800



Middle House (Library – 8, Dining room – 9, Hallbeck stayed at 11), Kitchen (12) and Bell (39)



Old pear tree planted by the first missionary Georg Schmidt

When the 1834 map is compared to older maps of Genadendal, like the one drawn by the missionary Schwinn in 1799, it is evident that the Hallbeck era was a time of expansion: additional parsonages for more missionaries, additional buildings for the schools, as well as for the different trades, including a second mill.

To prevent possible tensions with adjacent farmers, Hallbeck secured the exact borders of each mission station, to establish clarity on the grazing fields the inhabitants were allowed to use.¹¹³² In 1834 he received a map from Swellendam with the borders of Genadendal outlined, after a new survey had been completed. In total Genadendal's lands comprised 4,923 morgen.¹¹³³ The previous survey and map of Genadendal dated from 1815.¹¹³⁴

A neat, thriving and very Christian town was established and sustained in the middle of the African wilderness. This fascinated visitors. The observations of Captain Young, who visited Genadendal on his journey from Calcutta to England, were: *I can assure you that your Congregation will stay in my memory and live in my heart, and that more than once I felt the desire to say with Ruth: Where you go, there I will go, where you stay, there I will also stay. Your people is my people, and your God is my God.*¹¹³⁵ In 1834 Captain Allen F. Gardiner visited Genadendal, shortly before he went to Port Natal as an independent missionary among the

¹¹³² Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 (HA).

¹¹³³ *Zweite Karte von Gnadenthal*, Jan 25th 1834 (GA - I4c9).

¹¹³⁴ Drawn up by Landdrost PS Buisinne of Swellendam, May 5th 1815 (GA - I4c7). The missionaries sent a copy of this letter and map to Herrnhut (HA).

¹¹³⁵ "Ich kann Ihnen versichern dass ihre Gemeinde in meinem Gedächtniss u. in meinem Herzen leben wird, u. dass ich mich mehr als einmal aufgeregt gefühlt habe mit Ruth zu sagen: Wo du hingehst, da will ich auch hingehen, wo du bleibst, da bleibe ich auch. Dein Volk ist mein Volk, u. dein Gott ist mein Gott." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA).

In Herrnut Archive.

Legenda on this map: "Grundriß von Bavians-Kloof nach der Angabe des br. Schwinn entworfen 1799.

A. Küche im ersten hause b. Schlafkammer c. Gaststube d. Platz vor dem hause e. Saal f. Noch im bau seyender neure Saal g. Leere Kammer h. Schmiede i. [...]stall k. Pferdestall l. Fremdenstube m.n. vorrathskammers o. Mühle p. schweinställe q. Abtritte r. schoppen s. [...]kammer t. hüner-futer[...] Gänse-Bälle u. umgäunungen [?] mit [...] für Ochsen, Kühe u. Schafe. V.v. Wohnungen der Hottentotten

1. Br. Kohrhamers Wohnung 2. Der. Led. Brr. Wohnung 3. Eingang der brr in den Saal. 4. Eingang der Schwestern – 5. Glocke 6. Eich bäume 7. Feigen bäume 8. [...] Quitenbäume 10. 11. Sisterne."

Furtermore legenda on the map itself:

"Graben zur Waßerung des Gartens";

"Schleuße";

"großer birnbaum";

"weg nach dem Gottesacker";

"weg nach der Caap";

"dieser bach vergießt sich etwa eine Meile von hier in den Fluß Sonderend";

"Seit br. Kohrhammer dort ist, haben sie gebaut p.t.k.l.m.n.f.11. die übrigen Gebäude haben die led. Brr schon vorher gebaut u. angelegt."

Zulus.¹¹³⁶ In 1835 Genadendal was inspected by the first two missionaries and their wives sent out by the *American Board of Mission*, before embarking on their enterprise to the Zulus.¹¹³⁷

In December 1833 the Methodist missionary Shaw, along with two friends, visited Genadendal from Cape Town and offered an evangelical presentation to the inhabitants.¹¹³⁸ In 1834 A Goebel and GA Kraut of the *Berlin Missionary Society* visited Genadendal. They were accompanied by the Stellenbosch missionary Lückhoff of the *Rhenish Missionary Society*. We read in Genadendal's *Diary: for br Hallbeck it was a special pleasure, to serve them from his rich experience in many matters with his advice.*¹¹³⁹ Genadendal made a lasting impression on them, witnessing the populated church and the crowded schools. The UEC in Germany had specifically sent a recommendation to Genadendal calling on them to assist these two brothers of the Berlin Mission. They were preparing for a journey to Lattakoo, to the Betchuanas. In his letter Hallbeck also mentioned that they had started to learn the Betchuana language. Hallbeck made a span of oxen and transport-riders available for the first stretch of the journey to Graaff-Reinet.¹¹⁴⁰ A few years later the Berlin Missionary Society became Genadendal's neighbours, when they established Zoar in the Swellendam district in 1838.¹¹⁴¹

In 1833 Dr Philip with his family visited Genadendal on his way to Zuurbraak.¹¹⁴² Hallbeck observed in a letter to Schneider that Philip now *was less haughty than in the past. He admitted to himself that "Bethelsdorp has become a complete wreck"; but he put the blame on the poor*

¹¹³⁶ *Diarium Genadendal*, Nov 22nd 1834 (MASA); See also Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 187. According to Anshelm he was the pioneer of the Zulu mission. Cf. *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 42.

¹¹³⁷ *Diarium Genadendal*, Apr 10th 1835: "Am 10ten trafen 2 amerikanische Missionare nebst ihren Frauen zum besuch bey uns ein, welche eigentlich für die Zoolas bestimmt sind, bey den jetzigen Umständen aber wol sogleich nicht dahin werden abreisen können; sie hielten sich bis zum 13ten hier auf." (MASA); See also Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 187. See also Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 219-220.

¹¹³⁸ *Diarium Genadendal*, Des 25th 1833; *Nachrichten* (1836), 113; See also: Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 187.

¹¹³⁹ *Diarium Genadendal*, May 4th 1834 (MASA).

¹¹⁴⁰ *Diarium Genadendal*, May 4th 1834: "Am 4ten kam der br. Luckhof ein deutscher Missionar aus Stellenbosch mit den zwey br. Gebel u. Kraut. Die erst aus Europa angekommen u bestimmt sind eine Mission unter den Butjuanas anzufangen, auf eine besuch bey uns an. Es gewährte uns ein besonderes Vergnügen diese Missionare, die von den bruder U.A.C. an br. Hallbeck bestens empfohlen worden sind, persöhnlich kennen zu lernen, u. wir erbitten sie zu ihrem wichtigen Auftrag, den kräftigen beystand u. Unterstützung unsers I. Herrn. Sie sind gesonnen, sich einer interessanten Expedition die in kurzer Zeit von der Kap ins Innere von Afrika abgehen wird, um wissenschaftliche Entdeckungen zu machen, anzuschließen, u. dieses ist in vieler hinsicht auch eine sehr vortheilhafte Gelegenheit für sie. dem br. Hallbeck war es ein besonderes Vergnügen, ihnen in manchen dingen mit seinen erfahrungsreichen Rath dienen zu können. Nachdem br. Luckhoff ein Sonntag den 4ten die öffentlich Predigt gehalten hatte, reißen sie um 6ten wieder von hier ab mit unsern besten Segenswünschen begleitet." (MASA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1835), 203-204. See also: Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 188; Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 211-212.

¹¹⁴¹ Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 214; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 188.

¹¹⁴² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 (HA); On the other visits of Philip to Genadendal see *Nachrichten* (1823), 403; *Nachrichten* (1828), 99.

*missionary Robson, instead of – what would have been more befitting – blaming himself.*¹¹⁴³ It is clear that Hallbeck did not share all the ideas of Philip. Neither did he and the Moravian Mission as a whole endorse the approach and methods of the London Missionary Society. They missed the emphasis on industry and thrift.¹¹⁴⁴ For Hallbeck this was a recipe for failure.¹¹⁴⁵

In 1832 Genadendal received its own doctor in the person of the 26 years old Edward Lees. Due to health reasons he was advised to spend some time in South Africa. Hallbeck knew him, as Edward was his student in Fairfield (England). Lees had studied medicine in Edinburgh and he offered his services to Genadendal in exchange for accommodation and sustenance.¹¹⁴⁶ His arrival was of great value to the town, since the nearest doctor was in Caledon or Stellenbosch.¹¹⁴⁷ Hallbeck was one of Dr Lees' first patients. On his birthday in 1832 an abscess developed in his throat – an illness that recurred several times in his life. Dr Lees' treatment was successful and Hallbeck suffered much less than two years earlier.¹¹⁴⁸ Dr Lees also rendered his medical services to the other mission stations.¹¹⁴⁹ While in Europe in 1835 he got married.¹¹⁵⁰ The invitation of the Helpers Conference to return¹¹⁵¹ pleased him and in September of that year he returned in Genadendal with his wife Ann Christiana.¹¹⁵²

Genadendal remained the centre of Moravian activities in South Africa throughout Hallbeck's time. It was at Genadendal, as depicted on the 1832 map, that Hallbeck lived. From here he supervised the mission with great commitment.

Management of mission stations

Every time Hallbeck visited another station as superintendent, he used the opportunity to preach during the services, to inspect the schools, and to conduct the examinations of learners.¹¹⁵³ In

¹¹⁴³ "schien minder aufgeblasen als in frühern Jahren. Er gestand selber, dass "Bethelsdorp is become a complete wreck" doch schof er die Schuld auf den armen Missionar Robson, statt dieselfbe, wie sich's gebührte [?], auf sich selber zu nehmen." Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 & Apr 23rd 1831 (HA).

¹¹⁴⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 24th 1826 (HA).

¹¹⁴⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁴⁶ *Protocol HC*, March 23rd 1832 (MASA & HA).

¹¹⁴⁷ *Protocol HC*, March 23rd 1832; Jul 6th 1833 (MASA & HA), Nov 28th 1835 (HA).

¹¹⁴⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1832 (HA).

¹¹⁴⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁵⁰ *Nachrichten* (1838), 685.

¹¹⁵¹ *Protocol HC*, Jul 6th 1833 (MASA & HA).

¹¹⁵² *Protocol HC*, Sept 18th 1835 (HA).

¹¹⁵³ *Nachrichten* (1836), 81.

1834 Hallbeck attended the Easter celebrations in Elim where he baptised seven adults, among whom a blind woman of 80 years.¹¹⁵⁴

In the reports from Hemel en Aarde it is evident that there were considerably more deaths on this station compared to the others.¹¹⁵⁵ Hallbeck also paid the bills in connection with Hemel en Aarde. In the Genadendal Archive a number of invoices are still extant, settled by Hallbeck to e.g. the doctor, the grocer, etc.¹¹⁵⁶ When in 1833 seven lepers escaped from the station to visit their children and parents, they were arrested in Worcester. They alleged that they did not receive enough food on the station, which was not true. Since Tietze was not capable to clarify the matter with the authorities, Hallbeck had to settle the issue.¹¹⁵⁷

When the Groenekloof's financial books of 1833 showed exactly the same amount of income and expenditure, the Helpers Conference suspected something was wrong and felt obliged to send Hallbeck to audit them thoroughly.¹¹⁵⁸ Albeit honest, not all missionaries had the talent to deal with money. About Clemens Hallbeck wrote: *Although he is the bookkeeper, he really has no clue where the money is coming from, nor where it is going.*¹¹⁵⁹ Others excelled, like Fritsch who was a good housekeeper.¹¹⁶⁰ The superintendent obviously had the task to try and employ every individual in the best possible way. Small wonder that this was often a time consuming business. In May 1834 Hallbeck complained to Herrnhut that a working day of fourteen to sixteen hours was not sufficient to attend to everything. This was in answer to Herrnhut's request to write a history of the South African mission, in view of the upcoming centenary. Hallbeck was willing, but where would he find the time? He wrote: *Four weeks ago I have decided to seclude myself for two half a days per week, to devote the time only to writing the history of the Cape mission ... But I have nearly started when the government expected again all sorts of tables and reports about the population of Genadendal and Elim ...*¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁵⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁵⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹¹⁵⁶ Genadendal Archive (I3b3f).

¹¹⁵⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁵⁸ *Protocol HC*, Jun 18th & Aug 2nd 1834 (MASA & HA); "Nach demselben sollte Groenekloof im verwichenen Rechnungs Jahr weder Ueberfluß noch defect haben. Wer etwas von der Rechnungs sache weiß, begreift sogleich daß ein solches Resultat ... u. also nicht wahr seyn kann, u. ich habe daher im Auftrag der Helfer Conf. Verschiedene bemerkungen darüber dem br. Clemens zugeschickt, um zu verhindern, daß man sich nicht in der Zukunft ähnliche Freiheiten nehme" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jul 3rd 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁵⁹ "Doch br. Clemens, wiewohl der buchhalter, weiss wirklich nicht, woher das Geld komt, noch wohin es gehet" Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 27th 1830 & Aug 10th 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁶⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹¹⁶¹ "Was die Geschichte der Kapischen Mission betrifft, so will ich gerne thun, was ich kann, wiewohl es unter hiesigen Verhältnißen keine leichte Aufgabe ist, die nöthige Zeit dazu zu gewinnen. Nach langem Hin u. Her sinnen u. bestmöglicher Eintheilung meiner übrigen Geschäfte hatte ich es vor etwa 4 Wochen dahin gebracht, daß ich mich 2 halbe Tage in der Woche einsparren konnte, welche ich erwähneter Arbeit widmen wollte, u. nun dachte ich, würde es

In Groenekloof, however, Hallbeck's leadership was openly questioned. August Clemens was convinced that his leadership was compromising the Moravian Mission – like the London Mission – to the spirit of the age. In 1833 Clemens wrote to Herrnhut subdividing the South African mission work into three periods: *I recognize three periods: from 1792 until 1815 the old simplicity reigned, from 1815 to 1825 it was a time of mediocre issues and from 1825 until present is the time of the Aufklärung.*¹¹⁶² Clemens' use of the word "Aufklärung" is significant. It indicates that he associated Hallbeck's leadership with a theological shift in the wrong direction.

Essentially the Moravian theology and mission was a fundamental rejection of Rationalism and therefore the theology of the "Aufklärung," which had delibitated the European Protestant Churches. Clemens came from a family that had deep roots in the Moravian Church. In his mission work he represented a very traditional position. Some Moravians too easily regarded erudition, as such, to be synonymous with being enlightened in the sense of the "Aufklärung". Hallbeck was an educated theologian. Furthermore his roots were not in the Moravian Church, but in the Lutheran State Church of Sweden. Hallbeck had made a conscious decision to join the Moravians. Nevertheless, he was not blind to their shortcomings, and he was perhaps less attached to some of the traditional Moravian customs. His request to make a clearer distinction between the spiritual duties and the other tasks on the mission stations (like governance, policing, shopkeeping, etc.) more and more raised Clemens' suspicion. Clemens' accusations against Hallbeck could not be substantiated. Hallbeck was definitely not adherent to the presuppositions and premisses of the "Aufklärung".¹¹⁶³ His theology and thought was conversent with that of Loretz and Spangenberg.

In 1833 Clemens requested the UEC to send a visitation to South Africa. The Helpers Conference in South Africa voted on the proposal. Hallbeck decided to abstain from voting, since the tensions between him and Clemens were not yet solved. The Helpers Conference did not deem a visitation

frisch vorwärts gehen, aber kaum war ich recht in Gang gekommen, so wurden wir von der Regierung allerlei Tabellen u. Rapporte über die bevölkerung von Gnadenthal u. Elim abgefordert" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁶² "Ich erkenne drei Perioden; von 1792 bis 1815 regierte die alte Einfachheit, von 1815 bis 1825 war eine Zeit der mittelmäßigen Dinge und von 1825 bis heute ist die Zeit der Aufklärung" Letter Clemens, Jul 3rd 1833, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 51.

¹¹⁶³ In Hertzsch' article and study *Die Tätigkeit des Missionars Hans-Peter Hallbeck in Südafrika (1817-1840)* (2002) some nuance depicting Hallbeck's middle position between Moravian traditionalism and 19th century liberalism is absent, perhaps because of the lack of attention to the spiritual and theological dimension of Hallbeck's ministry. The fact that Hallbeck was critical about the philanthropy of some in the LMS, but at the other hand also critical about some of his colleagues not paying proper attention to societal and political developments, formed an integral part of how he as theologian interpreted the Bible message for his ministry. Furthermore Hertzsch' article and study don't have an antenna for the reason why the Moravians started with mission work after all (which also inspired Hallbeck to join the Moravians), being the criticism on nominal Christianity in Europe, because of dead orthodoxy, Rationalism, Aufklärung and the ensuing oppression and enslaving of the colonized nations.

necessary. In his letters to Herrnhut Hallbeck however ventilated his views on the matter: *I am of the opinion that visitations are not purposeful at all, as long as things are going well ... and secondly, that the present moment is not conducive for such a visit.*¹¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, Hallbeck foresaw considerable changes in the near future, in view of the fact that the government was planning to abolish slavery. *At the moment, he wrote, there are developments in preparation by the English government, that can have an important influence on our local circumstances, for example the abolition of the slavery class, and it can easily happen, that before the visitor has arrived back in Europe again, the local circumstances had changed so much, that the acquired knowledge of the local circumstances would be of little value.*¹¹⁶⁵ The first official visitation occurred only years after Hallbeck's death in 1853-1854, when JC Breutel toured the Moravian Mission.¹¹⁶⁶

The abolition of slavery

In 1833 legislation was promulgated by the British Parliament effectuating the liberation of slaves in the Cape Colony on December 1st 1834. However, all adult slaves had to continue for four more years as *apprentices* in the service of their owners until December 1st 1838, after which they would be outright free. Slave owners would receive compensation: the British Parliament had budgeted an amount of one and a half million Pounds exclusively for the South African colony. Hallbeck attentively took notice and informed Schneider: *The government is busy taking preparational measures to abolish the slavery class, and commissioners are already appointed, to calculate the exact number and value of all slaves in the colony, whilst most slave owners are silent and appear to be content.*¹¹⁶⁷ He also expressed the hope that the abolition would have a positive effect on the eradication of immorality: *Hopefully the upcoming abolition of slavery will contribute to purify the moral – or rather immoral – atmosphere, in which our Khoikhoi have to*

¹¹⁶⁴ “will aber hier bemerken, daß ich der Meinung bin, erstlich, daß Visitationen überhaupt nicht zweckmäßig sind, so lange alles im gehörigen Gang sich befindet, denn dadurch werden sie leicht unausführbar, wenn sie wirklich benöthigt sind, u. zweitens daß der jetzige Zeitpunkt für einen solchen besuch gar nicht geeignet ist.” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹¹⁶⁵ “Es sind eben jetzt bei der Englischen Regierung dinge im Werden, welche auf unsere hiesigen Verhältnisse einen wichtigen Einfluß haben können z. b. Abschaffung des Slavenstandes, u. es könnte leicht geschehen, daß ehe der Visitator Europa wieder erreicht hätte, wäre die hiesige Lage so ganz verändert, daß die erworbenen Local Kenntniße von wenig Werth seyn würden” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹¹⁶⁶ Further official visitations of the UEC in the 19th century took place in 1874 (W.F. Bechler), 1882/3 (J.W. Kühn), 1892/3 (Ch. Buchner). Cf. Schulze, *200 Jahre Brüdermission. 2. Band. Das zweite Missionsjahrhundert*, 389.

¹¹⁶⁷ “Die Regierung ist jetzt beschäftigt, vorbereitende Maasregeln zu treffen zur Aufhebung des Slavenstandes, u. Commissarien sind schon ernannt, um die genaue Zahl u. den Werth aller Leibeigenen in der Colonie in Ersehung [?] zu bringen, wobei die meisten Slaven-Eigenthümer stille u wie es scheint zufrieden sind.” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA).

*live, and to put a halt to a certain extent to the plague of immorality.*¹¹⁶⁸ Back in 1823 Hallbeck had alluded to this issue in his report to the British Commission of Enquiry already.¹¹⁶⁹

On December 1st 1834 all slaves were declared free – de jure – in the colony. De facto the true liberation would come four years later, in 1838. The year 1834 started however on a different note. Since colonial farmers were discontented with *Ordinance 50*, they petitioned the government for a law against vagrancy. This would as a consequence also restrict the movement of in particular inhabitants of the mission stations. In 1834 a bill was published stating that vagrants could be apprehended and condemned to forced labour. This bill caused anxiety among the Khoikhoi, also among those living on the mission stations. Dr Philip protested publicly in the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. Hallbeck wrote a letter of protest to the new Governor Sir Benjamin D’Urban (1777-1849). Since the Legislative Council had passed the bill against the vote of the governor, he referred the matter to London.

Notwithstanding, this had no impact on the abolition of slavery. Hallbeck anticipated an influx of many ex-slaves to the mission stations. *The time is coming that the slaves will be liberated from their outward fetters. It would be good if we could help them at the same time to be liberated from the slavery of sin*, he wrote to Schneider in 1834. He was thinking of possible outstations, although in the vicinity of Genadendal there were not many slaves. And *perhaps a door can be opened in or near a city or town, without the establishment of a mission station connected to it.*¹¹⁷⁰

It is estimated that there were about 35 thousand slaves in the Cape Colony in the early 1830’s.¹¹⁷¹ On December 1st 1834 the slaves at the Cape were declared free. Hallbeck interpreted this day as a happy moment in the history of the colony, although the farmers are much deprimated. In view of the tensions between the farmers and the Khoikhoi the missionaries decided not to celebrate the event, but during the evening service they thanked the Lord for the historic happening. Hallbeck wrote to Herrnhut: *Today the joyous hour has arrived, that slavery in*

¹¹⁶⁸ “Hoffentlich wird die bevorstehende Aufhebung der Slaverrey auch dazu beitragen, die sittliche – oder vielmehr unsittliche – Atmosphäre, in welcher unsere Hottentotten leben müßen zu reinigen, u. der Pestilenz der Unsittlichkeit einigermaßen Ein Halt zu thun.” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁶⁹ Hallbeck, *Über die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika im Jahre 1823* (HA).

¹¹⁷⁰ “die Zeit kommt näher, da die Slaven von ihren äußern Feßeln befreiet werden, u. es wäre gewiß gut, wenn wir ihnen zu gleicher Zeit behülflich seyn könnten, von der knechtschaft der Sünde befreiet zu werden. Einige haben schon den Wunsch geäußert zu unsern Mißionsplätzen zu ziehen, wenn sie dürfen, aber die Regierung wird eine solche bewegung nicht begünstigen, u. wir könne auch nicht viele annehmen ... doch könnte sich vielleicht eine Thüre in oder bei einder Stadt oder dorf öffnen, ohne daß die Anlage eines Mißionsortes damit verbunden wäre.” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jul 3rd 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁷¹ Hallbeck notes there were roughly 30 thousand in *Protocol HC*, Jul 5th 1834 (MASA & HA).

*our colony is over once and for all. Unfortunately a very gloomy mood is widespread among the farmers. In view of the tensions between the farmers and the Khoikhoi, we remain silent today, although one has to celebrate and give thanks everywhere. We will make this major event this evening during the service a matter of prayer and thanksgiving.*¹¹⁷² The thanksgiving service was recorded in Genadendal's Diary: *On the 1st br Hallbeck informed the congregation during the evening gathering, that on that very day all slaves of our colony were given their freedom, and called the congregation to give their deepest thanksgiving to our Lord and Saviour, Who had directed the hearts of the noble friends of the slaves, and that no costs nor efforts were spared in order to effectuate this delightful work, the liberation of the poor slaves. Thereafter the Saviour was called upon in a fervent prayer, that all those who have now acquired their bodily freedom, will also be brought to the freedom of being a child of God in his blood, and be incorporated into his church. The numerous people present were very moved and full of thanksgiving; most of them did not want to believe it earlier, and were only now convinced, after having heard it in the church.*¹¹⁷³

The four years following December 1st 1834 offered the opportunity to prepare for the de facto liberation. Hallbeck, expecting many new-comers to the settlements, asked the UEC for more workers.¹¹⁷⁴ He planned to establish more outstations. The rationale for outstations was to prevent overpopulation on the mission stations and to proclaim the gospel to those not accommodated on the mission stations. This development, as indicated in previous chapters, was envisioned when Hallbeck was appointed as superintendent of the South African mission. It implied a fundamental change in mission method: in stead of an exclusive centre to provide for a Christian lifestyle, an open approach was now accommodated as well.

Houtkloof near Elim was the first outstation to be established. It happened in 1834. Hallbeck referred to an awakening among the inhabitants of this region, after which the Elim missionaries

¹¹⁷² "Heute ist nun die glückliche Stunde da, da die Sklaverei in unsrer Kolonie für immer zu Ende ist. Leider ist eine sehr düstere Stimmung unter den Buren weit verbreitet. Bei der großen Spannung zwischen Buren und Hottentotten, verhalten wir uns heute still, obgleich man überall Freuden- und Dankfeste abhalten sollte. Wir wollen das große Ereignis heut Abend in der Gebetsstunde zum Gegenstand von Bitte und Dank machen." Letter Hallbeck to Herrnhut, Dec 1st 1834, in: Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 46.

¹¹⁷³ "Am 1ten machte br. Hallbeck der Gemeinde in der Abendversammlung bekannt, daß an dem heutigen Tag allen Slaven unseres Colonie die Feiheit geschenkt sey, u. forderte die Versammlung zum innigsten dank gegen unsern Herrn u. Heiland auf, das die herzen des edeln Menschenfreunde gelenkt, daß sie keine Kosten u. Mühe gespart u. dieses herrliche Werk, die befreuyung des armen Slaven, zu Stande gebracht haben. Darauf wurde der Heiland in einem inbrünstigen Gebed angerufen, daß er alle die nun die leibliche Freiheit erlangt haben, auch zu der Freiheit des Kindes Gottes in seinem blute bringen, u. seiner Kirche einerleiben wolle. Die zahlreiche Versammlung war sehr bewegt u. voll dank; die Meisten hatten es früher nicht glauben wollen, u. waren nun erst überzeugt, da sie es in der Kirche gehört hatten." *Genadendal Diarium*, Dec 1st 1834 (MASA).

¹¹⁷⁴ *Protocol HC*, Jul 5th 1834 (MASA & HA).

decided to visit Houtkloof on a regular basis and organize church services.¹¹⁷⁵ Church services were initially conducted in a large house.¹¹⁷⁶ Later a church building was erected. The members of Houtkloof were subsequently placed under the pastoral care of the Elim missionaries.¹¹⁷⁷

Bonatz at Silo (1833-1835)

Silo was the only Moravian mission station located outside the borders of the Cape Colony. The years of ongoing tribal and colonial wars caused many distressed people, from various tribes, to find shelter on the mission station Silo.¹¹⁷⁸ Even a number of San moved to the station for protection.¹¹⁷⁹ Contrary to the black people they did not keep cattle, but made a living by hunting or eating locusts (especially in winter).¹¹⁸⁰ The missionaries noted that the San did not have any beliefs in an afterlife and were unaware of the fact that the soul is immortal.¹¹⁸¹ The language barrier made communication with them extremely difficult.¹¹⁸² The inflow of these people to the station was obviously not motivated by a desire to accept the Gospel and to live a Christian life. The Moravian rules and regulations could not be applied as e.g. in Elim or Genadendal. The mission had to contend with a different context.

A setback of consequence occurred when the interpreter, Daniel Kaffer, fell back into heathenism in 1832 and was consequently excommunicated.¹¹⁸³ From then on, only Wilhelmina had to carry the responsibility of interpretation.¹¹⁸⁴ Yet relief came in 1832 when Adolph Bonatz (jr.) arrived from Germany,¹¹⁸⁵ the first Moravian missionary to master Xhosa, as he had learnt it from Wilhelmina as a child in Genadendal, where his parents had resided.¹¹⁸⁶ In 1816 Adolph, then a young boy, departed to Europe for his education.¹¹⁸⁷ Sixteen years later he returned. It was a day of joy for the congregation of Genadendal to welcome him back to serve the mission.¹¹⁸⁸ Hallbeck recognised in him an extraordinary talent to master languages.¹¹⁸⁹

¹¹⁷⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 10th 1834 (HA).

¹¹⁷⁶ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA); *Nachrichten* (1838), 676.

¹¹⁷⁷ *Nachrichten* (1838), 690.

¹¹⁷⁸ *Nachrichten* (1833), 769; *Nachrichten* (1841), 704.

¹¹⁷⁹ *Nachrichten* (1834), 211.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Nachrichten* (1834), 380.

¹¹⁸¹ *Nachrichten* (1835), 91.

¹¹⁸² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 174; *Nachrichten* (1835), 123.

¹¹⁸³ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1832 (HA).

¹¹⁸⁴ *Nachrichten* (1833), 182.

¹¹⁸⁵ *Nachrichten* (1835), 76.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Nachrichten* (1833), 184.

¹¹⁸⁷ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 469.

¹¹⁸⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 9th 1831 (HA).

¹¹⁸⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Febr 23rd 1832 (HA).



Little Church of the Brethren and School in Houtkloof, the first outstation¹

¹ "Brüder-Kirchlein und Schule zu Houtkloof" (HA). Coming from the inheritance of D Luttringshouser (missionary in South Africa from 1824-1853).

Hallbeck travelled with Bonatz to Chumie, to meet the missionaries there and to acquaint him with the situation.¹¹⁹⁰ Bonatz immediately used material translated into Xhosa by the Scottish missionaries: the First Epistle of John, a hymnbook, and a Catechism.¹¹⁹¹ He preached for the first time in Xhosa in March 1834, guided by the written sermon he had prepared at home.¹¹⁹²

Bonatz became the backbone of the Silo mission for many years. He was the only missionary who communicated with the Thembu without the assistance of an interpreter.¹¹⁹³ Hallbeck wrote (quoting from a letter of Dr Lees who was on a visit to Silo): *Brother Bonatz exceeds the expectations with regard to his learning of the language... there is now real hope that the Thembu will have within a few years the significant privilege to listen to the preaching of the Gospel in their own language without the help of an interpreter. All missionaries in Bantuland were amazed about how easy brother Bonatz was able to converse with the Bantu, and I could clearly notice, that he was more advanced in this than the English missionaries, who were already in the country for six years.* Hallbeck then concluded: *It is indeed due to God's remarkable providence that he first made us plant a station at the Klipplaat, and then sent us a brother like brother Bonatz.* He expressed the hope that the Saviour would keep him a humble man.¹¹⁹⁴

The blacks, the missionaries observed, did not worship a higher Being except for the witchdoctor, who was, according to them, able to make rain. They believed that the world came into being spontaneously, and that the first human had appeared from a hole in the earth, together with all the animals.¹¹⁹⁵ Missionary Bonatz though later attested to the fact that the black tribesmen indeed had a vague conception of a Creator God, which they called *Tixo*, in accordance with the belief system of the Khoikhoi.¹¹⁹⁶ Oaths were taken in the name of the captain.¹¹⁹⁷ They had the tradition of circumcision.¹¹⁹⁸ They also had the custom of cutting off a limb from a finger. This happened to every child at the age of about two years. Furthermore the missionaries observed

¹¹⁹⁰ *Nachrichten* (1835), 77.

¹¹⁹¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd, 1833 (HA).

¹¹⁹² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1835), 371.

¹¹⁹³ Hallbeck, *Memoranda im bezug auf die gegenwärtige Lage der dinge in Silo* (1837) (HA).

¹¹⁹⁴ "Bruder Bonatz übertrifft die Erwartungen, die man in Absicht auf seine Erlernung der Sprache gehegt hat ... kann man jetzt die gewisse Hoffnung haben, daß die Tambukis in ein paar Jahren das große Vorrecht haben werden, das Evangelium in ihrer Sprache ohne Hülfe eines Dolmetschers verkündigt zu hören. Alle Missionaren in Kafferland waren erstaunt über die Geläufigkeit mit welche br. Bonatz mit den Kaffern sprechen konnte, u. ich konnte deutlich merken, dass er darin weiter war, als die Engl. Missionare die 6 Jahre im Lande gewesen ... Es ist in der That eine merkwürdige Leitung unsers lieben Herrn, daß er uns erst an dem Ufer des Klipplaat gepflanzt, und dann einen Bruder, wie Bruder Bonatz, dahin geschickt hat." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1834), 691.

¹¹⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1835), 156.

¹¹⁹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1835), 756; *Nachrichten* (1836), 480.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1835), 149.

¹¹⁹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1835), 154.

that in cases of differences of opinion, those concerned were quite quick to turn to their *assegaais*.¹¹⁹⁹

In case lightning struck a kraal, the inhabitants had to abandon it immediately. Only after a period of time and following a ceremony involving a witchdoctor, were they allowed to return.¹²⁰⁰ When lightning struck a cow in the field, the Thembu would just leave it there without touching it.¹²⁰¹ Hallbeck once wrote: *The reigning belief in witchcraft among the heathen is causing a lot of distress*.¹²⁰² The many superstitious beliefs among them presented a stumbling block. All these cultural beliefs and practices had to be Christianised.¹²⁰³ It proved not to be an easy task. One man, for example, had to be sent away from the station, after he had taken a second wife. Another time people, according to their customs, wanted to perform a dance in order to determine who was guilty of causing a severe illness. The dance was a fundamental part of the practice of witchcraft. As soon as the guilty person would be 'identified', he or she had to be tortured or even stoned to death. However, the missionaries warned them that they would have to leave the station, should they proceed with this ritual. It was against the prescriptions of God's Word. The dance was abolished. The missionaries were asked to visit the ill person.¹²⁰⁴ *It made us very depressed to see how firm Satan kept them in his chains* – the missionaries reacted to the custom to perform these dances.¹²⁰⁵ It was noted that *a large part of the inhabitants are still caught in a deep sleep of sin, and secretly try to continue with their old way of life*.¹²⁰⁶

From time to time even members or candidates for baptism fell back into practices of witchcraft.¹²⁰⁷ In his historic survey of the Moravian Mission in South Africa compiled in 1835, Hallbeck singled out *the pagan customs of the people as well as their rapacity* as enormous challenges for the Silo mission.¹²⁰⁸ Sometimes Bonatz had to correct himself, not allowing the tendency to focus on negative aspects only to prevail. He wrote in 1834: *Let me end by telling*

¹¹⁹⁹ *Nachrichten* (1835), 150.

¹²⁰⁰ *Nachrichten* (1831), 866 – the German word "Zauberer" is used for witchdoctor; *Nachrichten* (1835), 107-108.

¹²⁰¹ *Nachrichten* (1835), 107.

¹²⁰² "der unter den Heiden herrschende Glaube an Zauberey verursachte mancherley Noth." *Nachrichten* (1832), 139.

¹²⁰³ *Nachrichten* (1835), 154.

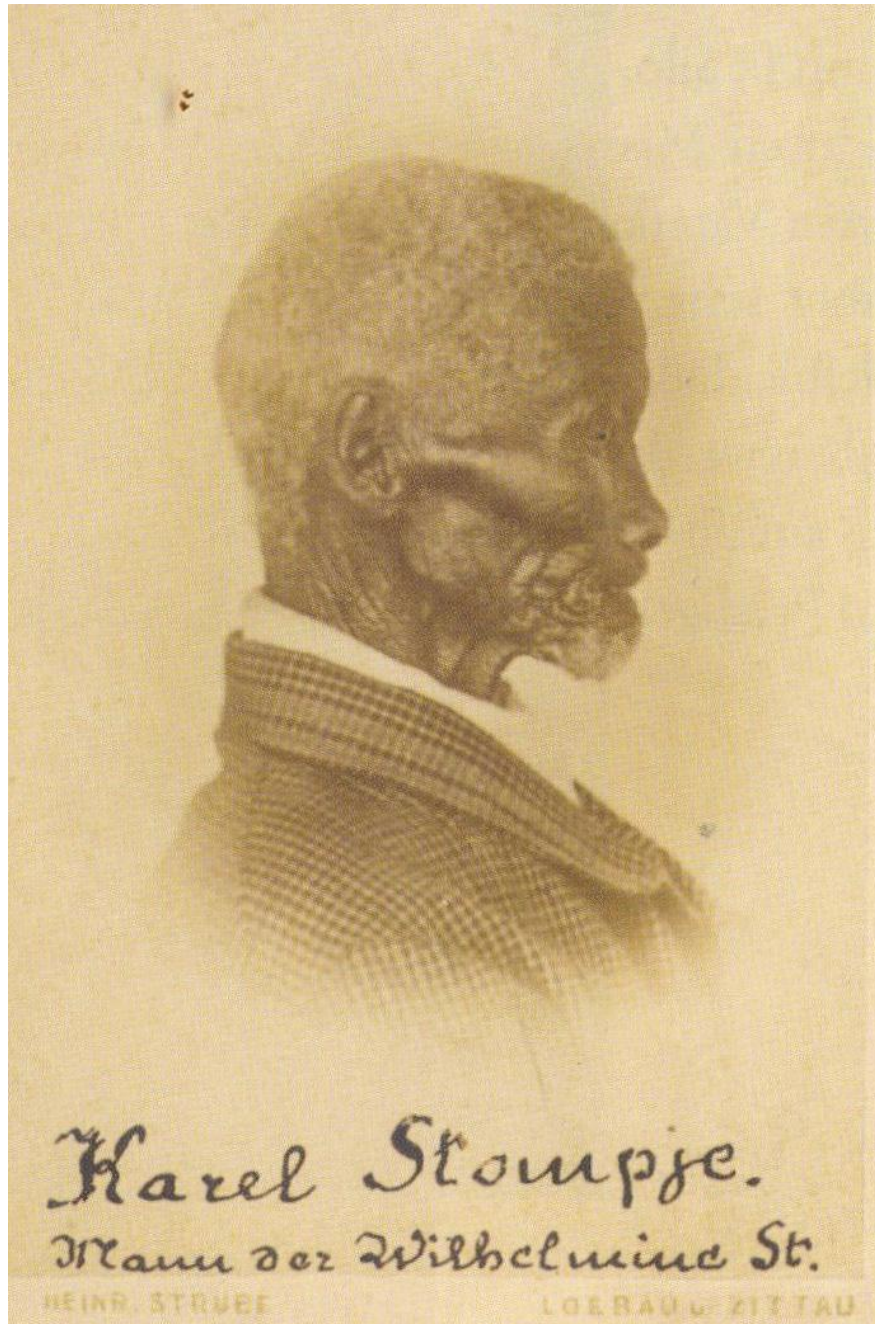
¹²⁰⁴ *Nachrichten* (1833), 771.

¹²⁰⁵ "Es kränkte uns tief zu sehen, wie fest Satan sie in seinen Ketten gefangen hält." *Nachrichten* (1835), 100.

¹²⁰⁶ "Ein großer Theil der Einwohner aber liegt noch in tiefem Sündenschlaf versunken, und sucht sein altes Leben heimlich fortzusetzen." *Nachrichten* (1835), 99.

¹²⁰⁷ *Nachrichten* (1835), 108.

¹²⁰⁸ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA).



Karel Stompje, Husband of Wilhelmine St[ompje]. (1777-1864) Photo taken in 1864.¹²⁰⁹

also something positive... He then tells about a woman who had been a witchdoctor, but who was recently allowed to partake in the Lord's Supper.¹²¹⁰ This was but an early first fruit, because in 1833 Bonatz was complaining that there was no awakening yet among the Thembu.¹²¹¹ And, in 1835 we read: *May the Lord succeed in pulling towards Him those who are at the present*

¹²⁰⁹ HA. Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 153.

¹²¹⁰ "Um zum Schlusse noch etwas Erfreuliches zu erwähnen..." *Nachrichten* (1835), 371.

¹²¹¹ *Nachrichten* (1834), 213.

*moment still walking – ignorant of their eternal well being – on the broad road, leading to perdition.*¹²¹²

A trend that surfaced in Silo was that the women were the first to join the church.¹²¹³ The message of the Gospel promised a tangible improvement of their living conditions, compared to the culture in which they were marginalised and exploited, having to do all the hard work. It once happened that the missionaries ordered a man to leave the station. It surfaced that he wanted to exchange his wife back for cattle from his parents in law. He was sending her back to them, just because she was attacked by a dog and her ear was ripped off – despite the fact that he had already received children from her.¹²¹⁴

On a continuous basis the station and its inhabitants were vulnerable due to the tribal raids. Robberies and cattle theft continued.¹²¹⁵ At one stage Bonatz reported that some of the white settlers in the border area were also responsible for the ongoing violence, since they were exploiting the blacks by bartering ammunition for cattle. As an example he mentioned that eight bullets were bartered for one ox. Bonatz expressed the hope that the English government would take measurements against these abominations.¹²¹⁶

The 1834 - 1835 Border War

Around Christmas 1834 the unexpected happened. An army of about 12 thousand Xhosas under Maqoma and Tyali attacked the colony on the eastern border. It took the colony by surprise. Hallbeck wrote: *how unexpected the attack was, one can see from the fact that Fritsch was in Bantuland for business on Dec 16th and did not pick up any scent of it, and br. Genth wrote on Dec. 24th: We live here in rest and peace.*¹²¹⁷ Several mission stations went up in flames, and all other missionaries were expelled and had to flee to the colony.¹²¹⁸ Against all expectations Silo was not destroyed, although the station was in great danger.¹²¹⁹

¹²¹² “Möchte es Ihm doch gelingen, auch diejenigen zu sich zu ziehen, die zur Zeit noch unbekümmert um ihr ewiges Wohl auf dem breiten Wege, der zum Verderben führt, wandeln.” *Nachrichten* (1838), 559.

¹²¹³ *Nachrichten* (1835), 84.

¹²¹⁴ *Nachrichten* (1835), 151.

¹²¹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1832), 877, 880-881, 889; *Nachrichten* (1833), 761-762; *Nachrichten* (1834), 218.

¹²¹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1834), 220.

¹²¹⁷ “Wie unerwartet der Ueberfall war ist daraus zu ersehen, dass Geschw. Fritsch die in Kafferland in Geschäften waren am 16 Dec nicht das mindeste davon ahndeten, u. dass br. Genth mir untern 24 Dec. schrieb: “Wir leben hier in Ruhe u. Friede.” Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 4th 1835 (HA).

¹²¹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1835), 1096-1097; *Nachrichten* (1838), 552.

¹²¹⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 19th 1835 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1835), 1092.

On the first day of 1835 the inhabitants of Enon had to flee once more to Uitenhage.¹²²⁰ In Uitenhage the fugitives were assisted greatly by the Rev Alexander Smith, as well as the missionary Messer, who made his church building available. That the evacuation was highly necessary became all the more clear when a week later they received the message that the neighbouring settler, Carl Matthäus, had been killed.¹²²¹ He had been a warm supporter of the mission.¹²²² One of the attackers, who was able to speak Dutch, had declared to someone: *Against the Khoikhoi and the mission stations we will do nothing, but the farmers and the English people we will kill.* On hearing this, the missionaries feared that *the prejudices of settlers against the missions* would only be confirmed by these utterances.¹²²³ However later they concluded that this was clearly not the case, since the attackers had destroyed many mission stations in the border regions and the missionaries had to flee to the colony. Furthermore many Khoikhoi were murdered as well.¹²²⁴

In 1834-1835, during the 6th Border War, many men from the western stations were called to arms again,¹²²⁵ 200 from Genadendal alone. On New Year's Eve Hallbeck had to draw up a list of men suitable for military service. On New Year's Day after the church service he called all inhabitants of Genadendal together to convey the bad news. It was a heavy blow, since it was in the middle of the harvest. Fortunately the wives and children were supplied by the government with sufficient victuals.¹²²⁶ Hallbeck expressed the hope that the soldiers would receive proper compensation for their loyalty and bravery.¹²²⁷ In this border war the death of one of the Genadendal men, Simeon Botha, made an unforgettable impression on the company. While sitting around the fire he was fatally wounded by a comrade who was busy repairing his rifle. During the last minutes of his life, he forgave the man who had caused his untimely death, requesting that they should greet his wife and five children in Genadendal, urging them to keep unto the Saviour just as he, and asked his fellow comrades from Genadendal to stand around his

¹²²⁰ Hallbeck, "Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika," (1835) (MASA); *Protocol HC*, Jan 21st 1835 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1837), 487; *Nachrichten* (1838), 523; Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, March 6th 1835 (HA).

¹²²¹ *Nachrichten* (1836), 844-847.

¹²²² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 19th 1835 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Jan 21st 1835 (HA).

¹²²³ "Den Hottentotten und den Missionsplätzen (erklärten die Kaffern) thun wir nichts zu Leide; aber die Bauern und die Engländer wollen wir ermorden ... Menschen, die mit Vorurtheilen gegen die Missionen eingenommen sind, werden durch diese Erklärungen der Kaffern in ihrer Widrigkeit bestärkt." *Nachrichten* (1836), 850.

¹²²⁴ *Nachrichten* (1838), 525.

¹²²⁵ *Nachrichten* (1838), 677.

¹²²⁶ *Nachrichten* (1835), 1092; Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 4th 1835; Jan 19th 1835; Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

¹²²⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 16th 1835 (HA).

death bed and sing for him.¹²²⁸ The governor was so moved that he promised to give his widow an annual pension.¹²²⁹

In general the government had a very high regard of the Genadendal men, for they were trustworthy and well disciplined.¹²³⁰ The fact that they often met together to read and sing was experienced as a blessing not only by themselves, but also by the farmers and officers.¹²³¹ A disadvantage of the Genadendal men, having such a good reputation, was that they were kept longer in service than the other men.¹²³² Because of this good reputation the governor once came with the offer that the men could go and fetch their families and take them to the 'Unterland' (the eastern Cape) on government costs. Nobody however considered the offer seriously. Hallbeck called it a *scandalous plan*.¹²³³

The military service often caused the men to be absent from their families for long periods (sometimes for two years or longer),¹²³⁴ and also absent from the church and the catechism classes. It derailed life on the mission stations to a considerable extent. It also inflicted economic damage to the towns, for the missionaries remained behind with the women, children, old aged and sick. Whenever requests for the military came from the authorities, the missionaries were in a dilemma. On the one hand the Word of God commanded them to obey the government. On the other, their ministry to the men was jeopardized.

The British defence drove the invaders back over the Kei River, which became the new border of the colony. This meant that henceforth Silo formed part of the colony. This further expansion of the colony was an ambivalent matter, Hallbeck wrote: *on the one hand it is true that we don't need land but people to use the already so far expanded territory, and the bigger the colony is becoming, the more difficult and costly it is to defend and govern it. But on the other hand it cannot be denied... that the governor could impossibly leave the furious rage of the Bantu unpunished*. Hallbeck then concluded: *What consequences this will have on the relations in Silo, and on the spread of the Gospel, the future will tell. In the meantime we are thankful that the hostilities have come to an end, and that the governor had dismissed the civil commando, so that*

¹²²⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

¹²²⁹ 15 Pounds Sterling. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 29th 1835 (HA).

¹²³⁰ Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 72.

¹²³¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

¹²³² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 29th 1835 (HA).

¹²³³ "schändlichen Plan" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 29th 1835 (HA).

¹²³⁴ *Nachrichten* (1840), 242.

*all Elim and over forty Genadendal men have returned home in these days.*¹²³⁵ With the peace restored in the colony, it was possible in April 1835 for the inhabitants to return to Enon.

A few months later Hallbeck did express the view that the expansion of the border until the Witkei opened a door for the Gospel in those regions. This he regarded as positive. However, due to the extension of the border a greater army was needed to defend it, which consequently meant that a number of Genadendal soldiers did not receive permission to return home.¹²³⁶

It was clear to the missionaries that the subordination of the tribal chiefs under British rule was more conducive to the progress of the mission work and to stability in the whole region.¹²³⁷ In their report the Silo missionaries wrote: *we dare to have the joyful hope that this will be of substantial benefit for the mission work here.*¹²³⁸ However the fact that Silo now was located within the boundaries of the colony, did not mean that all the thefts and robberies were something of the past.¹²³⁹ Yet now the missionaries were able to deliver thieves into the custody of the colonial authorities.¹²⁴⁰

With the 6th Border War concluded (Bonatz was one of the witnesses who had signed the peace treaty between the governor and Mapasa in 1835),¹²⁴¹ the missionaries were notified in December 1836 that the military post in the close vicinity of Silo would soon be closed down. They had mixed feelings about the announcement. On the one hand they were contented, since the post and the soldiers staying there did not always have a positive influence on the station - there was once an allegation of sexual harassment. On the other hand they were apprehensive with regard to their security in future.¹²⁴²

¹²³⁵ "Einerseits ist es gewiss wahr, wir brauchen nicht Land sondern Menschen um das vorhandene schon zu ausgedehnte Gebiet gehörig benutzen zu können, u. je grösser die Colonie wird, je schwerer u. kostspieliger wird es dieselbe zu beschützen u. zu regieren. Aber andererseits kann es nicht geleügnert werden können, als die bisherige Gränze, u. es ist würklich schwer zu sagen, was der Gouverneur hätte thun sollen, da er doch unmöglich den verwütherischen Ueberfall der Kaffern ungestraft lassen konnte. – Welche Folge diese neue Lage der dinge auf die Verhältnisse in Silo u. auf die Ausbreitung des Evangelii haben wird, muss die Zeit lehren. Indeß sind wir dankbar, daß die Feindseligkeit so weit zu Ende sind, daß der Gouverneur das ganze Bürger-Commando hat entlassen können, demzufolge alle Elimer und über 40 Gnadenthaler ... in diesen Tagen zurückgekehrt sind" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1835), 1091-1092.

¹²³⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 8th 1835 (HA).

¹²³⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 29th 1835 (HA).

¹²³⁸ "und dürfen der frohen Hoffnung Raum geben, daß dies für die hiesige Mission von wesentlichem Nutzen sein werde." *Nachrichten* (1838), 565.

¹²³⁹ *Nachrichten* (1838), 567.

¹²⁴⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 22nd 1835 (HA).

¹²⁴¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 22nd 1835 (HA).

¹²⁴² *Nachrichten* (1838), 580, 586.

December 1835 witnessed the joyful inauguration of the new church building at Silo.¹²⁴³ A month later however lightning struck the northern gable. Fortunately the roof was not set on fire and the damage could be repaired.¹²⁴⁴

Conclusion

In 1834 when Hallbeck celebrated his 50th birthday, 150 children sang to him wishing him the Lord's blessing. He regarded this as one of the most precious blessings on his work.¹²⁴⁵ Of all his many duties, he cherished teaching children.¹²⁴⁶ He realised how powerful the instrument of education was, especially for the little ones. His daughter summarised Hallbeck's view in this regard when she wrote that her father realised more and more that the best method to attain a Christian lifestyle among the heathen, is to have schools for the youth.¹²⁴⁷ In 1834 Hallbeck wrote to his daughter in Germany that about 350 children were attending school every day, and during the break all were playing under the trees, making the town a hub of cheerful liveliness.¹²⁴⁸ In 1834 two more teachers were appointed for the infants: Johannes Jager and David Lakey. Other mission stations followed the success story of Genadendal,¹²⁴⁹ opening schools for the little ones – like in Elim in 1832,¹²⁵⁰ Groenekloof in 1833,¹²⁵¹ and Enon in 1835.¹²⁵²

Education was just one field in which the Moravian Mission excelled. Their reputation in the colony kept on growing. They were instrumental to the first awakening that took place on South African soil. Genadendal, where Hallbeck stayed, functioned as a power house, not only for the Moravian Mission, but also for missionaries of other societies. Hallbeck was very much involved in developments regarding the abolition of slavery, de jure in 1834. Yet it was done in a careful and wise way, in order not unnecessary to antagonize the slave owners. In the eastern border regions instability persisted. At the end of the period dealt with in this chapter, the Silo area was incorporated under colonial rule. Yet the coming years proved that this situation would change again, with all consequences involved.

¹²⁴³ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA); *Nachrichten* (1838), 569.

¹²⁴⁴ *Nachrichten* (1838), 574-575.

¹²⁴⁵ *Nachrichten* (1833), 1011.

¹²⁴⁶ *Nachrichten* (1832), 635.

¹²⁴⁷ "Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern" (1840) (HA).

¹²⁴⁸ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Febr 14th 1834 (HA).

¹²⁴⁹ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA).

¹²⁵⁰ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Febr 14th 1834 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1833), 356.

¹²⁵¹ *Nachrichten* (1836), 115; *Nachrichten* (1836), 119; Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Jul 11th 1833 (HA).

¹²⁵² *Nachrichten* (1838), 532; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Nov 10th 1835 (HA).

Hallbeck was asked to write a history of the Moravian Mission in South Africa. In 1836 he wrote the *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa*. It was however much more than the history of the Moravian Mission in South Africa. It also offered a history of the colony. In the next chapter this work of Hallbeck is analysed.

CHAPTER TEN

WRITING THE HISTORY OF THE CAPE COLONY (1835-1836)

Introduction

During the years 1835-1836 Hallbeck's vast ministerial experience in the Cape Colony in general and in the Moravian Mission in particular started to reap tangible fruits. In this regard the inauguration of the church building in Elim, regarded as the most beautiful church in the colony by then, should be mentioned. It was built by the Moravian Khoikhoi, supervised by the missionaries. In addition, the Moravian Mission prepared for the centenary celebration in 1836, to commemorate Georg Schmidt's departure from Herrnhut as the first missionary to South Africa hundred years ago. The commemoration offered Hallbeck the opportunity to engage with the history of the colony. In this regard he produced three documents. In the first place he wrote an essay, which is an overview of the history of the Moravian Mission in South Africa, and intended to be read to all inhabitants on the different mission stations. Secondly, he most probably wrote an elaborate biography of Georg Schmidt, which was published in the Moravian *Nachrichten* in 1836. Thirdly, he engaged in the compilation of an elaborate history of the Moravian Mission in South Africa, including a very illuminating description of colonial history of the Cape. A notebook with the first three chapters of this enterprise is still extant.

This chapter offers an overview of activities on the stations during the last semester of 1835. In Groenekloof, August Clemens passed away in December 1835, concluding a life devoted to the mission that brought him in opposition with Hallbeck. Then follows an in depth discussion of Hallbeck's historiography. In February 1836 Hallbeck and his wife returned to Europe for the first time since 1817, the main reason being his ordination as bishop during the Moravian international Synod, which convened once every ten years. This 'sabbatical' year is discussed in chapter eleven.

Close of the Clemens episode (the last six months of 1835)

Hallbeck tried to envisage the future of the mission in a post-slavery colony. After the (judicial) liberation of the slaves in 1834, Hallbeck raised the necessity of the establishment of an institute

to train teachers and pastoral workers to engage in ecclesiastical duties. He wrote to Herrnhut in June 1835: *Definitively there are among the Africans priests and levites to be found, when we Europeans could and wanted only to do more for the necessary preparations. A school for prophets is necessary and will hopefully be established in the course of time.*¹²⁵³ Since 1835 Schopmann assisted in the training of four boys,¹²⁵⁴ earmarked to become teachers or assistants. Herrnhut was informed that more teachers were needed, because the need to educate liberated slaves and their children had to be addressed. The colonial government, Hallbeck pointed out, was too occupied with matters, which demanded priority, that proper attention could not be paid to the issue of the training of those to be liberated.

The inauguration of the church in Elim, regarded as one of the most beautiful church buildings in the colony, was an event of significance. Wood bought at an auction after a ship shipwrecked on the nearby coast, was used as building material.¹²⁵⁵ To build the church proved to be a unifying enterprise. Hallbeck reported: *With joy I can perceive that with the building of the church the building of the inner temple in Elim is simultaneously progressing. A lovely spirit is apparently reigning in the congregation.*¹²⁵⁶ *The efforts of the Brethren to teach the Khoikhoi different trades, he continues, culminated under the blessing of God in the church of Elim, the most beautiful building in our region, and built entirely by their hands; this gives us reason to hope that our schoolwork, when we don't grow tired, will yield us also with builders for the inner temple.*¹²⁵⁷ Hallbeck was really proud of what was achieved in Elim: *It is for Africa a beautiful building, and does not have its equal in the recent incepted districts of the country, and it is for me a comforting thought, that it was built solely by our Khoikhoi.*¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵³ "Gewiss würden sich unter den Africanern Priester u. Leviten finden, wenn wir Europäer nur mehr für die so nöthige Vorbereitung thun könnten u. wollten. Eine Propheten Schule ist dazu nöthig u. mit der Zeit wird sie hoffentlich auch zu Stande kommen." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁵⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 8th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁵⁵ *Nachrichten* (1838), 670.

¹²⁵⁶ "Mit Freuden konnte ich wahrnehmen, dass mit dem Kirchenbau auch der bau des innern Tempels in Elim segensreich fortschreitet. Ein lieblicher Geist scheint in der Gemeinde zu herrschen." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁵⁷ "Die Arbeit der brüder, um die Hottentotten in Professionen zu unterrichten, hat es unter Gottes Segen dahin gebracht, dass die Elimer Kirche, das schönste Gebäude unserer Umgegend, durch ihre Hände errichtet worden, u. so dürfen wir auch hoffen, dass unsere Schul-Arbeit, wenn wir nicht ermüden, uns auch bauleute für den inneren Tempel liefern wird." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 29th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁵⁸ "Es ist ein für Africa schönes Gebäude, welches in diesem u. andern neuern districten des Landes, seine Gleichen nicht leicht hat, u. tröstlich ist mir der Gedanke, dass niemand als unsere Hottentotten daran gearbeitet hat." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 16th 1835 (HA).

In his capacity of superintendent, Hallbeck and his wife were present at the inauguration of the new building on October 18th 1835.¹²⁵⁹ He preached on the text: *At which place I will establish my Name, there I will come to you and bless you.* Hallbeck described this day as one of the most captivating of his life. The church was packed to capacity, about seven to eight hundred people, both Khoikhoi and colonists. All were beautifully dressed. And while standing there, he thought back to how everything had started eleven years ago on the farm Vogelstruyskraal, and how incalculable the Lord had blessed the work.¹²⁶⁰

Silo, after the conclusion of the war, was incorporated into the colony and was subjected to the jurisdiction of the colony. Settlers occupied farms in the region. What impeded the work of the missionaries was that some settlers did not see the necessity to Christianize the black tribes. *Even most of the famers around us have, in their ignorance, become enemies of the cross of Christ. They alone want to be called Christians and are of the opinion that the blacks are not entitled to receive baptism.*¹²⁶¹

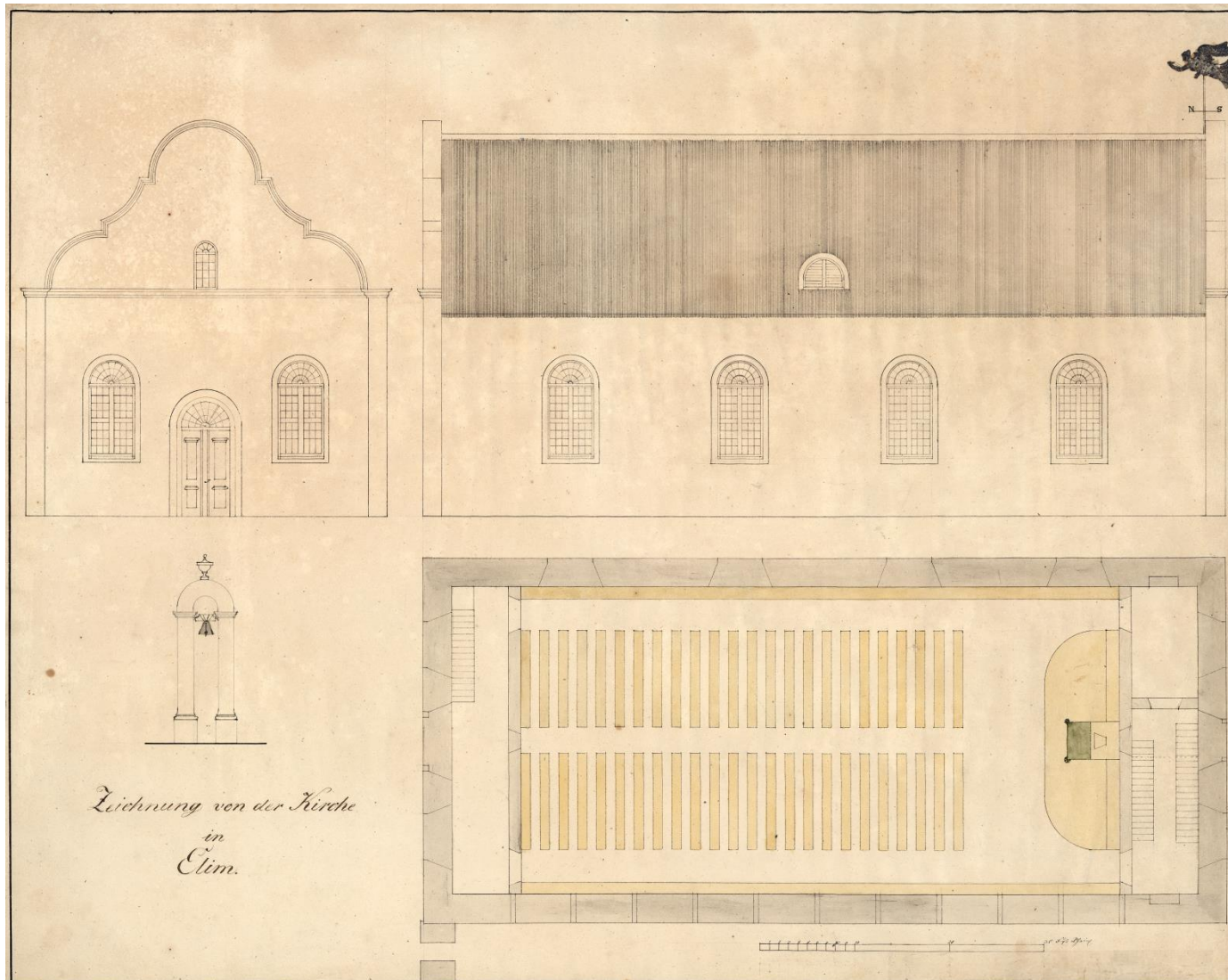
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On December 12th 1835 Hallbeck wrote to his friend, Schneider, in Herrnhut: *I must laugh a bit because of Br Clemens' remarks about the external as nr. 1 and the internal as nr. 2. About this text he has preached already for many years, without really knowing what he was saying. With us everything should be number 1, everything should be done with the same spirit and with the same diligence, if we want to achieve something. A fisherman will not wonder whether repairing his net*

¹²⁵⁹ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA); *Nachrichten* (1836), 361-363.

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Sketch of the Elim church building¹

¹ "Zeichnung von der Kirche in Elim." (HA)

*is nr. 1 and its use in the water nr. 2 or vice versa. He is doing both as needed, and both are equally important if he wants to catch any fish. So it is with us as well. Without the external businesses we cannot live together and our churches and school will stand empty. Experience teaches that whoever is faithful in the one, is in the other as well, and whoever neglects the external duties, is also sluggish with regard to the internal matters.*¹²⁶² Evidently Hallbeck is referring here to Spangenberg's words from the Moravian mission textbook: *We have witnessed from experience that brothers and sisters who are faithful in external matters, are also used and gifted by the Saviour for the internal things.*¹²⁶³ Hallbeck continues: *And you of course know quite well, that I am also of the opinion, that certain external duties should not be the business of a missionary.*¹²⁶⁴ With these words he reminded Herrnhut of his request to send an administrator for the external affairs, a request that was not granted. In the same letter Hallbeck complained that Clemens did not adhere to the agreed procedures. His complains were directly communicated to Herrnhut, without consulting the Helpers Conference or even to mention these to Hallbeck during his visits to Groenekloof.¹²⁶⁵

Hallbeck's differences with Clemens came to an end shortly afterwards. At the end of December 1835 a messenger from Groenekloof arrived at Genadendal with the news that Clemens was on his deathbed. He urgently requested to speak once more to Hallbeck before passing on.¹²⁶⁶ Hallbeck immediately left on his horse but arrived in Groenekloof after Clemens' death. What remained was to conduct the funeral and thus show his last respects to Clemens. The sermon made a deep impression on all present.¹²⁶⁷

Hallbeck at the same time appointed Lemmerz as the new head of Groenekloof. Lemmerz – who was already stationed at Groenekloof – was very grateful that everything could still be arranged before Hallbeck's departure to Europe. Hallbeck received a letter, written by Lemmerz, to be

¹²⁶² "Lächeln mußte ich über br. Clemens' Gloßen betreffend das äußere als No. 1 u. das Innere als No. 2. Es ist ein Text worüber er seit Jahren gepredigt hat, ohne recht zu wissen, was er sagt. Bei uns sollte eigentlich alles No. 1 seyn, alles in demselben Geist u. mit derselben Angelegenheit besorgt werden, wenn wir etwas ausrichten wollen. Der Fischer grübelt nicht darüber, ob das Verfertigen seiner Netze No. 1 u ihr Gebrauch im Waßer zum Ziehen No. 2 ist oder vice versa, er thut eben beider, je nachdem es nöthig ist, u. beides ist gleich wesentlich, wenn er Fische fangen will. So ist es auch bei uns. Ohne äußere Geschäfte können wir nicht zusammen wohnen, u. unsere Kirchen u. Schulen müßten leer stehen. Auch lehrt die Erfahrung, daß wie in dem einen treu ist, der ist es gewöhnlich auch in dem andern, u. wer das äußern versäumt, der ist auch im Innern trüg" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 12th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁶³ "Wir haben aber durch Erfahrung wahrgenommen, daß Brüder und Schwestern, die im Aeussern treu waren, vom Heiland auch im Innern gebraucht, und dazu begabt worden." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 63.

¹²⁶⁴ "Uebrigens wirst du zur Genüge wissen, daß auch nach meiner Ansicht gewiße Geschäfte für einen Missionar nicht recht paßend sind" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 12th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁶⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 22nd 1835 (HA).

¹²⁶⁶ *Protocol HC*, Dec 30th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁶⁷ *Protocol HC*, Jan 18th 1836 (HA).

In his capacity of superintendent, Hallbeck and his wife were present at the inauguration of the new building on October 18th 1835.¹²⁵⁹ He preached on the text: *At which place I will establish my Name, there I will come to you and bless you.* Hallbeck described this day as one of the most captivating of his life. The church was packed to capacity, about seven to eight hundred people, both Khoikhoi and colonists. All were beautifully dressed. And while standing there, he thought back to how everything had started eleven years ago on the farm Vogelstruyskraal, and how incalculable the Lord had blessed the work.¹²⁶⁰

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submitted to the UEC. Lemmerz wrote: *All the brothers and sisters wish and pray, that our beloved brother and sister Hallbeck may return again to Africa. I do not have to spend many words in this regard, since it is clear enough that the service of our beloved brother has been blessed here by the Lord in an exceptional way, so that he has gained the love and trust of all the workers in the mission. May our Saviour grant him the grace that he can return as bishop. Praise to the Lord, who has granted us his faithful servant and imposed so abundantly his blessing on him.*¹²⁶⁸

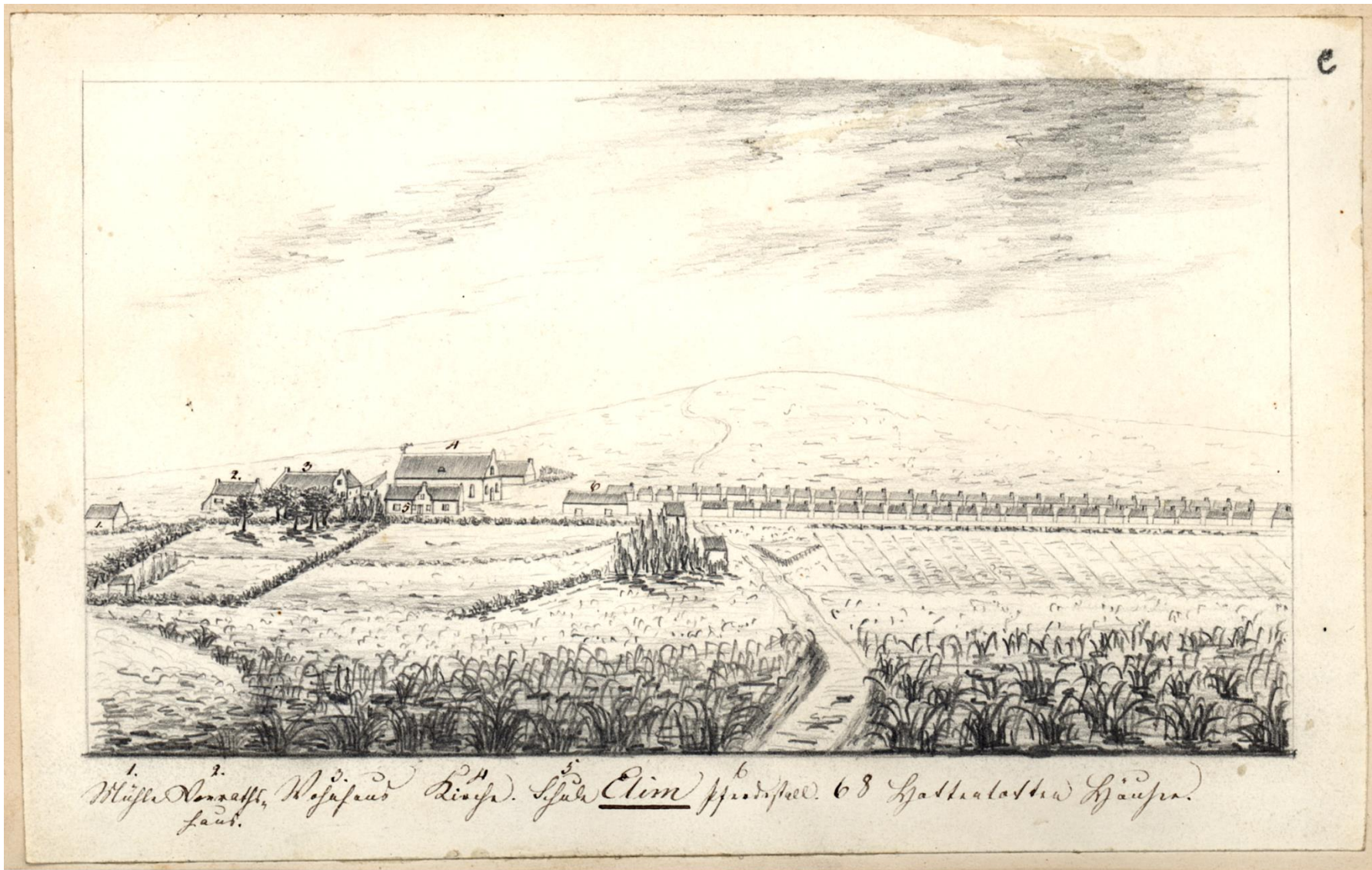
Back in Genadendal Hallbeck had to prepare for the journey to Herrnhut where the Moravian synod was due to be held, a journey on which his wife and youngest children would accompany him. This was the first time since 1817 that he returned to Europe. In the meantime he had completed an essay “Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika.” This was intended to add lustre to the celebrations commemorating the centenary of the sending out of Georg Schmidt in 1736. Hallbeck was also asked by Herrnhut to write a more elaborate history of the South African mission. The next paragraph is devoted to Hallbeck’s historiography. He distinguished himself as one of the first historians of South Africa.

Hallbeck on the history of South Africa (1836)

Hallbeck was one of the first to present the history of the colony. Until then, historic knowledge depended on the overviews or depictions in the travel literature. In the 1820’s Meent Borchers, minister of the Cape Dutch and Reformed Church in Stellenbosch, published historical essays, based on archival sources, in the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*. John Philip’s *Researches in South Africa*, published in 1828, offered a substantial historical introduction. Hallbeck’s 1823 *Brief Sketch* and the German version *Ueber die Hottentotten und die Brüdermission in Südafrika* also contained historical surveys. Yet his historiography of 1836 was much more elaborate and demands our close attention.

We will start paying attention to his shorter essay. To commemorate the sending out of George Schmidt hundred years ago, Hallbeck compiled the “Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika” (*Origin and Progress of the Mission of the Brethren’s Church in*

¹²⁶⁸ “Alle Geschwister wünschen und bitten, daß unsre lieben Geschwister Hallbeck wieder nach Afrika zurückkehren möchten. Ich brauche nicht viel Worte darüber zu machen, denn es ist deutlich genug, daß der Dienst unsers geliebten Bruders hier draußen in besonderem Maße vom Herrn gesegnet worden ist, so daß er die Liebe und das Vertrauen aller Missionsarbeiter gewonnen het. Unser Heiland möge ihm die Gnade schenken, daß er als Bischof zu uns zurückkehren kann. Ehre sei dem Herrn, der uns diesen seinen treuen Dienst geschenkt und seinen Segen so reichlich auf ihn gelegt hat” Letter Lemmerz, Jan 31st 1836, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 54.



^{1.} Mühle ^{2.} Vorrathshaus ^{3.} Wohnhaus ^{4.} Kirche ^{5.} Schule Elim ^{6.} Pferdestall ^{7.} 6 8 Hottentotten Häuser.

Pencil sketch of Elim, probably shortly after the completion of the church building in 1835.¹

¹ Noted below the pencilsketch: "1. Mühle 2. Vorrathshaus 3. Wohnhaus 4. Kirche 5. Schule 6. Pferdestall 6 8 Hottentotten Häuser." (HA).

South Africa) in 1835.¹²⁶⁹ The authentic Dutch version in Hallbeck's handwriting is kept in the Archive of the Moravian Church South Africa, Cape Town (MASA). A translation in German, made by Hallbeck, is preserved in the Herrnhut Archive. It was published in 1837 in the *Nachrichten* as a "Bericht des Bruders Hallbeck von dem Anfang und Fortgang der Brüder-Mission am Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung in Süd-Afrika."¹²⁷⁰ As such this document represents the inception of the historiography of the Moravian Mission in South Africa.

This essay of 22 pages was sent to all mission stations in order to be read during the centenary celebrations in February 1836.¹²⁷¹ In Genadendal it was recited on three consecutive evenings to the congregation as part of the celebrations starting on February 14th 1836, the day on which one hundred years ago, Georg Schmidt had departed from Herrnhut on his way to South Africa. Hallbeck however did not participate in the festivities, since on February 8th he had already sailed off from Table Bay to Europe.

The "Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika" took as its point of departure the establishment of the Brüdergemeine in Herrnhut in 1722. Hallbeck also alluded to the constitutive events of 1727, when the community united in mutual love, care and commitment. This formed the foundation of the community of believers that a few years later decided to proclaim the gospel among European Christians, as well as the heathen nations that were not yet reached with the saving work of Christ, in terms of a missionary enterprise. The first missionary to be sent out to Africa was Georg Schmidt. Hallbeck recorded his life before he came to the Cape, as well as the difficult years of his ministry among the Khoikhoi at the Cape since 1737. His ministry though was blessed by the Lord and in 1742 he administered the Christian baptism to five believers. This however brought him in conflict with both the governor and Dutch Reformed ministers at the Cape. His ordination was not recognised and he was thus not allowed to administer the sacraments within the parochial boundaries of the only recognised Dutch and Reformed Church. He had to return to Germany in 1744.

The work was interrupted until 1792, when, on request, three Moravian missionaries resumed Schmidt's initial engagement with the Khoikhoi in the Genadendal region, the essay continues. When, in 1795, hostile neighbouring farmers tried to close the mission down by expelling the missionaries, the day was saved, Hallbeck informed his listeners, by the fact that the British took

¹²⁶⁹ *Protocol HC*, Aug 27th 1835 (HA).

¹²⁷⁰ *Nachrichten* (1837), 468-489.

¹²⁷¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 29th 1835 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1838), 533, 577.

over the Cape of Good Hope. Under British colonial protection, the Moravians returned and the enterprise flourished. The new church building at Genadendal was inaugurated in 1800. The mission also enjoyed the respect and support of the Batavian Dutch government between 1803 and 1806.

The first three decades of the nineteenth century were characterised by great expansion. Hallbeck concluded his essay with the remark: *Since the start of the mission 36 brothers and 36 sisters have served, of whom 15 have died in the Lord in Africa and 13 have returned to Europe; 44 are still in the ministry.*¹²⁷² Hallbeck also added two tables with statistics for the year 1836:

	Adults baptised	Children baptised	Included into congregation	Allowed to Lord's Supper
Genadendal	1450	1519	456	1219
Groenekloof	425	518	92	392
Enon	257	271	50	180
Hemel en Aarde	190	27	3	74
Elim (+ Houtkloof)	121	121	11	79
Silo	34	34	7	18
Total:	2477	2490	619	1962

The present numbers of inhabitants in the respective places:

	Partakers of Lord's Supper	Baptised	Not Baptised	Total	School Children
Genadendal	627	609	170	1406	380
Groenekloof	229	331	120	680	200
Enon	126	224	68	418	120
Hemel en Aarde	35	27	27	89	
Elim	77	164	141	382	118
Silo	37	91	380	478	110
Total:	1131	1416	906	3453	928

After a hundred years the Moravian mission comprised six mission stations with a total of 3,453 members. These statistics speak for themselves with regard to how the Word of God started to obtain a stronghold among the indigenous peoples at the southernmost tip of Africa.

¹²⁷² The Dutch text (in Hallbeck's handwriting): "By de Zuid-Afrikaansche Zending hebben 36 Broeders en 36 Zusters uit Europa gediend, van welken 15 hier overleden, 13 naar Europa terug-gekeerd en 44 nog alhier werkzaam zyn. Van degenen die naar Europa terugkeerden, zyn, zoo veel ons bekend is, nu nog 8 aan't leven." Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA). The German version in the *Nachrichten* mentioned 41 who were still in the ministry, 16 people who had died in Africa and 15 who had repatriated. These numbers were evidently actualised before they were published in the *Nachrichten* in 1837. The German text (in Hallbeck's handwriting): "Seit dem Anfange der Mission haben 36 Brüder und 36 Schwestern aus Europa bei derselben gedient, von welchen 16 in Afrika selig vollendet wurden und 15 nach Europa zurückgekehrt sind; 41 stehen noch im Dienste derselben." Hans Peter Hallbeck, *Ueber das Entstehen u. den Fortgang der brüder Mißion am Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung. am 14 febr. 1836 den Hott. Gemeinen beim Jubelfest mitgetheilt* (HA).

What is also interesting in this overview is that Hallbeck – when looking back – endeavoured to link causes and consequences, a typical feature for a 19th century historian. This is illustrated in his account of how the Moravian engagement with black tribes came about. It was a long cherished wish of the Moravians to reach out to these tribes in the interior. In the way this dream became reality, Hallbeck saw God’s providential guidance. God turned negative circumstances into developments that became conducive to the expansion of his kingdom: *For many years the Brethren in Genadendal lived without any afflictions coming from the outside. To the contrary, more than they wished and deserved, they were praised. But in the years 1823 to 1826 both in secret and in public many unsubstantiated accusations were lodged against them.*¹²⁷³ Hallbeck referred obviously to the accusations in the press by neighbouring farmers, especially Rusticus. A consequence was that the government conducted investigations into the affairs of Genadendal. The outcome was that colonial government was surprisingly satisfied with the mission. And then Hallbeck continued: *Probably because of these depressing experiences, a door for the expansion of God’s kingdom was opened for the Brethren. For when a Thembu chief Bavana requested the government for a missionary, the governor – who because of the above mentioned circumstances became well acquainted with the Brethren – asked them to start a mission among this nation. It thus happened that the mission station Silo was established in the year 1828 next to the Klipplaat River.*¹²⁷⁴

In his final analysis, Hallbeck remarked: *So wonderfully has the Saviour kept his protecting hand above his servants, and though through weak vessels amongst numerous obstacles from the inside and the outside, He expanded his work more and more to secure the salvation of thousands. To Him be the honour at all times in the congregation that is awaiting Him, and gathered around Him, from eternity to eternity. Amen.*¹²⁷⁵ Commemorating a historic date, offered Hallbeck the opportunity to write the “Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika.” Its history affirms the propriety of the decision to resume with the

¹²⁷³ “Sedert eene lange reeks van Jaren hadden de Broederen in Genadendal zonder aanvechtingen van buiten geleefd, en werden in tegendeel, meer dan zy wenschten en verdienden, geprezen; maar in de Jaren 1823 tot 1826 werden zoo wel in het geheim, als in het openbaar allerlei ongegronde beschuldigingen tegen hen ingebracht” Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA).

¹²⁷⁴ “Waarschynlik dienden ook gemelde voor eenen tyd drukkende ervaringen daartoe, den Broederen eene nieuwe deur tot de uitbreiding van het ryk Gods te openen. Want toen een Tambukki Opperhoofd Bavana omtrent dezen tyd by het Gouvernement om Zendeling vraagde, zo werden de Broederen door den Gouverneur, die door bovengemelde omstandigheden van hunne zaak naauwkeuriger kennis gekregen had, verzocht, eene zending onder het gemelde volk aan te leggen, en ten volge daarvan werd in het Jaar 1828 de Zendingplaats Silo aan het Klipplaatrivier” Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA).

¹²⁷⁵ “So wunderbar hat der Heiland seine schützern Hand über Seinen Dienern gehalten, und durch schwache Werkzeuge bei zahllosen Hindernissen von Innen und Aussen sein Werk mehr und mehr ausgebreitet und befestigt zum Heile vielen tausenden. Ihm sei Ehre zur alle Zeit in der Gemeine, die auf Ihn wartet, und die um Ihn her ist, von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. Amen.” *Nachrichten* (1837), 489.

work in 1792. In contradistinction to the Dutch dispensation that ended in 1795, the British colonial government is appreciated. This government recognised and protected the mission. In his portrayal of the history of the Moravian Mission typical trajectories can thus be identified.

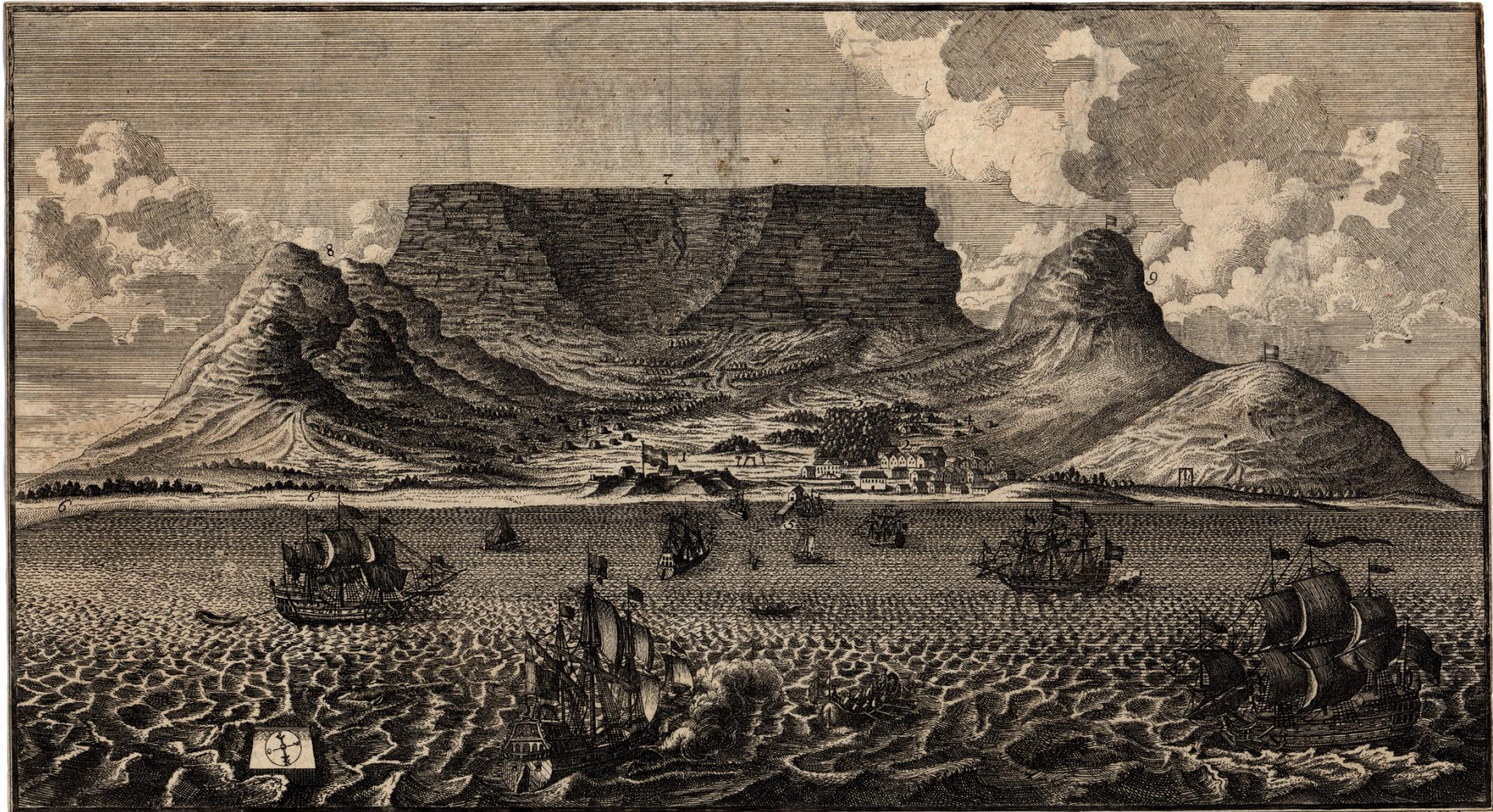
“Lebenslauf” of Georg Schmidt

Apart from this historic overview, Hallbeck (most probably) also produced a biography comprising almost 40 pages of Georg Schmidt, the first South African missionary. It was published in the *Nachrichten* of 1836.¹²⁷⁶ Georg Schmidt had fled out of his fatherland (the regions of Moravia and Bohemia) to Berthelsdorf in 1726. Two years later he was sent out, together with the elder Melchior Nitschmann, on a journey to Salzburg in order to encourage the Protestants there. During this time Zinzendorf sent out the brethren to different European countries, especially to the Catholic countries, where the Protestants were marginalized and persecuted. Georg Schmidt and his companion did not reach Salzburg. They travelled via Bohemia and there visited a brother in the faith, Franz Wander, where they conducted a religious gathering. They were taken into custody, apparently because of proselytising. They were anonymously betrayed to a Catholic chaplain. The latter arrived with a crowd and besieged the house. After having entered, they found the small “hallische Bibel” (Bible printed in Halle) of Nitschmann lying on the table. Schmidt was also in possession of a New Testament. It was – Schmidt wrote later – the first time the Catholic chaplain had seen a Bible in his life. They were imprisoned.

Schmidt stayed in prison for about six years. He only returned to Herrnhut in July 1734. From July 1735 until February 1736 he undertook a further journey to encourage the “Erweckten” in Switzerland. Upon the conclusion of this trip, he was commissioned to preach the Gospel to the Khoikhoi “am Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung in Afrika.” Zinzendorf had secured a free passage for him on one of the DEIC ships. Compared to his previous journeys, he now faced new challenges. One of them was the language of the Khoikhoi with its three different click sounds. Schmidt gave up trying to learn it, and rather started to teach the Khoikhoi to read the Dutch Bible.

Apart from the language barriers, the spiritual climate at the Cape was not conducive to what he was sent to do. David Nitschmann, who had visited the Cape on his way to and from the far east, wrote in 1739: The pastoral letter (of the Dutch clergy against the Brethren) has been

¹²⁷⁶ p.467-504.



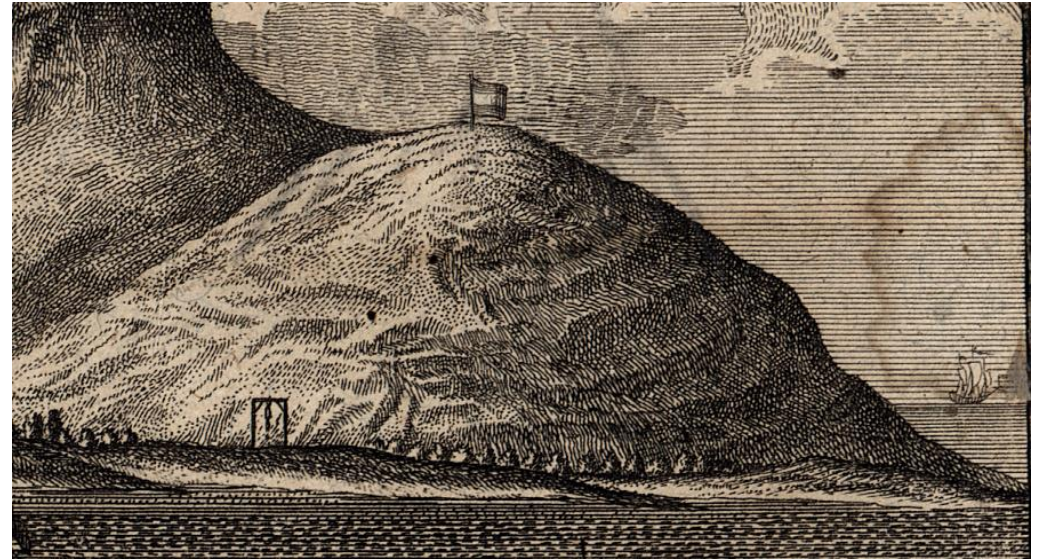
CABO DE BOA ESPERANCA

DIE ÄUßERSTE ECKE VON AFRICA

G.A. Gründler sc. 1742

1 das Casteel 2 das Caap 3 Der Compagnie Garten 4 der Hottentotten Häuser Die seit ä. xvii 3 nicht mehr dasind 5 die Brücke da die Boote frisch Wasser holen
 6 der Weg nach Bonde bos und andere Plätze land = einwärts 7 der Tafel berg 8 der Teufelsberg über welchen der starke Süd Ost Wind bläset 9 der Löwenberg

"Cabo de Boa Esperanca Die Aeuserste Ecke von Africa" – see opposite side for legenda



“Cabo de Boa Esperanca Die Aeuserste Ecke von Africa”

Cape of Good Hope Remotest Corner of Africa, by G.A. Gründler (1742).

The way Cape Town looked like in the times of Georg Schmidt. Details: Left: the castle; Right: Signal Hill with gallows clearly visible.¹

¹ Noted below the picture: “CABO DE BOA ESPERANCE DIE AEUSERSTE ECKE VON AFRICA”; “GA Gründler so. Haloe 1742”; “1 das Casteel 2 das Caap 3 der Compagnie Garten 4 der Hottentotten Häuser die seit a. 1713 nicht mehr da sind 5 die Brücke da die Boote frisch Wasser holen 6 der Weg nach Rondebos und andere Plätze land=einwärts 7 der Tafelberg 8 der Teufelsberg über welchen die starcke SüdOstWind bläset 9 der Löwenberg” (HA).

disseminated everywhere... We had to go to the governor and the pastors. The latter were, because of this letter, very negative towards Schmidt. Only after they had read the “Brüder-Erklärung” they became friendlier. Nevertheless, Nitschmann realised the need in Africa. He wrote in a letter: My dear brothers, what a vast field of work in Africa! When will the Lord also send messengers to the blacks, to become Schmidt’s neighbours?

When it became known in Cape Town that Schmidt had baptized Khoikhoi adherents, he faced serious troubles. The local Reformed pastors interrogated his converts. He wrote about them: *They want to write to the classis in Amsterdam about whether I am authorised to baptise and celebrate the Lord’s Supper. I will wait until I get an answer. If I do not retain my freedom, I will return to you. I would rather be known as a seducer and yet sincere (2 Cor 6:8). They want to have the honour of my work; but they will not have it, because it does not belong to them, but only to the Saviour.* Schmidt referred to the fact that the Reformed clergy pressurized the colonial authority to allow Schmidt only to evangelize, but not to administer the sacraments. This implied that all converts had to be brought to Stellenbosch to receive the sacraments. He could not comply with this ruling.¹²⁷⁷

Schmidt was also very critical about the colonists at the Cape: *For the so-called Christians in this country had perverted the poor Khoikhoi almost completely with their wicked example and through their hate speech against me.*

The author then emphasizes that, although Schmidt had to leave the Cape, it was not the intention of the Moravians to abandon the Cape mission. In 1745 Zinzendorf sent Schmidt again to Holland in order to try and organize a new passage with the DEIC, but it was in vain. In 1747 a man called Schwäbeler, an employee of the DEIC, who had accompanied Schmidt on his return journey and who had become a member of the Moravian community in Herrnhag, went to the Cape. He reached Schmidt’s converts in 1748 and apparently died there.

Schmidt kept on praying everyday for the Khoikhoi and his converts in particular. Hallbeck concluded his biography with the following words: *And these last tears of seed of the faithful prayers germinated richly on the African mission field.*¹²⁷⁸

The “Lebenslauf” of Georg Schmidt accommodated themes typical of the Moravian historiography. Realities of incomprehension, discrimination, blackmailing and even persecution

¹²⁷⁷ p.491.

¹²⁷⁸ “Und diese letzte Thränensaat des treuen Beters ist reichlich befruchtend auf das afrikanische Missionsfeld gefallen.”

were part and parcel of the missionaries' experiences during the 18th century. The biography of Schmidt was no exception.

History of South Africa

Already in 1833 the UEC had requested Hallbeck to compile a comprehensive history of the Moravian Mission in South Africa, to coincide with the intended centenary celebrations in 1836. It proved to be a challenging task. In 1834 Hallbeck complained to the UEC: *Concerning the history of the Cape mission, I really would like to do, what I can, although under present circumstances it is difficult to find the time necessary.*¹²⁷⁹

He succeeded in the compilation of an essay to be read on the centenary celebrations called *Origin and Progress of the Mission of the Brethren's Congregation in South Africa*, already discussed earlier in this chapter. This document should be identified as the inception of South African Moravian historiography, as indicated above. Then there was the Schmidt biography, which we have attributed to Hallbeck as well. Yet in addition to this the Moravian Archive in Herrnhut holds a significant notebook of great consequence: *Mission der Evangelischen Brüder In Süd-Africa, Aufgesetzt von br H P Hallbeck im Jahr 1836 (Mission of the Evangelical Brethren in South Africa, compiled by br. H.P. Hallbeck in the year 1836.)* This notebook, in Hallbeck's handwriting, deals in three chapters with the history of the Cape Colony, its inhabitants, its climate, fauna and flora and geography.¹²⁸⁰ Hallbeck probably wrote it during his sojourn in Herrnhut in 1836.

The notebook ends in the middle of a sentence. This indicates the existence of a subsequent notebook(s). These could however not be traced down in the Herrnhut or South African archives. We had to suffice with the extant notebook for the time being.¹²⁸¹ In the Archive of the Moravian

¹²⁷⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA).

¹²⁸⁰ *Mission der Evangelischen Brüder In Süd-Africa. Erster Theil. 1.2.3. Abschnitt unvolendet. Aufgesetzt von br. H.P. Hallbeck im Jahr 1836. Erster theil: Das Land und seine Einwohner. Erster Abschnitt: Niederlassung und almähliche Ausbreitung der Europäer im südlichen Africa. Zweiter Abschnitt: Lage, Gränzen u. natürliche beschaffenheit des Landes. Dritter Abschnitt: Produkte des Landes, als Mineralien, Gewächse u. Thiere.* The original manuscript is in the Herrnhut Archive in Hallbeck's handwriting. In the Archive of the Moravian Church South Africa in Cape Town (MASA) an exact copy in somebody else's handwriting is found. Anshelm in his *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck* only referred to this document, but did not engage with it substantially. Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 51.

¹²⁸¹ Anshelm, at the beginning of the twentieth century, also noted that only the first notebook could be found in the Herrnhut Archive. One can only guess as to where a second notebook would be. The following possibilities can be considered:

- Still somewhere in the (huge) Moravian Archive in Herrnhut, Germany.

Church South Africa (MASA) a copy of the first notebook is retained, but not in Hallbeck's handwriting. It is accompanied by a small letter written by JC Breutel from Berthelsdorf (Germany) in 1841. This letter was written after Hallbeck's death and addressed to br Kölbing. Kölbing was sent to Genadendal in 1842 and was – just as Hallbeck – an erudite theologian. Breutel had sent the copy to Kölbing in South Africa, asking him if he could continue where Hallbeck had stopped. It seems therefore that Breutel was not aware of the whereabouts of the second notebook either. Apparently Breutel realised the importance of this document. Furthermore it seems as if Kölbing did not complete what Hallbeck had started, the reason being unknown.

Although incomplete, this 48-page notebook is of great value. It testifies to Hallbeck's knowledge of South African colonial history. The notebook follows the traditional trajectories that constituted the approach of the popular travel literature (like Kolbe,¹²⁸² Sparrman,¹²⁸³ Thunberg,¹²⁸⁴ Le Vaillant,¹²⁸⁵ Barrow,¹²⁸⁶ Lady Ann Barnard,¹²⁸⁷ Latrobe¹²⁸⁸ and the like.¹²⁸⁹

The country and its inhabitants;

Settlement and gradual expansion of the Europeans in South Africa;

Location, borders and natural constitution of the country;

Produce of the land, e.g. minerals, plants and animals.

A careful reading of the notebook indicates that Hallbeck was also acquainted with Rev Meent Borchers' exposition of the history of the Cape of Good Hope, published in the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*, of which Borchers was the editor. Hallbeck also took notice of John Philip's history of the Cape Colony as depicted in the two volumes of his *Researches*. Both

- Lost on the bottom of the North Sea, since the ship carrying Hallbeck's possessions on the way back to South Africa sunk in a storm during the week of Christmas 1836.

- Still somewhere in the Archives of Genadendal or of the Moravian Church South Africa, Cape Town (MASA).

¹²⁸² Peter Kolbe, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (Nuremberg, 1719).

¹²⁸³ Anders (Andrew) Sparrman, *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic polar circle, and round the world: but chiefly into the country of the Hottentots and Caffres, from the year 1772, to 1776* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster Row, 1786).

¹²⁸⁴ Carl Peter Thunberg, *Voyages de C.P. Thunberg au Japon, par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, les Isles de la Sonde, etc.* (Paris: Benoit Dandré etc., 1796).

¹²⁸⁵ François Le Vaillant, *Voyage de M. Le Vaillant dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique par Le Cap de Bonne Espérance, dans les années 1783, 84 & 85* (Paris: Leroy, 1790. 2 volumes).

François Le Vaillant, *Second voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique, par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, dans les années 1783, 84 et 85.* (Paris: H.J. Jansen et Comp, 1795. 3 volumes).

¹²⁸⁶ John Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa I & II.* 2nd ed. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1806).

¹²⁸⁷ Anne Lindsay Barnard, *South Africa a century ago; letters written from the Cape of Good Hope (1791-1801)* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1910).

¹²⁸⁸ C.I. Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816. With some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope.* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1818).

¹²⁸⁹ A selection of these books were among the volumes of the Genadendal library in Hallbeck's days: Register of the Genadendal Library (GA).

sources were in the Genadendal library.¹²⁹⁰ In outlining Hallbeck's 1836 history of the Cape of Good Hope, cognizance should be taken of his contemporaries Philip and Borchers. The South African historiography as a matter of fact inaugurated with the work of these three differentiated theologians:

- a minister of the recognized Dutch Reformed Church (Borchers);
- the superintendent of the London Missionary Society and influential Presbyterian minister (Philip);
- and Hallbeck, superintendent of the Moravian Mission in South Africa and of Swedish descent.

Three differentiated perspectives and comprehensions of South Africa's history announced themselves. It is therefore of paramount importance, in tracing Hallbeck's historiography, to compare his perspective with those of his counterparts.

Hallbeck's notebook entails three chapters. In the following paragraphs each of the chapters is treated.

Chapter 1: On the Colony's History

Hallbeck described the history of the colony in terms of the four main population groups sharing the country: the Khoikhoi, San, Blacks and the Europeans who had settled permanently since 1652. He asked himself the question: how did things develop to be as it was in his days, especially with regard to the (often strained) interrelations between the different races. Clarification should be sought in the colony's history.

After "Bartholomäus Diaz" had discovered the southernmost tip of Africa in 1493, there were relatively few interactions between the Portuguese and the Khoikhoi, or the Papagentes as the Portuguese called them. Table Bay – by then called Saldanha Bay – was not visited frequently by the Portuguese ships. For safety reasons they avoided the Cape of Storms. Furthermore, they regarded the inhabitants of that region, the Khoikhoi, to be cannibals and feared their witchcraft.¹²⁹¹ From the beginning of the 17th century Dutch and English ships visited Table Bay more frequently. In this period, Hallbeck remarked, an English ship took two Khoikhoi along to England. One died there, the other named Koree,¹²⁹² was brought back to his fatherland.

¹²⁹⁰ Register of the Genadendal Library (GA).

¹²⁹¹ Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836): "Von dieser Zeit an schienen die Portugiesen wenig Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen gehabt zu haben, theils weil sie dieselben für Menschenfresser ansahen u. eine abergläubische Furcht für ihre Zauberkünste hatten, theils weil es ihre Regel war beim paßiren des stürmischen Vorgebirges weit vom Land zu stören"

¹²⁹² Theal spells his name in a more English way as "Cory". Cf. G.M. Theal, *The Beginning of South African History* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902), 338.

According to Hallbeck he henceforth formed a link in the bartering between the Khoikhoi and the English. In 1620 an English fleet declared the Cape the official property of King James I. However, neither England nor the Netherlands were prepared to invest in a permanent outpost and settlement. In those years Khoikhoi sometimes accompanied the ships to (east) India, e.g. Khamsemoka, nicknamed Harry. The English took him along to Bantam. Another, Nomoa, also called Damon, went with the Dutch to Batavia, where he stayed for five years.

In 1648 the Dutch ship *Haarlem* was shipwrecked in Table Bay. This put the crew in a position to interact with the Khoikhoi for a longer period and to acquaint them with the surrounding land. On their return to Holland in 1649, many prejudices against the Khoikhoi could be cleared away, and they motivated the DEIC to establish a refreshment post in Table Bay.¹²⁹³ In 1650 "Jan van Riebeeck", a ship's doctor, stayed in Table Bay as well for some time, on his journey back from India. Beginning of April 1652 he returned, sent by the DEIC as commander in charge of three Dutch ships. It was important for them to maintain good relations with the Khoikhoi or *Ottentos*, as they were called in Van Riebeeck's Diary. Nevertheless, the settlement was exposed to cattle lifting and theft. Even the mentioned Harry, who acted as interpreter, could not always be trusted. Since then, because of the favourable geographical position as well as the fertile soil, more and more Europeans came to settle at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1654 a number of young women from an orphanage in Holland were sent to marry men at the Cape of Good Hope.

Gradually the Europeans started to claim land farther away from the castle – land the original inhabitants regarded as theirs. Hallbeck wrote: *soon the land at the foot of Table Mountain became too scarce for the newcomers, and they started to expand and take for themselves land the original inhabitants of course regarded as their own.*¹²⁹⁴

In the year 1659 a Khoikhoi tribe, the Ghoninghaiquas, led by Nomoa or Damon, confronted the settlers violently. The above mentioned Harry however mediated peace in the year 1660 – with the agreement that the settlers were allowed to occupy land until 3 Dutch miles from the castle.

¹²⁹³ Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836): "Im Jahr 1648 hatte ein Holländisches Schiff Haarlem das Unglück in der Tafelbay zu stranden, wodurch die Mannschaft genöthigt wurde sich längere Zeit unter den Hottentotten aufzuhalten. Diese hatten eine schöne Gelegenheit, so wohl das Volk als das Land näher kennen zu lernen, u. zwei der Schiffbrüchigen übergaben nach ihrer Rückkehr nach Holland im J.1649 ein Memorial an die Directoren der Ostindischen Gesellschaft, worin sie den Vorurtheilen, welche man bis jetzt gegen die Hottentotten gehegt hatte, zum Theil widersprachen, u. das Land so vortheilhaft beschrieben, daß man nicht ungeneigt war, eine Niederlaßung zu versuchen."

¹²⁹⁴ "sondern bald wurde den Neu kömmlingen das Land am Fuße des Tafelberges zu enge, u. sie fingen an sich weiter auszubreiten, u. das Land, welches die Urbewohner natürlich als das ihrige ansahen, sich zuzueignen." Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

In 1661 inland expeditions were undertaken, paving the way for colonists to occupy Saldanha-Bay by 1670, Hottentots-Holland and Mossel-Bay. Hallbeck wrote: *until now the investigations of the new settlers were confined to the closer neighbourhood, but after the peace, a fact finding journey was undertaken in 1661 into the interior of the country, and soon the colonists followed in the tracks of the expedition, leading towards the fact that around the year 1670 Saldanha Bay and Hottentots-Holland and Mossel Bay were in possession of the Europeans, and in the following decade also Drakenstein and Stellenbosch were established.*¹²⁹⁵

In 1685 there was an influx of French families, caused by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This led to the establishment of the Fransche-hoek. By the end of the 17th century the colonists had already started to move beyond the mountain range stretching from south to north. At the beginning of the 18th century these Hottentots-Holland Mountains could no longer be regarded as the border between the colony and the original nations.¹²⁹⁶ The consequence was that the original inhabitants had to retreat and move their kraals more and more inland. With the retreating Khoikhoi, the DEIC authority at the Cape established inland posts closer to them in order to barter. That is how the cattle posts came into being at Saldanha-Bay, Hottentots-Holland, Groenekloof, Zoetemelksvalley, Rietvalley etc. At these posts the use of the word 'Baas' became a habit, since that was how the one in charge of a cattle post was called. Later the Khoikhoi started to use this word to address all farmers.¹²⁹⁷

The DEIC government also undertook expeditions to Khoikhoi tribes further away, like the Gonoemaas, Grigriquas and Namaquas, in order to barter cattle. The Stellenbosch Landdrost Johannes Kupt wrote a diary in 1705, describing such an expedition. According to Hallbeck this is an interesting document, shedding light on the state of the land by then as well as that of the original inhabitants. Hallbeck quotes from this diary.¹²⁹⁸ Kupt complains that since the trade has

¹²⁹⁵ "bis jetzt hatten sich die Untersuchungen der neuen Ansiedler auf die nächsten Umgebungen ihrer kleinen Niederlaßung beschränkt, aber nach dem Frieden wurde im J 1661 zwei Untersuchungs Reisen in das Innere des Landes vorgenommen, u. bald folgten Colonisten auf die Spur der Kundschafter, so daß um Jahr 1670 Saldanha bay u. Hottentots-Holland u. Mossel Bay im besitz der Europäer waren, u. in dem darauf folgenden Jahrzehend auch Drakenstein u. Stellenbosch angelegt wurden." Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

¹²⁹⁶ "Auf diese Weise hatten sich die Colonisten vor dem Ende des 17ten Jahrhunderts nicht nur bis zu der vom Süden nach Norden laufenden bergkette ausgebreitet, sondern hatten auch angefangen, ihre Heerden jenseits des Gebirges zu weiden, u. die Urbewohner blieben entweder in ihren sogenannten kraalen, bis sie von allen Seiten beengt und gleichsam erdrückt wurden, oder zogen sich weiter ins Land hinein zurück" Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

¹²⁹⁷ "So entstanden die Posten u. Vieh-Plätze der Ost. Indischen Gesellschaft in Saldanha bay, Hottentots-Holland, Groenekloof, Zoetemelksvalley, Rietvalley, u.a. deren Verwalter unter dem Namen "Baas" in der Geschichte der Colonie erwähnt worden, ein Titel, welcher jedem bauer von den Hottentotten bis heute noch beigelegt wird." Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

¹²⁹⁸ "Außerdem wurden von Regierungs-beamten Handels Reisen im Auftrag der Ostindischen Gesellschaft zu den weiter wohnenden Hottentotten Stämmen von Zeit zu Zeit vorgenommen, um das benötigte Vieh einzutauschen.

been given free, the abhorrent conduct of wandering vagrants has done much harm. The Dutch had plundered the Khoikhoi kraals, which forced them to become hunters, to live like the San, and to start stealing cattle. Hallbeck then affirms that Kupt's complaint is not unsubstantiated. Since the earliest years of the colony excursions of colonists moved into the inlands, often committing atrocities. Already in the year 1684 there was a company travelling so far as to reach black tribes. It led to skirmishes, with many tribesmen killed by the firearms that proved to be able to penetrate their shields.

In 1702 an expedition, lasting seven months, came into contact with black people. Again atrocities were committed, but this time the governor ordered a judicial enquiry. Those interrogated acknowledged that many people were killed, yet the guilty were never punished. For, there were so many, that if they would have been punished half the colony would have been ruined. Furthermore the government lacked the means to apprehend them, because as soon as the message that the first offender was taken into custody would have reached the others, the rest would flee into the mountains, making the inlands even more unsafe...

More expeditions opened the land, and more and more colonists found suitable places to settle down. This led to the establishment of Swellendam in 1740, and even further expansion took place towards the area of Plettenbergs-Bay. In the regions of the Sneeuwbergen (Snow Mountains) the colonists came into regular contact with the black tribes and the San. The colonists were very resentful of, in particular, the San. The government assisted the colonists by providing commandos to punish the San. During these expeditions the San men were killed and the women and children were distributed among those colonists who participated in the commando.

All in all Hallbeck evaluated the rule of the Dutch East India Company negatively. According to him, the DEIC multiplied, undisturbed, their assets for almost one and a half centuries, at the expense of the original inhabitants in South Africa.¹²⁹⁹

Eine solche Reise unternahm zum beispiel der Landdrost von Stellenbosch Johannes Kupt in nördlicher Richtung zu den Gonnemaas Grigiquas u. Namaquas im Jahre 1705, u. sein noch vorhandenes Tagebuch ist ein interessantes document, das über den damaligen Zustand des Landes u. der Ur-bewohner viel Licht verbreitet. "Während einer mühsamen u. beschwerlichen Reise von 12 Tagen, heißt es unter andern, traf ich nur zwei Kraale an, welche zu meinem Schmerz nur wenig Vieh besaßen. Seitdem der Handel freigegeben worden, ist das Land durch das schlechte betragen der herumziehenden Landstreicher zu Grunde gerichtet. die Hottentotten Kraale werden von den Holländer geplündert, wodurch sie genöthigt werden, von andern zu rauben, u. diese bestahlen wieder ihre Nachbarn." Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

¹²⁹⁹ "So hatte die Holländische Ostindische Gesellschaft beinahe anderthalb Jahrhundert hindurch in ungestörter Ruhe von Außen auf Kosten der Urbewohner ihre besitzungen in Süd Africa erweitert" Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

The upheavals at the end of the 18th century in Europe also impacted on Holland's colonies.¹³⁰⁰ In 1795 the Cape came under British dominion, only to be given back to the Batavian Republic in 1803. The Batavian rule lasted only a few years. With the inception of the second British rule and the colony now the possession of the King of Great Britain (1814), the initial intention of the new government was not to further expand the borders of the colony. Measures had to be taken to institute justifiable application of law and order in the distant parts of the colony, where the law had become nothing more than but a 'dead letter.' Hallbeck wrote: *It was not the plan of the new government of the country to expand the borders of the colony even further. How advantageous an outstretched land may be for cattle breeding, especially in the Cape climate, all the more ruinous the scattering of the inhabitants associated with it has become as for their education, morality and religiosity. The time has arrived now and not a moment later, to reflect on ways and means to repair this evil long since felt. Above all, measures should be taken to reinstate law and order in the remote areas of the country, where the law has become but a dead letter.*¹³⁰¹

This process had already started in the years of the Batavian Republic with its *Drosteyen* or Districts, and the British proceeded with it. This led to the appointment and positioning of magistrates in towns like Tulbagh, Uitenhage, George, Caledon, Grahamstadt, Cradock, Clan-William, Bathurst, Worcester, Beaufort and Somerset. Churches and schools were also built in these towns. The government realized that the unbridled expansion of the colonists might be advantageous for cattle breeding, having more pastures, but that their isolation was detrimental to the colonists, who lost more and more their morality and religion.

This did not mean, however, that the British government and the mission were always like-minded. Especially with regard to the mission work among the blacks on the eastern border of the colony, Hallbeck was confronted more than once with diverging objectives between mission and government. At the one hand the mission was grateful for the protection granted by the

¹³⁰⁰ "So hatte die Holländische Ostindische Gesellschaft beinahe anderthalb Jahrhundert hindurch in ungestörter Ruhe von Außen auf Kosten der Urbewohner ihre besitzungen in Süd Africa erweitert als gegen Ende des 18th Jahrhunderts die Umwälzung, welche das Vaterland betraf, sich auch auf deßen Colonien ausdehnte. Der Geist der Empörung der Europa zerrüttet hatte, war eben im begriff in der Kapischen Colonie auszubrechen, als im J. 1795 eine Englische Flotte vor der Kapstadt erschien, u. das Land von den Engländern in besitz genommen wurde. – Zuzolge dem Frieden von Amiens wurde zwar die Colonie im J. 1803 der Batavischen Republik wieder eingeräumt, fiel aber 3 Jahre darauf abermals in die Hände der Engländer u. wurde im Jahre 1814 an den König von Groß brittanien förmlich abgetreten." Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

¹³⁰¹ "Es war nicht dem Plan der neuen Landes Obrigkeit die Gränzen der Colonie weiter auszudehnen. So vortheilhaft ein ausgestrecktes Land der betreibung der Viehzucht, zumal in dem Kapischen Clima, seyn mag, so verderblich ist die damit verbundene Zerstreung der Einwohner für bildung, Sittlichkeit u Religiosität; u. es war die höchste Zeit auf Mittel bedacht zu seyn, diesen lang gefühlten Uebel zu steuern. Vor allen dingen mußten Maasregeln getroffen werden, um dem Gesetz, welches in den entfernten Gegenden des Landes ein todter buchstabe geworden war, Gehör zu verschaffen, u. eine beßere Gerechtigkeits-Pflege einzuführen." Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

colonial government, at the other hand the mission could not approve of everything that was happening. After the 6th border war in 1834-35 the colony was expanded until the Kei River. In view of the difficulties and insecurities connected to running a mission station in pagan territory, Hallbeck was grateful for this expansion. To operate under a Christian government brought much stability. He regarded this development of such importance that he added a paragraph to his essay on the Moravian mission work he had written for the centenary celebrations in 1836: *Since because of this war the Cape Colony is expanded now to the Witkay, it came to be that Silo and the surrounding land also belongs to the territory of the colony, and since May 1835 under direct protection and governance of the English Government. Through this several difficulties, impeding the mission work under the Thembu, have been removed, and we sincerely hope that this unexpected change would serve the expansion of the kingdom of God, and that the messengers of peace will better be able to execute their office unhindered and protected.*¹³⁰² During this period however robberies and murders committed by the San and blacks continued, and the colonists were quick to retaliate.¹³⁰³

With the arrival of about four thousand colonists from England, land was given to them in the Zuurveld or Albany, as it was then renamed. Their presence had also an influence on the interactions between the colony and the black nations. Until then trade with the black tribes was strictly forbidden by both the Dutch and British authorities. This was an (ill functioning) law of the government in Cape Town trying to prevent new animosities between the colonists and indigenous tribes to flare up. Since the advent of the British settlers however, intensive trade developed between the colony and the black nations, especially at the hand of merchants from the ranks of the new British settlers. Because of the harsh climatic conditions, many of these settlers failed to produce any crops, and were forced to the trade with the blacks to avoid starvation. To manage things properly, the government then organized markets in the border areas near the military posts, where trade could be conducted in a controlled environment.

¹³⁰² “Daar in gevolg van dezen oorlog de Kaapsche volkplanting tot aan de Witkay uitgestrekt werd, zoo kwam daardoor ook Silo met het omliggende land tot het gebied der Colonie, en staat zedert May 1835 onder de onmiddellbare bescherming en bestiering der Engelsche Regering, daardoor zyn onderscheidene zwarigheden, die het zendingwerk onder de Tambukkis verhinderden uit den weg geruimd, en gaarne koesteren wy de hoop, dat deze onverwagte verandering tot de uitbreiding van het ryk Gods dienen zal, en dat de boden des vredes meer ongestoord en beveiligd, hun gewigtig ampt zullen waarnemen kunnen.” Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (MASA).

¹³⁰³ “So sehr man für diese u. andere damit verbundenen Gegenstände der Ruhe bedurfte, so war es nicht immer möglich dieselbe zu erhalten. die buschmänner u. kaffern fuhren fort zu rauben u. zu morden, wo sie nur konnten, u. die Colonisten spurten keine Mühe sich zu rächen.” Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

Hallbeck concluded his historical overview of the Cape Colony by pointing to some actual developments in the present:

- There were widespread exterminations of Bantu nations by the Zulus under Chaka. This caused some Bantu nations to move in the direction of the colony.
- It is a fact that missionaries, merchants and naturalists have already visited and given descriptions of the country from the colony northwards to Port Natal and Delagoa Bay.
- More and more colonists are deciding to leave the colony venturing into the Bantu territories towards the north and northeast, to a large extent to escape the government's intended plans to liberate the slaves.¹³⁰⁴

All in all, according to Hallbeck the Cape Colony has proven to be an important location, not only because of the fact that it is halfway between Europe and India, but also because it has become a door to the hidden inner parts of Africa.

Before scrutinizing Hallbeck's interpretation of the history of the Cape of Good Hope, we continue with an exposition of the following two chapters of Hallbeck's notebook.

Chapter 2: Location, Borders and natural Constitution of the Country

Two more chapters followed, one on the geographical constitution of the country, and the next on its products, focusing on minerals and fauna and flora. Although these two chapters reflect the (limited) knowledge of those days, they remain interesting to read.

Hallbeck carefully indicated the borderlines of the colony. Whereas the southern and western borders were easy to describe (being the Indian and Atlantic Oceans), he found the northern and north-eastern borders rather complicated. He noted that more and more people are moving across this border, in order to escape the ordinance of the government with regard to the liberation of the slaves. For that reason the northern border no longer forms the division between the Europeans and the neighbouring nations.

Hallbeck then offers an elaborate description of the mountain ranges in the Cape Colony, its highest peaks, strange geological formations, like the stalactite caves of Congo, etc. He also

¹³⁰⁴ "doch haben die von Viehzucht sich nährenden Colonisten diese von der Regierung vorgeschriebene nördliche u. nordöstliche Gränze, aller Verbote ungeachtet u. mit Verzichtleistung des obrigkeitlichen Schutzes u. aller bildungs-Anstalten eines civilisirten Landes, schon lange überschritten u. sind bis jenseits des Orange Flußes u. bis in das Gebiet der Tambukkis vorgedrungen, wozu sich sehr viele in den neuesten Zeiten veranlaßt gefühlt, in der Hoffnung dadurch den Verfügungen der Regierung zur Freylassung der Slaven zu entgehen." Hallbeck, *Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa* (1836).

describes the rivers in the colony, the general scarcity of water and the absence of fresh water lakes. Fresh water fish is therefore in short supply. Fish from the ocean however are available in abundance. A whale industry has been started although it seems that the whales avoid the bays where they are harassed.

The Cape has one of the healthiest climates in the world. Hallbeck includes a list of average temperatures that have been measured over many years in Cape Town and other towns. He also notes the substantial difference in humidity between the coastal and inner regions. This causes the woodwork of an ox wagon to expand so much that iron parts can break.

As for the general health of the Colony Hallbeck notes a high incidence of liver diseases (often leading to dropsy). He also mentions leprosy as an incurable disease, often hitting the lower class of society harder, and also affecting more men than women. However – contrary to other parts of the world and perhaps because of the climate – there is no proof that leprosy is contagious in South Africa. Often married couples live together for 20 years or more, without infecting one another. Hallbeck concludes his remarks on the state of health in the colony by mentioning that the average life expectancy is not very high. This is according to him due to a shortage of doctors, inappropriate housing, as well as an unhealthy diet (both among the higher and lower classes).

Chapter 3: Products of the land, Minerals, Flora and Fauna

What Hallbeck writes about the mineral assets of the country reflects the knowledge of his days. It was yet three decades before the discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa. Hallbeck notes that although searches had been conducted for precious metals from the earliest times in the country, no substantial deposits have thus far been discovered. However, it sounds prophetic when he writes: *Often there were hopes that gold and silver will be found, but until now it was a futile hope. If this would really be the case, these treasures are lying so deep in the interior of the earth, that they are – to say the least – unreachable for the present generation.*

As poor as the southern part of Africa is with regard to minerals, so much the richer it is blessed with flora. There are too many species to describe and he therefore restricts himself to plants that have proven to be useful to humans. He gives an elaborate description of wood species and the different purposes they are used for. Hallbeck concludes his dendrological section with a serious warning. According to him there are indications that the country had many more trees in the past, and that there is a real danger that the colony will soon lose its forests if no measures

are taken. He then mentions some reasons that led according to him to the drastic reduction of wood quantities:

- The tradition among the original inhabitants to burn the veld.
- The fact that much land belongs to the government, who sells licences for people to cut wood. This system however causes that no one bothers to plant new trees.
- The way the licences work. It does not allow people to cut a certain number of trees, but to take a certain number of wagonloads of wood out of the forest. The consequence is that people cut too many trees, only taking the best parts of the trees along. And when a tree falls in a less accessible place like a gorge, it is just left there.
- Although some – especially in the western parts of the colony – have started to plant poplar, pine and oak plantations, it is not enough to turn the tide. Hallbeck notes that the colony will become more and more dependent on imported wood.

Hallbeck was one of the first to realise that irreparable damage was being inflicted on the indigenous forests of the colony.¹³⁰⁵ He was a tree enthusiast and he especially admired the pristine forests of the Knysna and Tsitsikamma area. The unbridled cutting of trees worried him. In the journal of his visit to the eastern Cape in 1837 Hallbeck was complaining about the on-going destruction of the forests in the Knysna area. He wrote after meeting a young farmer that was woodcutting. *I'm in the forest to cut trees, was his answer. Since I knew how much the few woods of the colony were being destroyed, I asked him, if he also was one of those destroyers who just like locusts were destroying everything with stem and branch until the whole country is laying bare, or whether he was conscious of the necessity to plant new trees again. He was very surprised, since such a thought had never entered his mind. I added, that would I be the governor, I would not give permission to cut down a wood, not before a large quantity of trees were planted first, yes, that no one would be allowed to marry, unless they have planted a number of trees.*¹³⁰⁶

As noted above, Hallbeck never completed his *Mission der Evangelischen Brüder In Süd-Africa*. It ends very abruptly while describing the different plants of the colony and its usefulness to humans. Probably in a second notebook he also explicated the very useful buchu-plant, growing

¹³⁰⁵ For both the Genadendal and Enon area Hallbeck intervened with the government to legislate that the people be allowed to cut trees for personal use (like building a house), but not for commercial use. Cf. Letter Hallbeck to Schonberg, landdrost of Swellendam, Febr 25th 1820, and: Letter Hallbeck to Schmitt, Jan 18th 1822 (GA): “Maar aangaande de Bossche, zoo kunnen wy onmogelyk den raad geven, dat dezelve zouden daartoe gebruikt worden, om Hout tot verkoop aan vremde Menschen daarin te kappen, terwyl zulks in de daad geen voordeel, maar tot grooten schaden voor de Inwoonders van Enon zyn zoude”. Cf. also letter Jan 19th 1822, in: Hallbeck Official Correspondance 1820-1823 (GA).

¹³⁰⁶ Hallbeck, *Reise von Gnadenthal nach Enon u. Silo, u. zurück im J. 1837* (HA).

in the Genadendal mountains, and how the inhabitants were collecting its leaves and exporting them across the world as a treatment against cholera.

Perhaps Hallbeck also described the fauna of South Africa in the second notebook. As a matter of fact, during his many journeys he had encountered numerous animals, large and small. His journals and reports often refer to the rich variety of fauna in South Africa. With regard to the Uitenhage area in the eastern Cape for example, where the mission station Enon was located, Hallbeck noticed as the years went on how the game of those regions was decimated. Whereas in the early 1820's he would run across huge herds of elephants, in the late 1830's this had become a rare sighting. In one of his journals Hallbeck referred to the stories of farmers in the border area, who as hunting parties managed to shoot herds of elephants – 21 in two and a half hour, and at another event 26 in two hours. These stories are written down without explicit criticism, nor appraisal, but one can guess that the latter was the case.¹³⁰⁷ Whereas Hallbeck realised the importance of protecting the indigenous forests, the realisation of the necessity to protect the fauna as well, still had to mature.

The extermination of the fauna in the western Cape had of course started earlier. In 1826 it was mentioned by the Elim missionaries that the bontebok in their region was close to extinction, and that the government had put a fine of 500 rixdollars on everyone hunting bontebok.¹³⁰⁸ In the Genadendal area wild animals had largely disappeared much earlier. Of hippo's roaming the Sonderend River – as was the case during Georg Schmidt's time – nothing was left in the Hallbeck era. Once in 1829 a leopard entered the station at night and killed 21 goats. Hallbeck wrote about it to his children in Europe, adding: *This was all the more unexpected, because for many years little or no wild animals had been spotted in our neighbourhood.*¹³⁰⁹

Hallbeck's interpretation of the history of the Cape of Good Hope

Hallbeck's historiography of the Cape Colony is significant for the following reasons. His work was part of the first generation that offered a description of the history of the colony, based upon primary sources. His vast experience of everyday life in the Cape Colony and all the tensions being part and parcel of it, enabled him to understand and interpret the primary sources accurately. Furthermore his middle-position as a missionary safeguarded him against one-sidedness in utilising the sources. In his description he paid attention to the three main

¹³⁰⁷ *Nachrichten* (1828), 780-781.

¹³⁰⁸ *Nachrichten* (1829), 354; Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 376.

¹³⁰⁹ "Dieses war uns um so unerwarteter, da wir seit vielen Jahren wenig oder nichts von wilden Thieren in der Nachbarschaft bemerkt haben." Letter Hallbeck to his children, May 13th 1829 (HA).

indigenous groups, the Khoikhoi, the San and the Bantu nations, and their interactions with the European colonists. On the one hand the colony was governed by way of laws and institutions, on the other hand it expanded so far into the interior that the DEIC government was not able to maintain law and order. Settlers venturing into the interior took law in their own hands and upheld an order of their own, based upon the imbalance of power due to their superior firearms, compared to the weaponry of the indigenous peoples. With the inception of Batavian and British rule, serious efforts were undertaken to establish law and order to the interior regions, although this was easier said than done.

Illuminating in Hallbeck's exposition is that he tried to explain how the current situation of his days was rooted in history. What is, for example, the origin of the hostile relations and tensions between the European colonists and the Black nations? Why are the wars on the border of the colony flaring up time and again? Hallbeck identified that one of the main reasons for these hostilities was the way the colony was governed in the past. For almost one and a half centuries a commercial company was ruling the colony. This is, according to Hallbeck, what caused innumerable damage in the relations between Europeans and Africans. As a commercial company the DEIC was mainly focused on its own interests. It was not a government in the normal sense of the word. How could the Dutch allow the DEIC to take charge of a land many times bigger than their own for so many years? It was only at the beginning of the 19th century that things started to change to the better. The Batavian administration from 1803-1806 had – contrary to the DEIC – much more the intention to serve and uplift the country. This trend was continued with the British rule thereafter.

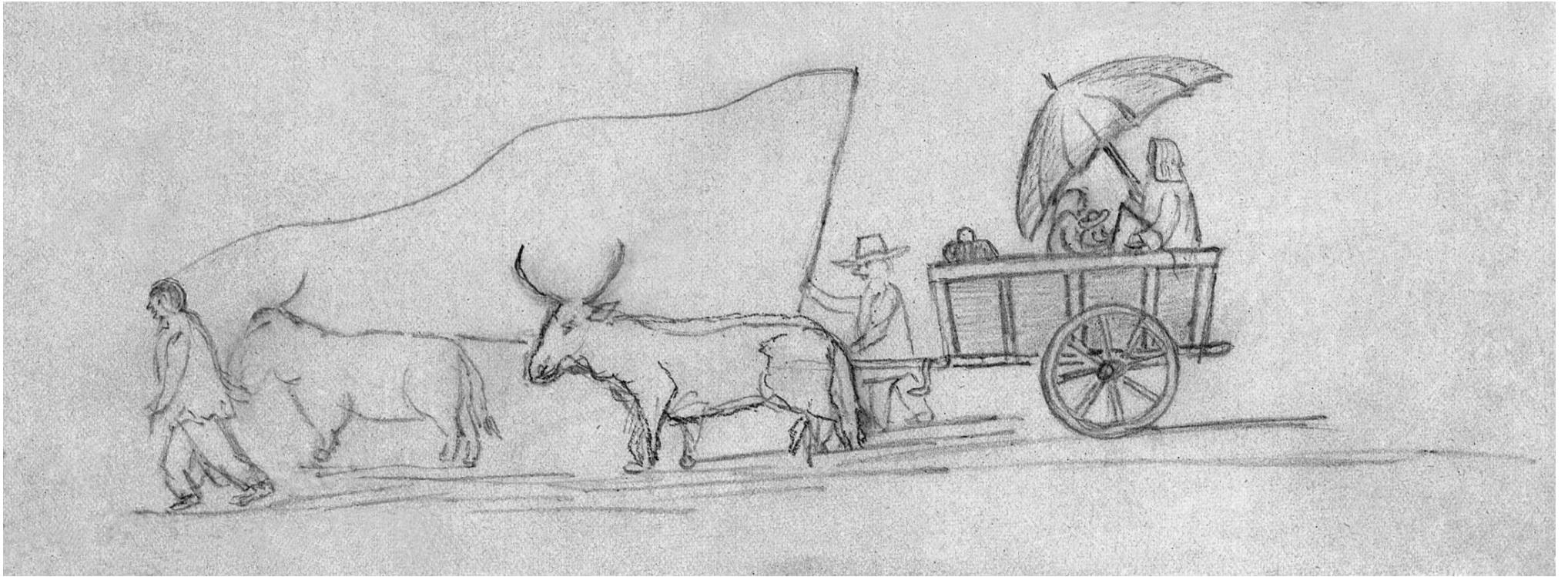
One of the main problems during the DEIC rule was that the governing authority in Cape Town – with its headquarters in the castle – was too inadequate to execute proper control over the colony. Hallbeck uses the comparison of an ox wagon with its oxen. The first oxen in the front line are too far away from the coachman, his whip cannot reach them.¹³¹⁰ Tacitly the colony was expanding more and more. This did not happen in a peaceful way when dealing with the original inhabitants. Hallbeck mentioned a few examples with regard to the first interactions between the colonists and the black nations to the east. Numbers of blacks were shot down. One can think especially of the expeditions of colonial barterers to the Khoikhoi and black tribes undertaken in

¹³¹⁰ Hallbeck, *Die Hottentotten und die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Afrika im Jahre 1823* (HA), Hallbeck, *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present state of the Mission of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope*. Written for His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry. Genadendal 14th Nov. 1823 (MASA).



Travelling by ox wagon in South Africa.¹

¹ HA.



Travelling by ox wagon in South Africa.²

² HA.

the years 1684, 1702 and 1705. For many of those from these nations, their first encounters with white skinned people were of a violent nature. This shaped their outlook on the colony.

As noted above, Hallbeck can be regarded as one of the first historiographers of the South African history, together with people like Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society and Rev Meent Borchers of the Dutch Reformed Church. In the next section a comparison will be made between these historiographers. How did Hallbeck position himself within the on-going debates about the past and present of the Cape Colony?

Borchers and Philip

Hallbeck's contemporary, Rev Meent Borchers,¹³¹¹ minister of the Reformed Church of Stellenbosch, also presented the history of the colony. He received permission from the colonial authorities to search the old archives. Borchers wrote: *The Colonial Government was so kind as to grant the honourable access to the old Archives of this land ... his honourable is presently busy writing a general history of this Colony.*¹³¹² Borchers emphasized the need for a historic account that was not constructed from incidental rumours or partial accounts of passing-by travellers, but from the original archives of the country.¹³¹³ This made him – together with Hallbeck – one of the first historians of the country.

Borchers' visits to the Archive in Cape Town led to the publication in 1827-1828 of a series of articles in the journal *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*. Borchers was one of its founders, being the first Dutch periodical locally edited and printed after the establishment of press freedom at the Cape. Hallbeck was also a subscriber to this periodical.

Borchers entitled his articles: *Algemeene Geschiedenis der Europeesche Volkplanting aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop (General History of the European Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope)*.¹³¹⁴ In these articles a historic synthesis is lacking. His articles are little more than elaborate quotations from old documents (like the Diary of Jan van Riebeeck), with some comments here

¹³¹¹ Cf. the dissertation by SBI Veltkamp, "Meent Borchers. Predikant in overgangstijd (Jemgum 1762 – Stellenbosch 1832)" (1977).

¹³¹² "Het Koloniaal Gouvernement heeft de goedheid gehad, zyn Eerwaarde toegang te verleen tot de oude Archiven dezes Lands ... zyn Eerwaarde is thans bezig aan het schryven van eene Algemeene Geschiedenis dezer Volkplanting." *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* (1827), IV, 130 (Archive of the University of South Africa).

¹³¹³ Veltkamp, "Meent Borchers. Predikant in Overgangstijd", 233; from Borchers, "Beschryving" in *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* (1826), III, 211.

¹³¹⁴ *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* (1827), IV, 130-136; 176-181; (1828), V, 250-263; 347-354 (Archive of the University of South Africa).

and there. This is contrary to the way in which Hallbeck in his account tried to evaluate events of the past and their impact on the present. Notwithstanding, when reading these articles, it becomes evident that Borchers looked to the period of the DEIC rule with different eyes. Contrary to Hallbeck, Borchers assessed this period in an exclusively positive way. Clearly the existence of diverging views on the same history was also a reality at that time.

Apart from the above mentioned articles, Borchers also wrote a poem entitled *Gedicht over de Volkplanting aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop (Poem on the Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope)*. It was published shortly after his death in 1832 in the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift*.¹³¹⁵ In this poem one finds an evaluation on the history of the colony. Borchers stresses the totally depraved state of the original inhabitants of the Cape, and the positive influence the settlement of the Europeans had on this remote corner of the world. Huigen – while analysing this poem – asserts that Borchers’ pejorative description of the Khoikhoi is largely a reaction to what John Philip had written. In his *Researches in South Africa* of 1828 Philip effectively portrayed the Khoikhoi as noble barbarians.¹³¹⁶ Huigen argues that Borchers was the one who had published an anonymous and very critical review of Philip’s book in the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* in 1830.¹³¹⁷ It can thus be stated that Philip and Borchers represented the two extreme positions that were taken by the time, with regard to how the Khoikhoi on the one hand and the colonists on the other and their common history were viewed. Borchers sided with the colonists, Philip with the Khoikhoi and the San.

These preoccupations caused historical inaccuracies, like Philip asserting that the San were originally no hunters and gatherers, but were forced to become such because of the behaviour of the colonists, or that the semi-nomadic lifestyle was something alien to the Khoikhoi before the colonists came.¹³¹⁸ Furthermore the volumes of Philip are extremely one-sided is the depiction of his contemporaries: “The landdrosts, and clerks, and farmers, have all the same views respecting the Hottentots and other Aborigines; they consider them as the absolute property of the colonists, and as much made for their use as their cattle and sheep ...”¹³¹⁹ Philip’s inaccuracies landed him in court, as we have already seen in an earlier chapter of this study. The Landdrost of

¹³¹⁵ *Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift* (1832), IX (Archive University of South Africa).

¹³¹⁶ Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, Vol. 1, 5.

¹³¹⁷ “De prehistorie van de Kaap volgens dominee Borchers”, chapter 3 in Siegfried Huigen, *De weg naar Monomotapa: Nederlandstalige representaties van geografische, historische en sociale werkelijkheden in Zuid-Afrika* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

¹³¹⁸ Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, Vol. 1, 55, 61.

¹³¹⁹ Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, Vol. 2, xv.

Somerset, Mackay, in person sued Philip for defamation of his name before the Supreme Court in Cape Town. Philip lost the case and had to pay a fine of 900 Pounds.¹³²⁰

Du Plessis, in evaluating Philip's legacy for South Africa, writes: "It is difficult to describe adequately the conflicting feelings which were aroused by the perusal of this work. In England, indeed, it was, in certain circles, received with acclamation... Among Government officials in South Africa, on the other hand, and among the colonists generally, the book produced a strong feeling of irritation and anger. It was not so much Philip's championship of the cause of the natives which provoked resentment: it was his disingenuous presentation of facts and occurrences ... Both Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban and his successor, Sir George Napier, assumed their offices at the Cape while sharing the views then prevalent in England, that the colonists by their oppression of the natives were themselves responsible for the disasters which had overtaken them. Both Governors, being upright and honest men, discovered and acknowledged that they had been in error... With one single exception, that of a Wesleyan missionary then in England, the agents of the Wesleyan, Glasgow and Moravian Societies, as well as the two of the London Mission who were at work among the Kafirs, dissociated themselves completely from Philip and his party."¹³²¹

Compared to Philip and Borchards, Hallbeck's views were more balanced. He did not portray the Khoikhoi and the San as noble barbarians, innocent children of nature. Hallbeck was all too aware that their customs and culture were not so innocent. He, however, did acknowledge the positive aspects regarding their customs and culture as well. The same applied to Hallbeck's evaluation of the European colonists and their influence on the country's history. He did not blackmail them like Philip. Nevertheless was he critical of the lack of proper governance in South Africa during the DEIC period, as well as the absence of missionary zeal among many colonists, especially the church leaders. European civilization as such was not a blessing to Africa. Although Hallbeck had good relations with the British colonial government, he would never write the following as Philip did: "While our missionaries, beyond the borders of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, and happiness, they are, by the most unexceptionable means, extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire."¹³²² European civilisation as such was not the answer for pagan Africa, but the Gospel.

¹³²⁰ Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 146-147.

¹³²¹ Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, 146-149.

¹³²² Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, Vol. 1, ix.

Brief

49.

Das Hr. Hallbecks von der halbes. Confession für's Ganze
in Süd Africa betreffend, seine Vorrichtungen auf seiner offi-
ciellen Reise, im Jahr 1819.

Nachdem ein maines Reich im Auftrag der halbes. Conf. nach
Groenekloof, d. Kapstadt u. dem Orlansland beauftragt ist, so sollte es
als für zweckmäßig, einen schriftlichen Bericht über maines Vorrichtun-
gen u. die gegenwärtigen Lage des Reichs anzulegen, wie auch die
Conf. vorzuliegen, u. zugleich maines Gedanken über vorfindene
Gegenstände, über welche die Conf. entscheiden muß, mittheilen. Dies
zweck will ich mit Groenekloof, wo ich erst befinde, den Anfang machen.

Nach dem Jüngling des Jahres befindet sich die dortige
Anstalt in einem erfreulichen Gang u. die hies. bekennt sich in Genuß
den zu der Arbeit der Kinder. Die Zahl der Kinder ist etwa 350,
von welchen 94 Amst. Kinder sind. Von d. Entfernung dieser Jahre
sind 17 Kinder u. 17 Vorrichtungen gekauft worden u. 12 Personen sind
zum erstenmaligem Jüngling des J. Amst. gelangt.

Die allgämrliche Versorgung aller Lebensbedürfnisse vor-
sich nicht die hiesigen Stellen, welche nicht wenig dadurch
verursacht ist, daß eine Menge vorfindlicher Männer für das
Kaiser Commande aufgefordert sind, wodurch ihre Anwesenheit
in der äussersten Nothlage steht. Die Versorgung der Leute zum
Jahreslohn von 2000 Rthl. u. einigen Kleidungsstücken für die all-
täglichen Bedürfnisse, u. die bei sich die hiesigen Stellen von
Gegenständen dankbar, doch ist dadurch die Noth bei weitem nicht gelindert. Ma-
gen dieser allgämrlichen Anwesenheit haben die bei keine Hoffnung, das
Kaufgeld für d. Laute Steuer für anzubringen, u. es wird ein an-
sehnliches Deficit übrig bleiben, das die Oeconomie tragen muß. Das

Example of Hallbeck's handwriting¹³²³

Conclusion

It is to the disadvantage of South Africa that this historic notebook, written by Hallbeck, laid untouched in the archives for almost two centuries. One can guess that this was due to the fact that it was written in German and added to this in the old German handwriting of the time,

¹³²³ MASA.

causing it to be inaccessible for South Africans. Furthermore it was an incomplete document and therefore never published, not even in one of the mission journals at the time. Those who have studied Hallbeck's life and work in the past seemed also to have overlooked it. Only Anshelm, Hallbeck's biographer, makes mention of the document, and writes that it testifies to Hallbeck's literacy and accurate observations.¹³²⁴ Anshelm – a Swedish bishop – spent some months in the Herrnhut Archive for his research, but he focused mainly on Hallbeck's letters. Anshelm was never in South Africa, and also seemed to be unaware of the potential importance of this document for a country so divided about its own history.

Krüger, who wrote extensively about the Hallbeck era in his *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, does not mention this document either. Was it perhaps because Hallbeck's views on the past would not support the nationalist views of the 1960's in South Africa, when the country became a republic? As indicated above, Hallbeck refrained from describing the Khoikhoi and the San as innocent barbarians, corrupted only by the colonists, as Philip had done. But at the same time he did not portray the DEIC, their establishment and governance of the colony, and the life of the colonists, as being nothing but a blessing to the natives of Africa, and that simply because of the fact that they had brought (nominal) Christianity to the southern shores of Africa. This was the view presented by Borchers. Hallbeck's description illuminates that the colonists were not Christian in their conduct at all. They represented the prevalent superficial Christianity in Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Although the first chapter as written in the notebook was intended to be an introductory chapter on a book dealing with the Moravian Mission in South Africa, it nevertheless excels above the historic accounts of his contemporary historians Philip and Borchers. The indications are that Hallbeck also visited the colonial archives in Cape Town (and perhaps in London?), since his chapter contains material not found in Philip or Borchers. His exposition furthermore attests to the unique position of the Moravians by the time, being able through their constructive labours to win the sympathy and admiration of both the native peoples and the colonists. Be it two centuries later, this historical explication still deserves publication. It was written by one of South Africa's first local historians, someone who had intensive exposure to the conflicting sides of reality.

¹³²⁴ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 51.

Hallbeck by now was part of colonial society for almost twenty years. In 1836 he returned to Europe and Herrnhut, where he would be ordained bishop. The subsequent chapter is devoted to this 'sabbatical' year. Early February 1836 he sailed from Cape Town to attend the Moravian Synod in Herrnhut. This became the first time Hallbeck and his wife returned to Europe. Hallbeck made elaborate preparations. Teutsch from Elim was appointed as substitute to act on his behalf, and also to take his place as chairman of the Helpers Conference.¹³²⁵ For this purpose Teutsch moved with his family for the time being to Genadendal. Hallbeck even travelled with Teutsch to Cape Town to present him to the authorities.¹³²⁶ Fortunately Dr Lees could assist with all English correspondence, because apart from Hallbeck, missionaries well versed in English were still a rarity among the Moravians.

¹³²⁵ *Protocol HC*, Jun 15th 1835 (HA).

¹³²⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 22nd 1835 (HA).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

HALLBECK ORDAINED AS BISHOP (1836-1837)

Introduction

The growth of Genadendal demanded a subdivision of the town in seven wards. This occurred in 1836. Each missionary (at that stage there were seven in Genadendal) was responsible for weekly house visits in his ward.¹³²⁷ The town was well organized, industrious and became self-supportive due to Hallbeck's managerial policies. The Rhenish missionaries in Wupperthal followed this approach. In 1836 Leipoldt established a tannery similar to the one in Genadendal, which later became renowned for its shoes. As a matter of fact, Wupperthal was a representation of Genadendal. This also applied for the mission station Ebenhaeser (near Lutzville), led by Leipoldt's colleague Von Wurmb. The Governor granted Von Wurmb a permit to commence with another station, on the condition that the settlement would be managed just as the Moravian towns, and not according to the policies of Dr John Philip of the LMS. The latter's methods and courses of actions were regarded as not constructive for either the colony, or for the long-term upliftment of the native peoples in the colony.¹³²⁸ This indicates that Hallbeck received public recognition and appreciation from both the government and other missionary societies that commenced work in South Africa. He indeed played a pivotal role. Genadendal became a cradle for the work of many other missionaries and societies in South Africa. And this position Genadendal thanked not only to the fact that it was the oldest station in the country, but to a large extent to Hallbeck.

Hallbeck and his wife were invited by Herrnhut to attend the General Moravian Synod in 1836. They voyaged to Europe and left Cape Town in February of that year. They travelled via England and Holland, visiting congregations and friends. They provided first-hand information on the South African mission and paid tribute to the loyal supporters they met.

¹³²⁷ *Nachrichten* (1837), 711. The seven missionaries were: J. Fritsch, H.P. Hallbeck, J.G.F. Stein, C.F. Nauhaus, Ch. G. Sondermann, H.B. Schopmann and P.H. Brauer.

¹³²⁸ De Boer and Temmers, *The Unitas Fratrum*, 74.

Hallbeck had prepared important submissions for the Synod and was ordained bishop on September 5th 1836.¹³²⁹ He discussed the training of young men to become future workers. This plan received warm support from the UEC. Hallbeck was also officially commissioned by the UEC to review Spangenberg's mission textbook of 1784: *Training for the Brothers and Sisters, who serve the Gospel among the Heathen (Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welchen unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen)*. Furthermore he was approached by several missionary societies for assistance and advice whilst in Europe, like the Berlin and Rhenish Missionary Societies.¹³³⁰ Hallbeck also planned to pay a visit to his homeland Sweden.¹³³¹ For unknown reasons this visit did not materialize.

Sixteen months later, in June 1837, the Hallbecks arrived back in Cape Town. The current chapter therefore deals with their journey and with Hallbeck's life, work and ordination during the period of his absence from the Cape Colony.

Journey to Europe

On February 8th 1836 Hallbeck and his wife left Table Bay, together with a number of missionary children heading to Europe for their education. They arrived in London after a two month long journey. There they met supporting Moravian congregations and friends. The major part of financial support for the South African mission came from England. On their way to Herrnhut they also called on Zeist in Holland, where the Moravians had established an active centre to promote their work. The Zeist congregation sent textbooks for the schools in South Africa annually. Genadendal had also received a printing press from the brotherhood in Zeist. In 1828 Hallbeck had visited the mission station Lovedale where Rev John Bennie had installed a printing press in 1823 and started to produce printed material for the purpose of the mission. Hallbeck was very impressed and tried to obtain a printing press for Genadendal too. He realised how edifying it could be to print booklets for church and school use, as the missionaries at Lovedale did. In 1834 the friends from Zeist donated a simple wooden press. However, Hallbeck never had, or took, the time to study this trade, with the effect that the press was never used by him. The

¹³²⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA). *Protocol UEC*, Aug 27th-29th 1836. J. Plitt, *Vom Bischofthum der Brüder Unität, in alter und neuer Zeit. Erster Theil* (1835) (MASA).

¹³³⁰ A. Petri, in *Die Ausbildung der evangelischen Heidenboten Deutschland: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Berliner Missions-Seminars und einem Anhang über evangelische Missions-Anstalten ausserhalb Deutschlands* (Berlin: Berliner Missionhaus, 1873), 52. Barmer Missionsblatt (1837), via Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 60. Cf. *Missionszeitung* Stockholm (1837), 6. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA). Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 4th & Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

¹³³¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 22nd 1835 (HA).

Litanijen en Gezangen (Litanies and Hymns),¹³³² that Hallbeck had compiled for South Africa, was still printed in Zeist in 1839.¹³³³ Most of the hymns were translated from the German.¹³³⁴ This hymnal contains a choice of Moravian liturgies and litanies with the necessary formularies, especially for the festive periods. The liturgy for Easter morning is probably the most famous. This hymnal published by Hallbeck served for half a century. It had a major influence on the Moravian congregations in South Africa, but not only.

The *Lofzangen*, which Hallbeck compiled in 1826, was also published in Zeist. It comprised more than 700 hymns, for use during family, personal and the worship services. Hallbeck noted in the foreword that they were encouraged by the knowledge that the Khoikhoi brothers and sisters are so fond of edifying themselves by singing songs together, whether at home, or in the fields and woods, and also that they are gifted by the Lord with harmonious voices, with which they, in several cases, had given reason to visitors to glorify God, whose praise is resounding in regions that had been for so many centuries the dwelling place of savagery and ignorance.¹³³⁵ This hymnbook was widely used, not only on the Moravian mission stations, but also by other missions. It was also used on the farms of the Dutch settlers and even by Dutch Reformed pastors.¹³³⁶ Some well-known hymns were the “Te Deum” and “Nun danket alle Gott”, sung in the Dutch translation.¹³³⁷

Coming back to the donated printing press, the missionary Benno Marx found it, twenty years after Hallbeck’s death in 1859, packed away on an attic. It was Marx who started the Genadendal printing works, leading to various publications, among others some of the first books ever printed in the Afrikaans language.¹³³⁸ The monthly periodical *De Bode* was one of the first religious magazines printed in South Africa.

The main reason, however, why Hallbeck and his wife visited Zeist was that their son Wilhelm resided there. Their plan was to take him along to Germany, in order to reunite the family. In Germany the other children were eagerly awaiting their parents in the Moravian schools of Herrnhut and Kleinwelke. In May 1836 the family was unified for the first time in more than ten

¹³³² *Litanijen en Gezangen, behoorende tot de Liturgie der Evangelische Broedergemeenten* (Zeist, 1839).

¹³³³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 179, *Litanijen en Gezangen, behoorende tot de Liturgie der Evangelische Broedergemeenten* (Zeist, 1839), Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

¹³³⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 9th 1837 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 179.

¹³³⁵ Jacques P. Malan ed., *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiekensiklopedie*, Part 1 (Kaapstad: Oxford University Press, 1980), 238.

¹³³⁶ *Nachrichten* (1831), 80.

¹³³⁷ E.g. with the opening of the new church building in Groenekloof, cf. Letter Hallbeck to Hüffel, Feb 23rd 1818 (HA).

¹³³⁸ Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 105.

years: father and mother with six children: Gustava, Paul Theodor, Carl Wilhelm, Johanna Carolina, Paulina and Emma Renata. The youngest two, Paulina and Emma Renata, had accompanied their parents from South Africa. When Hallbeck and his wife returned to South Africa, they were left behind in Germany. Paulina was 11 years old at the time, in those years relatively old to go to Europe for her education. The reason was that Paulina was physically and mentally retarded because of an illness she had contracted during her first year.

Their daughter Johanna Carolina would later write about this reunion: *In the year 1836 I had the huge joy to see my beloved parents again. This reunion on May 20th I will never forget. Because of all the emotions I could only cry.*¹³³⁹ Although her parents missed out on a large part of her youth, she cherished valuable memories of her infancy in Genadendal. *One day, she wrote, my father was forced to leave the communal lunch of the missionaries earlier because of urgent business. When he opened the door of our living room, he saw to his shock a snake creeping into the pram in which I was laying. Quickly he threw the snake unto the ground and took me with a shaking heart in his arms. As I started to laugh at him, he acknowledged with thankfulness that a loving angel has protected his little daughter.*¹³⁴⁰ She could also recall how her father would take her on his knees and tell her about the loving Saviour, answering her childlike questions.¹³⁴¹ In the Herrnhut Archive a file is still extant with a number of letters Hallbeck wrote to his daughter Carolina through the years, containing valuable information regarding everyday life in Genadendal.¹³⁴²

During his sojourn in Germany Hallbeck was commissioned to revise the mission textbook of instruction written by Spangenberg in 1784, entitled *Instruction for the Brothers and Sisters who serve the Gospel among the Heathen*.¹³⁴³ We now turn our attention to this endeavour.

Hallbeck's review of Spangenberg's Mission Textbook (1836)

Hallbeck insisted on the importance of thoroughly trained missionaries. He did not reject the 'tent maker' model, but reasoned that more than that was needed. Although the Synod of 1836 did not accept the proposal for a missionary training institution, they were not blind for

¹³³⁹ "Lebenslauf unserer am 29. Mai 1892 selig entschlafenen Schwester Johanne Caroline Hallbeck" (HA).

¹³⁴⁰ "Lebenslauf unserer am 29. Mai 1892 selig entschlafenen Schwester Johanne Caroline Hallbeck" (HA).

¹³⁴¹ Curriculum vitae of Johanna Carolina Hallbeck in *Nachrichten*. See also Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 56.

¹³⁴² "Sammlung HP Hallbeck 3 Briefe an seine Tochter Carolina, meist aus Genadendal 1829-1840" (HA).

¹³⁴³ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welchen unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen; Protocol UEC, Oct 27th 1836* (HA).

Hallbeck's enormous experience in mission affairs. He was asked to revise the mission textbook written by Spangenberg in the 1780's *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welchen unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen*.¹³⁴⁴ Until then it was used as preparation for all who aspired to be sent out into the worldwide mission. The textbook became normative for the Moravians in conducting their mission work.

The fact that the synod had asked Hallbeck to revise and adapt the textbook to present day circumstances, is evident prove of his competency and recognition in the Moravian Mission. The preface mentions that Hallbeck was assisted by two of his colleagues, Bönhof from the Danish West Indies, and Zorn from Jamaica. We read: *The Synod of the year 1836, that deliberated intensively about the widely expanded mission work, considered it good to publish a new edition of the said instruction, in which the contents and way of expression should not be changed, but in which those aspects are added that have been learned from experience since the year 1784, as well as what is required by the needs of our time. For this the presence of the superintendents of our missions in South Africa, Danish-West-Indies and Jamaica, the brother Hallbeck, Bönhof and Zorn was used. This new, revised and increased instruction is recommended to the earnest consideration and faithful observance of all our brothers and sisters who serve among the heathen, or who feel the calling in their hearts towards this service. Berthelsdorf, November 14th 1836.*¹³⁴⁵

Bönhof and Zorn's contributions are difficult to discern. Undoubtedly Hallbeck played the biggest part. In the Herrnhut archive the revision in Hallbeck's handwriting is still extant, together with the final proof that went to the printers, in the handwriting of FL Kölbinger.¹³⁴⁶ Comparing these two shows that Hallbeck's revision was largely accepted by the UEC.

¹³⁴⁴ *Protocol UEC, Oct 27th 1836 (HA).*

¹³⁴⁵ "Der Synodus des Jahres 1836, welcher unser weit ausgedehntes Missionswerk zu einem Gegenstand seiner angelegentlichsten Ueberlegung machte, fand für gut, eine neue Ausgabe der erwähnten Instruktion zu veranstalten, in welcher zwar weder Inhalt noch Ausdruck der Schrift im Wesentlichen verändert, aber doch alle diejenigen Zusätze hinzugefügt werden sollten, welche die seit dem Jahre 1784 gemachten neuen Erfahrungen, so wie die Bedürfnisse unserer Zeit erfordern. Dazu wurde die Anwesenheit der Vorsteher unserer Missionen in Süd-Afrika, Dänisch-Westindien und Jamaica, der Brüder Hallbeck, Bönhof und Zorn, benutzt. Diese neu durchgesehene und vermehrte Instruktion wird allen unsern Brüdern und Schwestern, die unter den Heiden dienen, oder sich in ihren Herzen zu diesem Dienste aufgefordert fühlen, zu angelegentlicher Erwägung und zu treuer Befolgung bestens empfohlen. Berthelsdorf, den 14. November 1836." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen*. Zweite durchgesehene und vermehrte Ausgabe (Gnadau, 1837), v-vi.

¹³⁴⁶ (HA: R.28.120 & R.28.71.a). On the Hallbeck revision some remarks (grammatical corrections and a few of a substantial character) were added by Johannes Plitt.

Hallbeck's revision kept the basic trajectory of Spangenberg's thinking unaltered. However, he added and refined a number of aspects, exploiting his experience in South Africa:¹³⁴⁷

- *It is God's will that as long as there are heathen, the Gospel should be preached, because how will they believe in Him, of whom that haven't heard?*¹³⁴⁸ Against the background of a century of Moravian mission work, as well as many new missionary societies that were established, it was a valid question that needed an answer: is it still desirable to continue with mission work? With the above quoted sentence Hallbeck gave a clear and positive answer, alluding to, apart from Matthew 28 (as Spangenberg did), also to Romans 10.
- Hallbeck stressed the need for a thorough training of the missionaries, mentioning the following changed circumstances:
 - Some nations have already enjoyed Christian education for a long time. Future missionaries need to acquire sufficient knowledge in order to provide proper education in these contexts.
 - A period of liberation of slaves is dawning in several European colonies, where Moravians are active. The ex-slaves and their families need education. The missionaries have to prepare themselves in order to educate them.
 - An ability to speak English is almost indispensable for the Moravian missionaries (who were mostly Germans).
- Hallbeck's experience with the day to day mission work in South Africa and especially Genadendal, helped him to add some more valuable elements to the mission textbook:
 - How to guide a young convert step by step.
 - How to deal with the second generation – those who grew up on the mission stations.
 - How to deal with 'national weaknesses' – sinful customs and habits typical for ethnic groups.
 - The use of indigenous people for the mission work and their training.
 - How to extent diaconal care to the poor, without compromising the gospel by being too philanthropic. Hallbeck added a special warning that was not yet present in the Spangenberg edition: *In connection with the poor relief among the heathen, care and wisdom is necessary, when one would on the basis of pity, be afraid not to appear too harsh, and therefore in reaction become too lenient in supporting; since through this the misery of those suffering will rather be*

¹³⁴⁷ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (Gnadau, 1837).

¹³⁴⁸ "Es ist daher auch Sein Wille, daß so lange es Heiden gibt, ihnen das Evangelium geprediget werde; den wie sollen sie glauben, von dem sie nicht gehöret haben?" *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (Gnadau, 1837), 1.

*increased instead of decreased, because in their ignorance they are too inclined to rely on foreign help with the consequence of surrendering to indolence, becoming the longer the more needy.*¹³⁴⁹

- The importance of financial independence of existing mission stations for the sustaining of mission work in other regions.
 - How to function as a mission family, as well as the effective management and operation of the different conferences.
 - The importance of the education of children from an early age.
 - How to interact with surrounding European colonists, whose behaviour and lifestyle are not always in accordance with Christian morality and the Word of God. The missionaries had to prepare their converts for this reality, since they could not always shield them from the world. It was a reality converts had to face, that not all Europeans were Christians in their way of living.¹³⁵⁰
 - Mission stations should be more careful regarding the production and use of strong liquor.
- Hallbeck also specifically pointed to the fact how slavery promoted licentiousness in the European colonies. This was something missionaries had to reckon with. Young unmarried slave women have *seen and heard since their childhood so much evil, that their moral values have become blunted; they have also been forced into many sins because of the fact that they are the property of others.*¹³⁵¹
 - It is also notable that the clear discouragement in the Spangenberg edition on accepting Europeans as members of a mission church was changed in the Hallbeck edition of the textbook. It now states: *The public services are open also for people who are not from the*

¹³⁴⁹ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (Gnadau, 1837), ¶144 (p.64). Hallbeck added: "Bei der Armenpflege unter den Heiden hat man aber Vorsicht und Weisheit nöthig, daß man nicht, aus der Besorgniß, hart zu scheinen, zu den Hilfsleistungen allzu bereitwillig sei, weil dadurch nicht selten das Elend der Leidenden eher vermehrt als gemindert wird, indem sie in ihrer Unwissenheit nur gar zu geneigt sind, sich auf fremde Hülfe zu verlassen und daher, der Trägheit hingegeben, immer hilfsbedürftiger werden."

¹³⁵⁰ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (Gnadau, 1837), ¶162: (p.87): "Die Gläubigen aus den Heiden kommen nicht selten in Verkehr theils mit Europäern, die ihr Land des Handels wegen besuchen, theils mit den Kolonisten, die sich in ihrer Nähe angesiedelt und wohl auch ihre Nation unter ihre Botmäßigkeit gebracht haben. Dieser Verkehr ist nicht immer in Uebereinstimmung mit christlichen Sitten und dem Worte Gottes. So sehr die Brüder dieses bedauern müssen, so sind sie doch oft nicht im Stande, einen solchen Verkehr zu hindern. Wollten sie sich darein mengen, so würden sie oft mehr schaden als nützen. Aber das haben sie zu thun, daß sie die Heiden, die schon getauft worden, oder schon Communicanten sind, unablässig ermahnen, in ihrem Handel und Wandel bei dem zu bleiben, was recht und billig ist. Was Andere thun, die mit den Brüdern in keiner Verbindung stehen, das lassen die Brüder unbeurtheilet, denn sie bessern dadurch nichts. Aber ihren Leuten, die durch ihren Dienst zu Christo gebracht worden sind, halten sie das, was Christus Seinen Jüngern befohlen hat, unermüdet vor."

¹³⁵¹ "haben von Kindheit an so viel Böses gesehen und gehört, daß das sittliche Gefühl bei den meisten sehr abgestumpft ist; auch werden sie durch ihre eigenthümlichen Verhältnisse zu mancherlei Versündigungen gezwungen." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den heiden am Evangelio dienen* (Gnadau, 1837), 59.

*heathen; however it is important that the sermons remain focused on the congregation gathered from the heathen, and not become less understandable for the heathen with their limited discernment by trying to please the more educated Europeans. In isolated cases... a white person, who has the same attitude in his heart as us, can be accepted to become member of the congregation gathered from the heathen, and join in the Lord's Supper.*¹³⁵²

- The Moravians had their share of internal conflicts. When Spangenberg in 1784 compiled the Moravian mission textbook, he already observed in this regard: *When more than one brother is appointed to the work among the heathen, they have especially to guard the brotherly love amongst one another. Because nothing is more damaging for the mission among the heathen, and nothing is a bigger shame, than when among the people, who are teaching others peace and love, discord reigns.* Spangenberg also warned against the poison of envy: *Whoever has a loving and humble heart, will regard it a joy when he sees his colleague thriving, blossoming and carrying fruit, and will give thanks to God for all grace experienced, just as heartily as when this would apply to himself.*¹³⁵³ Should someone develop a complaint against his brother, the textbook also specified the proper procedure. First – according to the rule of Christ – he had to talk it through with his brother. If the charge was not taken away, he had to bring the matter to the other helpers. If he was still not satisfied, only then could he write to the UEC. It was also stipulated that the brother accused – in order not to lose too much time – had to write simultaneously to the UEC, explaining his side of the story.¹³⁵⁴

With the revision of the textbook by Hallbeck in 1836, these crucial elements and procedures were kept unaltered. However, Hallbeck added some important aspects, such as the apostolic admonition that the sun may not set while a person is still angry (Ephesians 4:26). The procedure in case of discord was also updated: First – according to the rule of Christ – the person had to talk

¹³⁵² "Die öffentlichen Versammlungen stehen auch Personen, die nicht aus den Heiden sind, offen; doch muß in den Vorträgen die aus den Heiden gesammelte Gemeine immer zunächst ins Auge gefaßt und nicht etwa den mehr gebildeten Europäern zu Gefallen auf eine der beschränkten Fassungsgabe der Heiden weniger angemessene Weise gesprochen werden. In einzelnen Fällen ... kann es einer weißen Person, die in ihren Herzensgesinnungen mit uns übereinstimmt, erlaubt werden, sich an eine aus den Heiden gesammelte Gemeine anzuschließen und mit ihr zum heiligen Abendmahl zu nahen." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (Gnadau, 1837), 88-89.

¹³⁵³ "Sind mehrere Brüder an einem Werke unter den Heiden angestellt; so haben sie insonderheit über die brüderliche Liebe unter einander treulich zu wachen. Denn es ist bey einer Mißion unter den Heiden nichts schädlicher, und nichts schändlicher, als wenn unter den Leuten, die den Frieden und die Liebe lehren sollen, Uneinigkeit regirt. Noch ärger aber ist est, wenn eine bittere Wurzel wächst ... Der Neid, da einer verdrießlich darüber wird, wenn ein anderer mehr Gaben hat, mehr Eingang findet, mehr geliebt wird, mehr im Segen steht, mehr Gutes genießt, als er selbst, ist ein abscheuliches Laster, das unter Kindern GOTTes unerhört seyn sollte. Wer ein liebhabendes und demüthiges Herz hat, dem ists eine Freude, wenn er seinen Bruder siehet grünen, blühen, und Früchte tragen, und danket GOtt für alle Gnade, die ihm wiederfährt, eben so herzlich, als wenn sie ihm selbst zu Theil würde." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 24-25.

¹³⁵⁴ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 62.

it through with the brother or sister involved. If the charge was not taken away, he or she had to discuss the issue with the leader of the mission station. If he or she was still not satisfied, the Helpers Conference must be informed. The HC is required to hear the one accused, in order to make an impartial judgment. Only thereafter the aggrieved could put the matter before the UEC, being the last body of appeal.¹³⁵⁵

The Hallbeck revision served as textbook for the training of the next generations of missionary workers. As mentioned earlier, Hallbeck was also approached during his time in Germany by missionary societies for guidance and leadership. The next paragraph considers Hallbeck's involvement as an experienced missionary in this regard.

Advice to Other Missionary Societies

Through the years Hallbeck's reports and letters were widely published in European and North American missionary periodicals and magazines – not only in the Moravian *Nachrichten*.¹³⁵⁶ He became a well-known and respected person in mission circles. Small wonder that he was invited to address several missionary societies during his sojourn in Europe in 1836. Whilst in Germany, Hallbeck was approached by the *Berlin Missionary Society* for assistance. He travelled to Berlin and helped them to design a syllabus for the seminary of the Berlin Mission.¹³⁵⁷ This had a profound effect on the training of missionaries that worked in particular in Africa and China. This should be investigated in depth as a fundamental contribution to the theological training for the ministry in at least Africa. Yet the demarcation of our research does not allow for entering any further into this challenging question and issue.

Hallbeck was also approached by the *Rhenish Missionary Society* (identified by Hallbeck as the *Barmer Miss. Gesellschaft*) to give advice. In their missionary magazine, the *Barmer Missionsblatt*, we read: *We recently experienced the joy to see a beloved, highly regarded worker in the Lord's vineyard of the United Brethren, the missions superintendent Hallbeck (a Swede)*

¹³⁵⁵ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1837), 77.

¹³⁵⁶ One can think of the European countries Germany, Holland, England, Sweden, Denmark and Norway. One can refer to the Dutch Moravian magazine *Berichten uit de heidenwereld* and the English Moravian magazine *Periodical Accounts*. One can also think of missionary magazines of other societies, like f.e. the *Barmer Missionsblatt*. Cf. Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 59. For North-America one can refer to the *Boston Reader* (1817-1824) 1819, 4,52; *New York Religious Chronicle* (1824-1825) January 22nd, 1825; *Religious Remembrancer* (1813-1823); April 5th 1823.

¹³⁵⁷ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 60, from A. Petri, in *Die Ausbildung der evangelischen Heidenboten Deutschland: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Berliner Missions-Seminars und einem Anhang über evangelische Missions-Anstalten ausserhalb Deutschlands* (Berlin: Berliner Missionhaus, 1873), 52.

*from Genadendal, who visited us on his journey to Herrnhut. Since he is personally acquainted with most of our brothers working in South Africa, who from time to time visit Genadendal, to see with their own eyes the excellent organisation of the mission there, it was a great joy for us, to hear from his mouth the good testimony, that all our brothers are standing firm in their faith and having a burning heart for the work of the Lord. We regarded it also as merciful guidance, that we received the opportunity to deliberate with such an experienced man, being also so well informed about the circumstances of the mission in South Africa, and we dare to hope that through God's grace these deliberations will be to the benefit and blessing of the heathen congregations entrusted to us.*¹³⁵⁸ The Barmer Mission had initially requested Hallbeck – after having heard that he will be coming to Europe in 1836 – to conduct a tour of inspection to the various Rhenish stations in South Africa. But due to time constraints Hallbeck was unable to do this.¹³⁵⁹

The recently founded *Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society in Saxony* (later known as the *Leipzig Missionary Society*) requested his advice as well. Previously they were affiliated with the *Basle Missionary Society*. Hallbeck travelled to Dresden to deliberate with them. They were looking for a suitable mission field. Hallbeck pointed their attention to the upcoming opportunities in South Africa, which especially increased after the liberation of the slaves (in 1834) and the freedom of movement the Khoikhoi received in 1828. The colonial government had plans to erect Khoikhoi towns in the neutral zone between the colony and the land inhabited by black tribes. Perhaps they could become involved in these towns... In Dresden they were inclined to the proposal and gave Hallbeck instructions to further investigate this possibility when back in South Africa.

This was one of the first things Hallbeck did with his arrival back in Cape Town. He had discussions with the governor and colonial secretary. After that he wrote an honest answer to Dresden: the political situation is very unstable in the border regions. Blacks have started with

¹³⁵⁸ "Auch uns ist kürzlich die Freude geworden, einen lieben, hochgeachteten, der Brüdergemeinde angehörigen Arbeiter im Weinberg des Herrn bei uns zu sehen, den Missionssuperintendenten Hallbeck (ein Schwede) aus Gnadenthal, der uns auf seiner Reise nach Herrnhut besuchte. Da er die meisten unsrer in Südafrika arbeitenden Brüder persönlich kennt, die bisweilen Gnadenthal aufsuchen, um aus eigener Anschauung die vortrefflichen Gemeinde-einrichtungen kennen zu lernen, so freute es uns sehr, aus seinem Munde das gute Zeugnis zu hören, daß alle unsre Brüder fest im Glauben stehen und ein für die Sache des Herrn brennendes Herz haben. Wir sahen es auch als eine gnädige Fügung an, daß uns Gelegenheit geschenkt worden war, mit einem so erfahrenen, mit allen Missionsverhältnissen in Südafrika so vertrauten Mann über die Angelegenheiten unsrer dortigen Stationen beraten zu können, und wir dürfen hoffen, daß durch Gottes Gnade diese Beratungen zum Nutzen und Segen für die uns anvertrauten Heidengemeinden gedeihen." Barmer Missionsblatt (1837), via Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 60. Cf. Missionszeitung Stockholm (1837), 6.

¹³⁵⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

their ravages again. *Bantuland* was also plagued by serious unrest. One of the suppressed tribes – the Fingu – has been pushed unto the border of the colony. The Berlin Mission, active in the region, was struggling to maintain itself. Added to this, within its borders, the colony also suffered a state of uneasiness and discontent. Many settlers were involved in an organized migration from the colony into the interior. With these things in mind – Hallbeck advised – it would under these circumstances be very difficult for an inexperienced missionary society to start with its activities. He wrote: *Both in political and ecclesiastical respect the situation here is perhaps worse than in Europe. Not a few colonists are outraged about the better disposition of the government towards the slaves and original inhabitants, and in their fury they leave the colony and move towards their own destruction, to the regions of Port Natal, where they will either sink back in the most miserable barbarism or be wiped out by the blacks. In the colonial church a fierce dispute has emerged, necessitating a general synod in Cape Town, which will convene within a few weeks. The meeting will hardly be able to mediate a peace between light and darkness.*¹³⁶⁰

Hallbeck referred here to the 1837 Quia / Quatenus-dispute that had raged in the Netherlands, and which had spilt over to South Africa as well. In the colonial church in South Africa the orthodox position (*quia*) was largely taken by the Scottish (Presbyterian) ministers, whilst the liberal position (*quatenus*) was largely taken by the Dutch ministers. This dispute was carried to the extreme during the synod of 1837, where a voting took place. The Quia-position was safeguarded with a small majority vote of 21 against 19. The Scottish ministers voted without exception in defence of the Quia-position, whilst the pro Quatenus-position votes all came from Dutch ministers and elders.¹³⁶¹ As is clear from Hallbeck's letter cited above, he was very sceptical about this synod. Although both the orthodox and liberal parties were part of the same church, they functioned more and more in separate presbyteries. The Moravians in the Hallbeck era had excellent ties with the orthodox group of ministers. This is also reflected in the Genadendal library, containing books published in different European countries, from the Reformed,

¹³⁶⁰ "Sowohl im politischen als im kirchlichen gehet es hier vielleicht ärger als in Europa. Nicht wenige von den Colonisten sind ganz aus über die bessern Gesinnung der Regierung gegen die Slaven u. Urbewohner, u. in der Wüth verlassen sie die Colonie u. ziehen zu ihren eigenen Verderben in die Gegend von Port Natal, wo sie entweder in den elendsten Barbarismus zurücksinken oder von den Schwarzen aufgegeben (?) werden müssen. In der Colonial Kirche is ein heftiger Streit entstanden, wodurch eine allgemeine Synode in der Kapstadt ernöthigt worden, die in wenig Wochen sich versammeln wird. Schwerlich aber wird es der Versammlung gelingen, einen Frieden zwischen Licht u. Finsterniss zu vermitteln." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

¹³⁶¹ Names mentioned for the *Quia*-position: Van der Lingen, P Faure, Reid, Morgan, Fraser, Beck, Truter, Thomson, Taylor. Names mentioned for the *Quatenus*-position: Von Manger, Spyker, Heyns, Roux, Maasdorp, Moorrees, Smuts, Ballot, Botha. Cf. *Acta Synodi*, 1837 in Hanekom, *Die Liberale Rigting in Suid-Afrika*, 187.

Presbyterian and Lutheran traditions, but having in common the battle against the Enlightenment and the 19th century Liberalism.

Having received this answer, the Dresden Missionary Society decided not to consider South Africa any longer.¹³⁶²

During his stay in Herrnhut, Hallbeck also had sufficient time to discuss the South African mission with the Mission Committee of the UEC.¹³⁶³ He urgently pleaded for one more married and two unmarried missionaries to be sent to South Africa. The first had to be capable of assisting in the school and the duties of the head of a mission station. Hallbeck also proposed that a missionary be stationed in Cape Town, in order to represent the mission there, taking care of the mission's finances and to deal with the different authorities. This would save the superintendent a lot of time, since it would alleviate him from all the journeys to Cape Town. Furthermore he repeated his request to appoint a fulltime administrator.¹³⁶⁴

The 1836 Synod

Hallbeck was invited to attend the 1836 Synod, primarily because of the intention to ordain him as bishop. However there were a number of other matters in which he made an articulated contribution:

- with regard to the use of the lot with regard to the marriage of missionaries;
- with regard to the *local* schooling of missionary children;
- with regard to the subdivision of spiritual and administrative duties on the mission field;
- with regard to the property rights of the mission stations in South Africa.

Hallbeck placed a lot of emphasis on the fact that the Moravian Mission had to be prepared, in time, for the inevitable and imminent political and societal changes. He wrote: *It is therefore definitively not superfluous, to be well prepared, in what to do, when indeed the plan is executed,*

¹³⁶² Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 4th & Sept 9th 1837 (HA); Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 60, from B. Handmann, *Die ev. luth. Tamulenmission*, 80.

¹³⁶³ Protocol UEC, Sept 2nd & 13th 1836 (HA); Cf. also Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 59.

¹³⁶⁴ Hallbeck, *Süd-Africa – A. über verschiedene äussern u. inner Angelegenheiten der Missions. B. über Erziehung der dasigen Missionskinder in die Kolonie – von Hallbeck, für den Synodus 1836, u. dessen Missions Comitten. A. Ueber einige Angelegenheiten äussern u. inner (I.II) der Mission in Süd Africa, zur Mittheilung an die Missions Committee des Synodus 1836* (HA).

since in such a case it is of vital importance, that one be not too late, but well prepared in advance.¹³⁶⁵

The use of the lot with regard to the marriage of missionaries

Hallbeck proposed to abolish the use of the lot with regard to the marriages of missionaries. Many capable persons were lost for the mission in this way. Why should the marriages of missionaries still be treated in an exceptional way?¹³⁶⁶ Hallbeck's proposal touched a sensitive nerve. According to the Moravian traditional understanding, the Saviour ruled the church and its individuals effectively through the lot, even in personal matters. From the beginning of the 19th century, however, members demanded more freedom of choice, especially in the case of marriages. With regard to marriages it should be stressed however that the lot was never used before mutual consent was apparent. The 1825 Synod had abolished the consultation of the lot when members and pastors married, but for missionaries and their marriage the lot was still in place.

Hallbeck's proposal to the Synod of 1836 was not accepted. The synod was reluctant to change the peculiar status of missionaries. However, the UAC was given the authority to make exceptions only in special cases. Hallbeck made use of this dispensation when Th Küster proposed to marry his daughter Gustava and chose not to consult the lot. Referring to Acts 15:10 Hallbeck made his views clear again about this tradition: "Now then, why do you try to test God by putting on the necks of the disciples a yoke that neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear?"¹³⁶⁷ The next synod, held in 1848 (after Hallbeck's death), took the step by leaving it to the missionaries which method to choose.¹³⁶⁸ For other matters, such as the calling of missionaries and the confirmation of members, the lot yet remained in official use for a long time.¹³⁶⁹ Towards 1900 the lot disappeared from the Moravian scene and one reads that Moravians of the 20th century regarded it as something archaic.

¹³⁶⁵ "Es ist daher gewiß nicht überflüssig, vorläufig darauf bedacht zu nehmen, was wir etwa zu thun haben, wenn wirklich der Plan zur Ausführung kommen sollte, denn in solchen Fällen kommt gar erst alles darauf an, daß man nicht zu spät komme, sondern in Voraus vorbereitet seyn." Hallbeck, *Eingabe an den Synodus: Süd-Africa – A. über verschiedene äussern u. inner Angelegenheiten der Mission* (HA & MASA).

¹³⁶⁶ *Süd-Africa – A. über verschiedene äussern u. inner Angelegenheiten der Mission. B. über Erziehung der dasigen Missionskinder in die Kolonie – von Hallbeck, für den Synodus 1836, u. dessen Missions Comitten. A. Ueber einige Angelegenheiten äussern u. inner (I.II) der Mission in Süd Africa, zur Mittheilung an die Missions Committee des Synodus 1836* (HA).

¹³⁶⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Aug 31st 1839 (HA).

¹³⁶⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 183 (from *Syn.* 1836, § 107; *Syn.* 1848, § 117,122,128); *Protocol HC*, Dec 14th 1847, Jan 16th 1850 (HA).

¹³⁶⁹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 183 (from *Syn.* 1836, § 107; *Syn.* 1848, § 122).

The local education of missionary children

In view of the excellent educational institutions in Genadendal, as well as the availability of proper higher education in Cape Town, Hallbeck submitted a request to the 1836 synod with regard to the education of the missionaries' children. The Helpers Conference in South Africa backed this request.¹³⁷⁰

Hallbeck's proposal analysed the status quo: the fact that missionaries did not receive a salary was the reason for the United Missions Deaconry to take responsibility for the education of their children, combined with the fact that in the countries where they laboured, no proper education was available. Hallbeck then states that his new proposal is not because of dissatisfaction with the education in Germany – it is of good quality and the children are raised to serve their Saviour and his church. However, the consequence is that children are separated from their parents at a very young age, with little hope of seeing them ever again. This causes a lot of suffering, and it has a negative influence on the rest of their life. It is also very expensive, since the children have to travel to Europe and the Missions Deaconry has to take care of them during all the years of their education.

The system also affects the mission work negatively, since there are a number of examples of missionaries who repatriated earlier because of the fact that they could not bear living without their children any longer. There is also little hope that missionaries will see their children returning to the South African mission because of the language barriers. Educated in Germany, the children do not learn to speak either Dutch or English, nor any indigenous South African language.

Hallbeck's request is therefore that missionaries' children be educated on the mission stations locally. This is perhaps not possible in Greenland, Labrador or the West Indies, but it is achievable in the Cape Colony. He also mentions that the Cape climate is one of the healthiest and most agreeable in the world; therefore in respect of the children's health the climate forms no impediment. Furthermore, the fact that a bad morality is present in the Cape both among Christians and heathen should also not be an impediment, since the country is thinly populated and people live far away from one another. It is therefore not so difficult to keep the youth away from temptations. And frankly, in Germany there are also instances of bad morality. Hallbeck adds that in Cape Town there is a College or Athenaeum, where mission kids of other societies

¹³⁷⁰ Hallbeck, *Süd-Africa – A. über verschiedene äussern u. inner Angelegenheiten der Missions. B. über Erziehung der dasigen Missionskinder in die Kolonie – von Hallbeck, für den Synodus 1836, u. dessen Missions Comitten* (HA).

are already being trained. Hallbeck then proposes that the children be kept with their parents until their 9th or 10th year. Afterwards the parents can decide themselves whether they want to send their children to Europe for further education, or to remain in South Africa.

This proposal is illuminating, not only showing us Hallbeck's experience and competencies as a teacher, but also the improved situation with regard to education in the Cape Colony. The synod did not approve the request. In view of what has been achieved in the field of schooling and education in the Hallbeck era in South Africa, it was a great disappointment.

The division of ministerial and administrative duties

Hallbeck was convinced that the ministerial duties on mission stations should be distinguished from the administration. In 1836 he proposed¹³⁷¹ to appoint an official representative of the government to execute some civil duties, for example the maintenance of public order and the contracting of marriages. The latter would make the expensive journey to the magistrate in Caledon henceforth unnecessary for the Khoikhoi. Hallbeck was thinking of appointing Dr Lees to this function.

Concerning the sale of commodities on the mission station, Hallbeck pointed to the fact that the colonial government required that a license be obtained in this regard. The missionaries Nauhaus, Luttringshausen and Lehman conducted these duties, but at the same time they had to preach and administer the sacraments. Hallbeck then mentions that it is very unusual in the colony for a clergyman to be at the same time a dealer, and even worse, not officially licensed to do so. He therefore proposes that a missionary be appointed specifically for this task, and that he would not be allowed to preach or administer the sacraments. He could, though, assist in pastoral care.

The fact that Hallbeck brought this proposal to the synod requesting a clearer distinction between the ministerial and administrative duties of missionaries should be viewed in the light of the specific South African circumstances. The synod however rejected this proposal. As a matter of fact, not all mission enterprises across the world were financially as healthy as those in the Cape Colony by then. The synod was confronted with uncontrolled growth in expenditure. To appoint a detached person for administrative duties on each mission station all over the world would result in an extra financial burden that could not be met. The synod however granted the

¹³⁷¹ Hallbeck, *Süd-Africa – A. über verschiedene äussere u. inner Angelegenheiten der Missions. B. über Erziehung der dasigen Missionskinder in die Kolonie – von Hallbeck, für den Synodus 1836, u. dessen Missions Comitten* (HA).

possibility that the UEC could send un-ordained brothers in special cases for temporal affairs, without using the lot.¹³⁷²

Property rights

Hallbeck also submitted a proposal in order to avert future complications with the grant station system.¹³⁷³ For the grant stations Genadendal, Groenekloof and Enon the mission had no title deeds, only respective maps indicating the measured land and an official letter stating that the land was dedicated for the use of the missionaries and Khoikhoi. Since the Cape mission had no property rights, problems could arise for example in cases where inhabitants have to be excommunicated. Did the missionaries have the right to do that? Strictly speaking, according to the laws of the Cape Colony, they did not. Even if the governor would side with the mission, he was in no position to alter the issue. He was bound to act according to and under the law.

Hallbeck mentioned this in the context of the fact that the 1823 Commission of Inquiry of the British Parliament advised that measures be taken to grant more property rights to the Khoikhoi. Hallbeck then concluded that in the future the mission could find itself in a very arduous position with the present regulations (e.g. with regard to discipline, which could not be judicially upheld). Strictly spoken, excommunication of a person from the mission station was not possible if the mission wasn't owner of the land.

Hallbeck also noted the animosity that had arisen among many colonists because of the activities of the LMS. Unfortunately this animosity was not only directed against the LMS, but against all mission activities, also of the other mission societies. These colonists were forming a powerful political pressure group, and they would do everything in their power to get rid of the missionaries and remove the stations from their areas.¹³⁷⁴ The right of property would obviously strengthen the cause of the mission societies in this regard.

Hallbeck though was careful at the same time. He discouraged any further demanding of the obtaining of the property rights of Genadendal. This could also create a wrong impression, as if

¹³⁷² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 183, from *Syn.* (1848), § 127.

¹³⁷³ Hans Peter Hallbeck, "Süd-Africa – A. über verschiedene äussern u. inner Angelegenheiten der Missions. B. über Erziehung der dasigen Missionskinder in die Kolonie – von Hallbeck, für den Synodus 1836, u. dessen Missions Comitten. A. Ueber einige Angelegenheiten äussern u. inner (I.II) der Mission in Süd Africa, zur Mittheilung an die Missions Committee des Synodus 1836 (HA).

¹³⁷⁴ "Ein solcher Plan u. dessen für uns verderbliche Folgen wären ganz in Ueberstimmung mit den Wünschen einer gewißen Parthey in der Kolonie, welche allen demjenigen entgegenstrebt, wodurch das Wohl der geringere Claßen befördert wird, u. welche deswegen öffentlich gegen die Mißbionare der London Gesellschaft aufgetreten ist, im Grunde aber allen Mißbionen feindselig ist, weil durch sie die Hottentotten von ihrer Knechtschaft befreit worden, u. ihre natürlichen Rechte, zum Theil wenigstens, wieder erlangt haben." Hallbeck, *Eingabe an den Synodus: Süd-Africa – A. über verschiedene äussern u. inner Angelegenheiten der Mission* (HA & MASA).

the missionaries wanted to enrich themselves at the expense of the Khoikhoi. It would be better, he argued, to work towards a partition of the land. The mission should attempt to obtain ownership of a part of the land – Hallbeck specifically mentions the Kornlandskloof – where the vines and gardens of the missionaries were. In the name of the United Brethren the missionaries should form a board of joint trustees. The rest of the land could be transferred legally to the Khoikhoi, thereby conveying property rights to them. According to Hallbeck this plan would prevent an unfortunate event that the whole mission station be annulled, would the benevolent attitude of the government change in future.

A final decision could however not be taken. Herrnhut advised Hallbeck to consult jurists in England on his way back, especially with regard to the complicated questions on ownership of the mission stations in a British colony. The issue regarding the grant stations kept Hallbeck busy until the end of his life.

Ordination as bishop

In 1835 there were a total of ten bishops in the Moravian Church – eight in Germany, one in England and one in North America. For the synod of 1836 three new episcopal ordinations were proposed: WH van Kleck, chairman of the Helpers Conference in North Carolina, CA Pohlmann, chairman of the Helpers Conference in England, and HP Hallbeck, chairman of the Helpers Conference in South Africa.¹³⁷⁵ The synod approved these nominations, but added three more: JA Reichel, member of the UEC and minister in Herrnhut, DF Gambs in Neuwied, and JR Martin in England.¹³⁷⁶

On September 4th 1836 Hallbeck was ordained as *presbyter* and on the 5th the ordination as *bishop* followed.¹³⁷⁷ Until then he had held the office of *diaconus*. During the celebration in the church hall of Herrnhut all the candidates were clothed in long white gowns. They were ordained by the imposition of hands and blessing of the Lord. Then the newly ordained bishops lay prostrate with their faces to the ground while the doxology was sung.

Hallbeck's ordination as bishop was proof that the UEC and the Moravian Church had great trust in him. Although he was not born Moravian, and although he also met considerable resistance in South Africa in his work from some of his colleagues like Clemens, his integrity and deeds

¹³⁷⁵ *Protocol UEC, Aug 27th-29th 1836 (HA).*

¹³⁷⁶ *Acts of Synod (1836), in Anshelm, Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck, Part 2, 57.*

¹³⁷⁷ *Protocol HC, Dec 30th 1836 (HA).*

ultimately confirmed the ordination. As a missionary and as superintendent of the South African mission he distinguished himself to be trustworthy in terms of the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the classical Protestant theological tradition, in which the Moravian Church stood.

His ordination as bishop was of great significance to the Moravian Church in South Africa. It solved the problem that had led to the termination of Georg Schmidt's work in 1744 - the fact that he had not been ecclesiastically ordained by the laying on of hands. Throughout the years this remained an issue that undermined the credibility of the Moravian clergy in the colony, as Hallbeck had already pointed out in 1818.

From Herrnhut, via Germany and Holland, to England

In October 1836 the Hallbecks had to bid farewell to their two sons and three youngest daughters, who remained in Europe. The eldest son Paul Theodor received training in Niesky. The second son, Wilhelm, travelled back to Zeist with them. There he studied chemistry. The daughters, Paulina and Emma, who had travelled with the Hallbecks from South Africa, stayed behind to receive an education. It was painful to bid them farewell. A few weeks later Hallbeck wrote from Zeist to his children in Kleinwelke: *Such farewells as we have experienced cause pains of a kind that only the Doctor in heaven can treat and take away.*¹³⁷⁸

A poem that Hallbeck wrote in Herrnhut during 1836, deals with the sacrifices of a missionary's life.¹³⁷⁹ It talks about the pain in his heart - one has to leave behind not only father and mother, one even has to send away one's own children. Nevertheless, the Saviour accompanies one with his precious promises:

¹³⁷⁸ "Solche Trennungen, wie wir erfahren haben, verursachen empfindliche Schmerzen, die nur der Arzt dort oben mildern u. stillen kann." Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Nov 28th 1836 (HA).

¹³⁷⁹ This poem, in Hallbeck's handwriting, is in the Herrnhut Archive.



The only (miniature) portrait known of Hans Peter Hallbeck, probably made in 1836 while he was in Herrnhut.¹³⁸⁰

¹³⁸⁰ HA. The portrait is more or less the same size as it is printed here.

About the Life of a Pilgrim

Whoever loves father, mother, daughter, son,
more than Me, not to mention the deceiver of
the world, receives no wage
and my servant cannot be.
Therefore nothing is keeping us back:
we depart and venture on the Lord's Word.

He who sacrifices everything,
house, friends, children, brothers,
for my service - it is a gain -
he receives so much more,
so He speaks, and because He speaks
one follows Him eagerly and with joy.

Whoever wants to save his present life
he can lose it, whoever willingly
embark, and keeps only silent
him I will lead for certain.
So He promises – and that gives courage
accepting the calling to be a witness.

Deterred by the discomforts of a pilgrim
lured by the love for the Heimat,
the call of the Master: follow me!
sounds in our ears.
His example makes us willing
to join the holy battle.

If fear in the heart stirs up
then the Master assures us:
I am with you, wherever you are
and that again perks us up.

Von Pilgersinn

1. Wer Vater, Mutter, Tochter, Sohn,
Sprich/Sprech nicht der Weltverführer
Mehr liebt als mich, krigt keinen Lohn,
Und kann nicht sein mein Diener.
Darum hält uns nichts: - wir gehen fort
Und wagens auf des Herrn Wort.

2. Wer aber alles giebt dahin.
Haus, Freunde, Kinder, Brüder
Um meinen Dienst dem ists Gewinn
Er kriegts vielfältig wieder
So sprach Er auch, und weil Er sprach
Folgt man Ihm gern und freudig nach.

3. Wer hier sein Leben retten will
Der kann es leicht verlieren,
Wer's willig wagt, und ist nur still
Den will ich sicher führen.
So ers verheisst – und das giebt Kraft
Zu dem beruf der Zeugenschaft.

4. Schreckt uns der Pilgers Ungemach
Lockt uns der Heimat Liebe,
Des Meisters Zuruf: Folg' mir nach!
Belebet unsre Triete [?]
Sein beispiel macht auch uns bereit
Zu ziehen in den heiligen Streit.

5. Regt sich im Herzen bangigkeit
So spricht zu uns der Meister
Ich bin bei Euch, wo Ihr auch seid
Und das macht wieder dreiheter... [?]

Because his presence makes easy
what flesh and blood will hardly dare.

If the poor weak heart shivers
looking at our little ones
then the Saviour takes our pain
and teaches us not to cry anymore
Whoever takes his hand
will leave comforted to that alien land.

The Lord loves to save all sinners
from the yoke of sin
and alas! how many are still bound
in its chains of servitude.
Therefore we not shun whatever discomfort
and eagerly go after the sinners.

With the Saviour there is no discrimination
whoever wants to come to Him
from East and West and North and South,
he will be accepted.
Therefore we cross the wide ocean
and shout loudly: come here all of you.

Once in that distant land on her deathbed
a woman unwell spoke to me:
From God you were sent hither,
Besides Him I thank you
that I know Him. And what she said
still echoes in my soul.

Who knows how many souls
the Lord has prepared
to save from the grip of sin

Denn seine Gegenwart macht leicht.
Was Fleisch und blut beschwerlich daucht [?]

6. Bebt uns das arme schwache Herz
Beim Blick auf unsre kleinen
Der Heiland bindert [?] unsere Schmerz
Lehrt uns nicht mehr zu weinen
Wer ge... sie in seine Hand
Und gehn getrost ins fremde Land.

7. Der Herr will von der Sünde Joch
Gern alle Sünder retten
Und ach wie viele schwachten noch
In ihrem Dienst und Ketten.
Darum scheuen wir kein Ungemach
Und gehen gern den Sündern nach.

8. Beim Heiland ist kein Unterschied
Wer nur zu ihm will kommen
Aus Ost und West und Nord und Sud,
Der wird auch angenommen.
Darum gehn wir über's weite Meer
Und rufen laut: Kommt alle her.

9. Einst sprach zu mir im fernen Land
Im Sterben eine Kranke.
Von Gott bist du hierher gesannt
Nächst Ihm ich dir verdanke,
Dass ich Ihn kenn. Und was sie sprach;
Hüllt [?] auch in meiner Seele nach.

10. Wer weiss wie viele Seelen noch
Uns d.. der Herr beschieden
Zu retten aus dem Sünde-grif

in which they are still kept.
Therefore we eagerly leave
to help pulling them into the net.

Worin sie jetzt ermüden.
Darum gehen wir auch gerne hin
Zu helfen in dem Netze ziehen.

When angels could, o how gladly
would they appear down here,
the Word of the Lord to preach
of grace and salvation and peace.
We are privileged and ought we not
readily witness about You, o Lord.

11. Wenn Engel dürften, o, wie gern
Erschienen sie hernieder,
Zu predigen das Wort des Herrn
Von Gnade Heil und Frieden.
Uns ist erlaubt und sollten wir.
Nicht gerne zeugen, Herr von dir.

Obedient to the will of Jesus Christ
we want to become his messengers
and preach the whole council
of his love on earth.
Is though our power still too weak
We follow our Saviour where He leads.

12. In g... an Jesu Christi Will
Wir wollen Gesandten werden
Und seinen ganzen Liebesrath
Verkündigen auf Erden
Ist unsre Kraft auch noch zu schwach
Wir folgen doch dem Heiland nach.

Hans Peter Hallbeck
Sept 30th 1836

Hans Peter Hallbeck.
den 30 Sept 1836.

The journey home led them – Hallbeck, his wife and their daughter Gustava – via the cities Dresden, Berlin, Frankfurt, Mainz and Neuwied. At the Moravian society in Neuwied Hallbeck had the opportunity to conduct church services, both in German and English. They travelled on a steam ship further on the Rhine via Bonn and Cologne to Zeist, where they arrived in November 1836.¹³⁸¹ In December they departed from Rotterdam on the steam ship “Sir Edw.(ard) Banks” to England, which proved to be a very stormy crossing of the channel.

In the *abnormally big city*¹³⁸² of London Hallbeck preached and addressed several missionary societies, to raise funds for the South African mission. They spent Christmas in Ockbrook, where Hallbeck assisted in the episcopal ordination of John King Martyn (Martins).¹³⁸³ From there they

¹³⁸¹ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Nov 28th 1836 (HA).

¹³⁸² “ungeheuer grossen Stadt” Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Dec 20th 1836 (HA).

¹³⁸³ 1774-1849. Cf. *Memoir of the Rev. John King Martyn, M.A. Bishop of the Church of the Unitas Fratrum* (1850).

went to Fairfield near Manchester, where Hallbeck had been teacher before leaving for South Africa. His wife stayed there while Hallbeck journeyed to Dublin (Ireland), Edinburg, and also to Glasgow (Scotland).

The first three months of 1837 were thus devoted to travelling, presentations of the missionary cause in South Africa and preaching in churches. In a letter to his daughter Carolina, Hallbeck gave a list of all the places he visited.¹³⁸⁴ In Dublin – as a bishop now – he ordained the Greek Kilwarlin minister Basil Patras Zula and John Willey.¹³⁸⁵

Shortly before their return to South Africa, the Hallbecks experienced two major calamities. The first was the loss of a substantial part of their baggage. The Hallbecks had decided not to take all their baggage along from Herrnhut on their way via Zeist to London. It was shipped via Altona (Hamburg) to London. The *Dorothy Cook* was however caught in a storm on the North Sea during

the Christmas days and sank. The worst was that Hallbeck lost a great number of papers and manuscripts, especially with regard to his earlier years.¹³⁸⁶ This is the reason why the *Nachrichten* – the Moravian missions magazine – never published an obituary of Hallbeck. It was the custom that the Moravian brothers and sisters wrote their own *Curriculum Vitae* that was then published as an obituary after their death. Yet the “Lebenslauf” Hallbeck had prepared disappeared in the waves even before Hallbeck passed on himself. Following this tragedy, in the four remaining years of his life he apparently didn’t make or have time to properly rewrite it.¹³⁸⁷

In February 1837, still in England, they also received the devastating news of the death of their eleven-year-old daughter Paulina in Kleinwelke, Germany. Hallbeck’s wife struggled to come to terms with this loss. In September of that year Hallbeck wrote: *The health of my beloved wife remains shaky, since the wounds of a mother’s heart do not want to heal.*¹³⁸⁸

¹³⁸⁴ London, Leicester, Nottingham, Ockbrook (Derby), Sheffield, Leeds, Fulneck, Huddersfield, Duckinfield, Fairfield, Manchester, Liverpool, and Dublin (by steam ship). After a week he returned to Fairfield. Then: Manchester, Lancaster, Kendal, Carlisle, Glasgow (Scotland), Greenok, Paisley, Shirling, the beautiful city Edinburg (for one week), Newcastle, York, Fulneck, Leeds, Sheffield, Fairfield, Manchester, Ashton, Birmingham, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, London. Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Apr 28th 1837 (HA).

¹³⁸⁵ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Jan 20th 1837 (HA).

¹³⁸⁶ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Jan 20th 1837 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to Herrnhut, Jan 12th 1837 in: Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 61.

¹³⁸⁷ Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern (1840) (HA).

¹³⁸⁸ “Die Gesundheit meiner I. Frau bleibt wankend, weil die Wunden des Mutter-Herzens nicht genesen wollen.” Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

When Hallbeck was in England on his return from the Synod of 1836, he also had the opportunity to state his opinion before a Committee of the British Parliament with regard to the newly adopted vagrancy law in the Cape Colony.¹³⁸⁹

Krüger summarized Hallbeck's view on this in his *The Pear Tree Blossoms*: According to Hallbeck the bill brought the Khoikhoi back to where they had been before 1828. According to him a law against vagrants would not be applied impartially in the colony. A farmer would be called a traveller, but a Khoikhoi a vagrant. Hallbeck referred to an example from the times under the 1809 Pass Law: a colonist at Stellenbosch tore the pass of an inhabitant of Genadendal to pieces and had him imprisoned, in order to force him into work on his farm. Fortunately the Khoikhoi succeeded in persuading the Landdrost to inspect the spot where the pieces of the pass were still scattered. When the Landdrost had put them together, he recognised the handwriting of Hallbeck and set the man free. Hallbeck argued that similar things could happen again if the bill became law, although it did not differentiate explicitly between Colonists and Khoikhoi. The British Parliament finally vetoed the proposed Vagrancy Law.¹³⁹⁰

Return to the Cape of Good Hope

In London the Hallbecks boarded the ship *Pero* back to South Africa on March 22nd 1837. Their voyage was interrupted in Plymouth to repair a leakage in the ship. While it was being repaired, they stayed with the Moravian congregation in Devonport, and Hallbeck preached and made presentations to raise funds for the mission.¹³⁹¹ On June 10th 1837, while on board the ship, he wrote that apart from damage caused by the wind, they have not experienced real danger yet. The only worrying thing was that the ship was leaking (it had not been properly repaired in Plymouth) and therefore the sailors had to pump out water every two to four hours. Furthermore he reported that he is teaching English classes to his travel companions (br & sr Francke and CA Küster)¹³⁹² every morning, having them read one or more chapters from the English Bible. They also held a German sing hour every evening on deck, the weather permitting. *On the request of the captain, he concluded, I held an English sermon on Sundays for everyone on board.*¹³⁹³

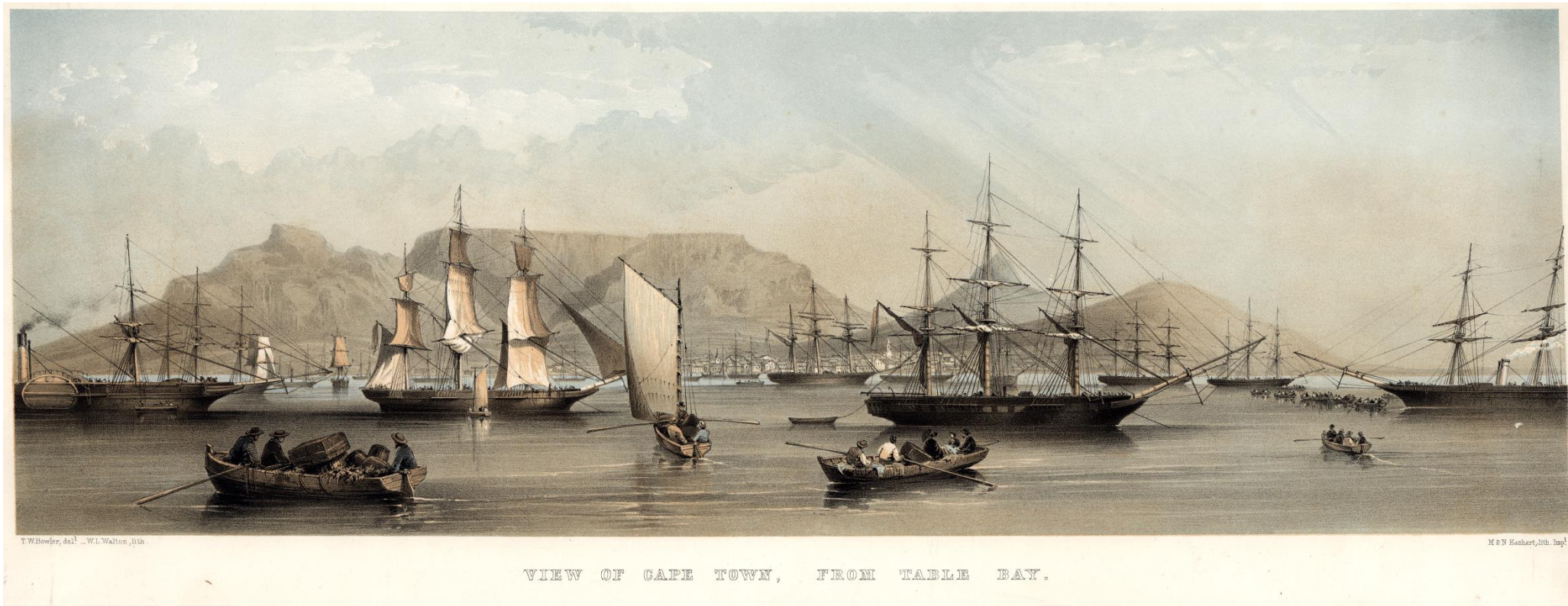
¹³⁸⁹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 162.

¹³⁹⁰ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 190.

¹³⁹¹ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Apr 28th 1837 (HA).

¹³⁹² *Nachrichten* (1840), 244.

¹³⁹³ "auf Verlangen des Capitäns halte ich des Sonntags der ganzen Schiffsgesellschaft eine Englische Predigt." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jun 10th 1837. *Nachrichten* (1837), 1000.



View of Table Bay. In the late 1830's steamships started to visit Cape Town (see far left).¹

¹ Noted below the picture: "VIEW OF CAPE TOWN, FROM TABLE BAY." "T.W. Bowler, del. - W.L. Walton, lith." "M & N Hanhart, lith. Imp." (HA).

They arrived in Cape Town on June 26th 1837, after eleven weeks at sea, an extraordinary long journey for those years. Hallbeck wrote the next day: *we are feeling totally at home on African soil again.*¹³⁹⁴ Their return journey first took them to Groenekloof, where Hallbeck ordained, for the first time, a missionary in South Africa: Arnold de Fries was ordained *Diaconus* on July 11th 1837.¹³⁹⁵ On July 21st the company arrived in Genadendal.¹³⁹⁶ There the community received their bishop with great celebrations. Even the surrounding farmers attended. The whole town was decorated for their arrival, all houses white washed again. Everyone was dressed in Sunday clothes and awaited Bishop Hallbeck and his family six English miles from Genadendal to accompany them the last stretch. A bishop was welcomed.

The significance of Hallbeck's episcopal ordination for South Africa

As indicated in the previous chapter, the Helpers Conference at Genadendal coined the idea in 1833 that the superintendent of the South African mission should be ordained as bishop.¹³⁹⁷ The first answer they received back from the UEC was carefully dismissive, pointing to the fact that a bishop cannot be ordained by way of a letter. Furthermore, the UEC warned that the South African mission should not think about episcopacy, the way it functions in the Church of England. Was this hidden criticism against Hallbeck? If it was, it was not accurate. Hallbeck stood behind the Moravian view on the episcopacy. Nevertheless, he also stressed the fact that in 1747 the Moravian Church was officially acknowledged by the British Parliament as an episcopal church.¹³⁹⁸

This decision of Parliament had an important bearing on the British colonies. In the first place it meant that the Moravian immigrants from Europa (especially to America) could not be treated as heretics and had the full right of freedom of religion. In the second place this act had a specific implication for the episcopacy in South Africa. The recognition of the legitimacy of the Moravian episcopacy meant that in essence there was no valid reason to install the Anglican episcopacy in the colony as well. The presence of a Moravian bishop in the colony would make the

¹³⁹⁴ "wir fühlen uns wieder ganz heimathlich auf dem Afrikanischen Boden." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jun 27th 1837 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1837), 1000-1001.

¹³⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1840), 261.

¹³⁹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1839), 693.

¹³⁹⁷ *Protocol HC*, Aug 9th 1833 (MASA & HA).

¹³⁹⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 18th 1825 (HA). Nov 9th 1748 *An Act for encouraging the People known by the Name Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America* (copy in GA). A copy of the Act of Parliament was sent by Cl Latrobe to Hallbeck in 1822. Cf. Letter Hallbeck to Cl Latrobe, Feb 1st 1823, in: Hallbeck Official Correspondance 1820-1823 (GA). The British parliament was not the only government officially acknowledging the Unitas Fratrum. They were preceded by the Prussian government in 1742 and in 1749 the government of Saxony followed.

establishment of a Church of England episcopal seat superfluous. This was indeed raised by Hallbeck and others in South Africa. At that point in time South Africa fell under the (Anglican) bishop of Calcutta. Although the Moravians in general did not have the character to fight for, or claim their rights, historically Hallbeck had a point. With a Moravian bishop already in South Africa, and their episcopacy formally acknowledged by King George the Second of Great Britain – there should not be a need for an Anglican bishop. Nevertheless, history went another direction and in 1847, in the Westminster Abbey Robert Gray was ordained bishop for South Africa. He arrived in 1848. This was more than ten years after Hallbeck's ordination as the first bishop of South Africa.

In the Archive of the Moravian Church South Africa in Cape Town (MASA) there is a handwritten copy of the document *Vom Bischofthum der Brüder-Unität in alter und neuer Zeit (Concerning the Episcopacy of the United Brethren in Old and New Times)*, compiled by Johannes Plitt in 1835.¹³⁹⁹ Plitt was a teacher at the Moravian training institution in Germany and an able historian. An archivist in the past was under the wrong impression that Hallbeck was the author of this document, so it is kept in a file together with Hallbeck's documents.¹⁴⁰⁰ The main purport of this document resonates Hallbeck's thoughts on the Moravian episcopacy.

Plitt wrote the document – on request of synod – as an apology for the Moravian episcopacy, specifically for the Helpers Conference in England. In that country questions had been surging on the validity of the Moravian episcopacy. Plitt did an elaborate historical survey on the question from where the Moravians received their episcopacy and how this was transferred through the ages. He went back in history to the Waldensians in the 12th century. He also paid attention to the interactions between the Moravians and the Reformers during the 16th century (Luther, Melancthon, Capito, Bucer, Calvin). The document ends with a list of all Moravian bishops through the ages, starting with the first ordination in 1467 in Austria, through the renewal of the old Moravian Church with the ordinations of David Nitschmann (1735) and Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1737), until the latest ordinations in 1836, Hans Peter Hallbeck included.

¹³⁹⁹ J. Plitt, *Vom Bischofthum der Brüder Unität, in alter und neuer Zeit. Erster Theil* (1835) (MASA).

¹⁴⁰⁰ The following is noted by the archivist: H.P. Hallbeck *Die biskopamp in die Broederkerk I-IV* 1835 (MASA: I 1 b 5 b). This copy is not in Hallbeck's handwriting. What could have been confusing for an archivist, is that there are other documents of which Hallbeck is the author, also in the handwriting of somebody else (copies of Hallbeck's original).



Anno Regni
G E O R G I I II.
R E G I S
VICESIMO SECUNDO.

At the Parliament begun and holden at *Westminster*, the Tenth Day of *November*, Anno Dom. 1747, in the Twenty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *GEORGE* the Second, by the Grace of God, of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

And from thence continued by several Prorogations to the Twenty ninth Day of *November*, 1748, being the Second Session of this present Parliament.

In Parlamento *Westmonasterii* inchoato et habito, III. Idus *Novembris*, A. D. 1747, Annoq; Regni Supremi Domini nostri *GEORGI* Secundi, Dei Gratia *Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae* Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. vicesimo primo.

Indeq; per diversas Prorogationes ad II. Cal. *Decembris*, CIOCCXLVIII. continuato, quae est hujus Parlamenti Sessio secunda.

An Act for encouraging the People known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America.

WH E R E A S many of the People of the Church or Congregations called the *Unitas Fratrum*, or *United Brethren*, are settled in His Majesty's Colonies in *America*, and demean themselves there as a sober, quiet, and industrious People; and many others of the same Persuasion are desirous to transport themselves to, and make larger Settlements in the said Colonies at their own Expence, provided they may be indulged with a full Liberty of Conscience, and in the Exercise of the Religion they profess;

Edictum quo Universitas, nomine Unitatis Fratrum insignita, ad Colonias in America Britannica plantandas invitatur.

C U M non pauci membrorum Ecclesiae *Unitatis Fratrum* abierunt *Colonias Britannicas* habitatum, ibidemq; ut decet gentem sobriam, tranquillam atq; sedulam, vitam agunt; quid quod alii ejusdem Sententiae semetipsos eò tranflatum, et possessiones in iisdem *Colonis* propriis impensis excultum ire fatagunt, sub conditione tamen *Libertatis Conscientiae absolutissimae, et Exercitii Religionis* quam profitentur liberrimi; jam verò

*Special Act of the British Parliament from 1747 in name of King George II, published to encourage people known by the name of Unitas Fratrum to settle in his Majesty's Colonies in America.*¹⁴⁰¹

¹⁴⁰¹ GA.

Plitt's exposition is based on the elucidation Loretz offered in the eighth chapter on the "Kirchendienst der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität"¹⁴⁰² of his already mentioned *Ratio Disciplinae Unitas Fratrum*. According to him bishops, presbyters and deacons constitute the "kirchliche Ministerium". Hallbeck, as deacon, was correspondingly ordained in Herrnhut first as presbyter and then as bishop, in accordance with the legitimate and authorised (Apostolic) episcopacy. The ordination of bishops is considered as *a good ecclesiastical institution, providing to the services of the church related to the ministerium and the administration of the sacraments, an external legitimate authentication and legitimation, which is necessary for the in the Christian church established constitution in view of proper order.*¹⁴⁰³

Bishops do not hold a particular ecclesiastical position, status or rank, although they should be loved and held in high esteem by all.¹⁴⁰⁴ A bishop is *an overseer... of several congregations of the Brethren or leader of a mission among the heathen...*¹⁴⁰⁵ This ministry is not performed *in the power of his episcopal office, yet only... subject to the guidance and supervision of the Unity's direction.*¹⁴⁰⁶ No bishop is subordinated to any other. They are equal in ministry. Loretz, in conclusion, explains that bishops are in fact ministers of God's Word, they administer the sacraments, pray with the congregation, guard the soundness of doctrine, keep the order of the church, care for the trustworthiness of the life of congregants and ordain those elected by the UEC.¹⁴⁰⁷ By the way, in the Plitt copy extant in the Moravian Archive in Cape Town (MASA) the ordinations done by Hallbeck in England in 1836 are filled out as well (John King Martyn in Ockbrook and John Ellis in Fulneck).

Plitt's conclusion, in accordance with Loretz, is that the historical line of Moravian episcopal succession is reliable and dates from before the Reformation. Nevertheless – he stated – the content of the episcopal office is not determined by history or old traditions, but by the norm of Holy Scripture. That is the reason why the *collegium of elders* has the authority in the Moravian Church, and not the person of the bishop. Plitt called this the presbyterial principle. Plitt also

¹⁴⁰² Johannes Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum A.C. Oder: Grund der Verfassung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität Augsburgischer Confession* (Barby: Brüdergemeinen, 1789), 217-225.

¹⁴⁰³ "für eine gute kirchliche Ordnung, wodurch den Diensten der Kirche welche das Lehramt und die Bedienung der Sacramenten zuverwanden haben, eine äußere gesetzmäßige Beglaubigung und Legitimation verschafft wird, welches bey der in der christliche Kirche eingeführten Verfaßung um guter Ordnung willen nötig ist." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 221.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 221.

¹⁴⁰⁵ "Evangelischen Brüderkirche... in so fern sie zu Beförderungsmitteln des Reiches Jesu dienen können, und um der äußerlichen Ordnung willen nötig sind." "einer Aufseher... mehrerer Brüdergemeinen oder Steher einer Heidenmission vor..." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 223.

¹⁴⁰⁶ "in Kraft seines Bischofsamts, sondern allein... unter der Beratung und Aufsicht der Unitäts-Direction." Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 224.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Loretz, *Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum*, 224.

referred to the contacts there had been in the 18th century between the Moravians and Canterbury. Comparing the episcopacy of the Moravians with that of the Church of England, he finds clear difference in the close connectedness of the Church of England, including its bishops, to the British throne and government.

Not only in Great Britain, but also in its colonies like South Africa, this document of Plitt seems to have been used. With a properly ordained bishop in South Africa, henceforth no suspicions could be raised any longer against the Moravian clergy. Until 1837 all ordinations in South Africa were officialised by way of letter. In 1822 for example, Lemmerz was ordained as *Diaconus* in Enon in terms of a letter written by Bishop Gottlob Martin Schneider.¹⁴⁰⁸ Normally the Helpers Conference and Hallbeck would propose suitable names, after which the UEC took the final decision to ordain the proposed brother. In 1823 Hallbeck proposed four brothers for ordination on the basis of their years of service, as well as the foreseen expansion the new stations would require.¹⁴⁰⁹ But a few years earlier he had to share an objection against the proposal to ordain br. Beinbrecht: *so it happens often, that he, in the presence of the Khoikhoi and against them, is using the lowest curses.*¹⁴¹⁰

With Hallbeck officially ordained as bishop, the situation changed. An ordained and recognised bishop now led the Moravian Church in South Africa. The ecclesiastical structures were now completed. The Moravian Church in the country announced itself, and no scepticism could be raised any longer against the legitimacy of the Moravian clergy in the colony. Little did Hallbeck and his colleagues foresee that this ideal situation would not last. After Hallbeck's death in 1840 it took more than half a century before the next Moravian bishop for South Africa was ordained – Ernst van Calker. It means that after Hallbeck's death ordinations of missionaries had to be legitimised once more by way of a letter.¹⁴¹¹

In September 1837 a high official from Assam in India, Mr Robertson, visited Genadendal. He was especially positive about the fact that the Moravian mission combined the preaching of the Gospel with training the people in different trades. He wanted Bishop Hallbeck to intervene on his behalf with the UEC in order to start a mission station in the region of Durrung, Assam, in the

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Nachrichten* (1824), 105; *Nachrichten* (1831), 49, 78, 827,

¹⁴⁰⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 11th 1823 (HA).

¹⁴¹⁰ "So kommt es z.b. öfters vor, daß er in Gegenwart der Hottentotten u. gegen sie die niedrigsten Fluchwörter braucht, ... wenn er die heil. Sacrament administriren sollte. Dabei wollten wir ihm auch nicht im Wegen stehen, weil er vielleicht durch die Ordination veranlaßt würde, beßer über sich zu wachen." Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 23rd 1821 (HA).

¹⁴¹¹ See for example: *Nachrichten* (1843), 219.

east of India. The governor of Calcutta was favourably inclined to this, and financial support was promised. Hallbeck wrote to the UEC raising the issue, even pushing them a bit, with a challenge: *when we would have the faith of our fathers, we would not have a lack of courage nor people.*¹⁴¹² Hallbeck also added in his letter that he had mentioned as second option for Mr Robertson, namely to approach the Dresden Missionary Society. However Robertson preferred the Brethren, with their long and valued experience. Apparently the UEC was not so happy with this, giving Hallbeck a reprimand concerning the Dresden Society: *They maintain principles that are not always in accordance with the spirit of the Bible.*¹⁴¹³ Instead they advised Hallbeck rather to refer Robertson to the British societies. What motives underpinned this reprimand are not easy to discern. Should it be linked to the fact that the Dresden Mission was distinctly (confessionalist) Lutheran?¹⁴¹⁴ Hallbeck was not very impressed with the UEC's decision not to investigate the possibilities in Assam.¹⁴¹⁵ In the protocol of the Helpers Conference it is minuted that the UEC's decision was received *with dismay.*¹⁴¹⁶ A few years later American Baptists commenced with the mission in Assam.

Conclusion

After his return as bishop from Europe, Hallbeck almost became a celebrity in the Genadendal neighbourhood. It once happened in 1837 that Hallbeck had to travel to Hemel en Aarde, but that the road was impassable because of the rains. When the farmers heard that Hallbeck was approaching, they immediately started to repair the road and even made extra oxen available to ensure a safe journey. Hallbeck remarked about this incident: *Who could imagine in 1795 [the year when the missionaries had to flee to save their lives from the attacking farmers] that such a benevolent atmosphere would become a reality!*¹⁴¹⁷ It took some time, but the fact that Hallbeck, throughout all the years of his ministry, refrained from meddling with disputes, and his honest and straightforward attitude, started to bear fruits. He became known all over the Cape Colony, highly appreciated, from the governor to the poorest Khoikhoi. What a contrast this is with the antagonism between the colonists and the London Missionary Society, especially their

¹⁴¹² "So viel ist gewiss, dass wenn wir Glauben hätten, wie unsere Vorfahren, würde es uns weder an Muth noch an Leuten fehlen" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 16th 1837 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 249.

¹⁴¹³ "Diese vertritt Grundsätze, die nicht immer in Ubereinstimmung mit dem Geiste der Bibel sind" *Protocol UEC*, Nov 14th 1838.

¹⁴¹⁴ *Christelijke Encyclopaedie*, 1925, Part 3, 623, s.v. "Leipziger zending".

¹⁴¹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1840), 249; Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 16th 1837 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Sept 16th 1837 & March 28th 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁴¹⁶ "mit leidwesen" *Protocol HC*, March 28th 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁴¹⁷ "Wer hätte im J. 1795 eine solche Stimmung erwarten können?" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

superintendent Dr Philip. And, what a contrast to the history of the Moravian Mission during the first decades of the resumption of their work at the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁴¹⁸

Hallbeck and the Moravian mission of his era did not endeavour to seek favouritism from whatever side. They continued to preach the Gospel, calling everyone to repentance to Jesus Christ, and in the process pursued the wellbeing of everyone God had placed on their path.

The situation in the Colony the Cape of Good Hope was again changing. Widespread migrations of peoples forced Hallbeck to react and steer the Moravian Mission through the coming turbulent times. In the next chapter these will be addressed.

¹⁴¹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1837), 482.

CHAPTER TWELVE

EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA (1837 – 1838)

Introduction

With Hallbeck's return from his one and a half year journey to Europe on June 26th 1837, an atmosphere of unrest prevailed in the colony. There were continuing skirmishes between colonial forces and black tribes on the eastern border, and there was a general feeling of discontent among the colonist farmers because of the legislation concerning the liberation of the slaves. Many farmers considered leaving the colony and emigrating to the interior regions, intending to begin a life outside of the colony. On the other hand many slaves could not wait for the day to leave their present positions and retire to an abode of their choice – like one of the mission stations.¹⁴¹⁹ Indeed, extraordinary events were occurring, events that Hallbeck reflected upon. He noted in one of his letters to Herrnhut: *Not a few colonists are outraged about the more favourable disposition of the government towards the slaves and original inhabitants, and in their anger they leave the colony, heading towards their own destruction to the regions of Port Natal, where they will either sink back in barbarism or be wiped out by the blacks.*¹⁴²⁰ At the same time, the Fingu people, treated as slaves among black nations where they were living,¹⁴²¹ were offered a safe refuge in the colony. The tribe immigrated and settled on the eastern regions of the Tsitsikamma.

Within three months after his return from Europe and England, Hallbeck had to undertake another journey, this time to the eastern border regions. This resulted in a comprehensive report published in the *Nachrichten* of 1839 with the title *Report of br Hallbeck on his Journey to Enon and Silo and back to Genadendal in South Africa from September 19th 1837 until January 4th 1838.*¹⁴²² In addition it gave rise to a subsequent account of the two mission stations: *Report to the UEC on the relations in Enon and Silo.*¹⁴²³ The current chapter pays attention to Hallbeck's

¹⁴¹⁹ *Nachrichten* (1838), 673.

¹⁴²⁰ "Nicht wenige von den Colonisten sind ganz aus über die bessern Gesinnung der Regierung gegen die Slaven u. Urbewohner, u. in der Wüth verlassen sie die Colonie u. ziehen zu ihren eigenen Verderben in die Gegend von Port Natal, wo sie entweder in den elendsten Barbarismus zurücksinken oder von den Schwarzen aufgerieben werden müssen." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

¹⁴²¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

¹⁴²² *Bericht des Bruders Hallbeck von seiner Besuchreise nach Enon und Silo und von da zurück nach Gnadenthal in Süd-Afrika vom 19. September 1837 bis 4. Januar 1838*, published in the *Nachrichten* (1839), 692f.

¹⁴²³ *Bericht an die U.A.C. über die damaligen Verhältnisse in Enon u. Silo* (1838) (HA).

journey to the mission stations Enon and Silo, followed by an overview of the activities of Hallbeck as bishop and superintendent during the period after his return from Europe. Automatically light will be shed on “the extraordinary events” that occurred, and how Hallbeck interpreted them.

Visitation to Enon and Silo (end of 1837)

Hallbeck, accompanied by Küster, destined to be employed as missionary in Silo, left Genadendal on September 19th 1837. The journey took them over Swellendam, Plettenberg Bay, Grahamstown, Uitenhage to Enon, and from there to Silo. During the nights the frightening howling of the wolves (hyenas) was something the missionaries never got used to. *We are staying and living in a country full of wild animals. Therefore, cause and vigilance is necessary, but before everything else prayer to God, the Creator of all things, for his protection from the teeth of the predators and the poison of the snakes.*¹⁴²⁴ Hallbeck was impressed with field cornet Linde farming in the Genadendal region: *He possesses most of the good characteristics of the old Dutch colonists. His hospitality and kindness is known everywhere.*¹⁴²⁵ The company decided to pay him a courtesy visit en route to Enon and Silo. Linde expressed his gratitude towards Hallbeck that he had decided to return to Africa. When sleeping over on a farm in the Swellendam district, they were pleased to find a Bible on the table of the settler as well as a Genadendal hymnbook, both showing evidence of being used frequently.¹⁴²⁶ It was a matter of coincidence that Hallbeck and his company opted to visit this farm. During the previous two days Hallbeck noticed that two of his oxen had contracted a disease. He was thus forced to seek help from a farm on the banks of the Vals River. The colonist, Mr Sauermann, was very helpful. He offered to keep the two oxen and pasture them together with his herd, until the company came back from the eastern border. He also made two trek-oxen available to them at the usual price. Hallbeck noted: *We had the unexpected joy to meet in him and his wife awakened souls, who had been seized powerfully by the graceful visitation that had started a few years ago in the region of Genadendal, and they were very delighted about our visit, requesting us never to drive past again in future, without visiting them with a message. Until the Gouritz River, the border of the Swellendam district, this*

¹⁴²⁴ “So wohnt und lebt man hier in einem mit wilden Thieren angefülltem Lande. Da ist Vorsicht und Wachsamkeit nöthig, vor Allem aber Gebet zu Gott, dem Schöpfer aller Dinge, um Seine Bewahrung vor den Zähnen der Raubthiere und dem Gifte der Schlangen.” *Nachrichten* (1838), 536.

¹⁴²⁵ “Er besitzt die meisten guten Eigenschaften der alten holländischen Kolonisten. Seine Gastfreiheit und Gefälligkeit ist überall bekannt.” Hallbeck, *Reise von Gnadenthal nach Enon u. Silo, u. zurück im J. 1837* (HA). Published in *Nachrichten* (1839), 695.

¹⁴²⁶ *Nachrichten* (1839), 701.

*awakening appears to be rather widespread, at the other side of the river everything is still dead and indifferent.*¹⁴²⁷

Enon demanded Hallbeck's attention mainly because of the drought. In a special report to the UEC Hallbeck addressed the problems.¹⁴²⁸ He noted that there had been a major decrease in job opportunities for the Khoikhoi in the Enon area, since many farmers had decided to leave the colony, venturing into the inner parts of Africa. Furthermore, there were many wandering Fingus prepared to work for a lower wage than the Khoikhoi.¹⁴²⁹ However, the main problem was the lack of water, notwithstanding all the technical efforts employed by the missionaries thus far, like the installation of a pump and iron pipes. The lack of water supply caused the number of inhabitants on the station to decrease significantly.¹⁴³⁰

In 1838 the water scarcity was so grave and consequential that Hallbeck feared that all inhabitants would have to leave the station.¹⁴³¹ A number found refuge at the Moravian mission station Silo,¹⁴³² and others at the Kat River Settlement.¹⁴³³ The drought reached its peak in 1838. It was the worst Halter had seen during his sixteen years of service in Enon. Even some yellowwood trees were dying.¹⁴³⁴ People moved to towns like Uitenhage, Grahamstown and (the new) Port Elizabeth to find employment, although job opportunities were scarce. Many houses at Enon stood empty.¹⁴³⁵

From the distressed station the Hallbeck party proceeded via Grahamstown to Silo. They arrived on October 25th 1837 in Grahamstown. Hallbeck observed: *The inhabitants are mainly English, who especially in the year 1820 immigrated, and who are mainly represented in commerce. - There is here a spacious English episcopal church; apart from that, the Methodists have two chapels. The one, a big spacious building, is destined for the white inhabitants, the other one for the different classes of the coloured population. In the chapel of the London Missionary Society*

¹⁴²⁷ "An ihm und seiner Frau hatten wir die unerwartete Freude erweckte Leute kennen zu lernen, die von der Gnadenheimsuchung, welche vor einigen Jahren in der Gegend von Gnadenthal ihren Anfang genommen, kräftig waren ergriffen worden, und sich nun unseres Besuches herzlich freuten, mit Bitte, künftig nie vorbei zu fahren, ohne bei ihnen einzusprechen. Bis zum Gauritz Fluß, der Grenze des Swellendam Distrikts, soll diese Erweckung ziemlich allgemein sein, jenseits desselben aber ist Alles noch todt und gleichgültig." *Nachrichten* (1839), 701.

¹⁴²⁸ Hallbeck, *Bericht an die U.A.C. über die damaligen Verhältnisse in Enon u. Silo* (1838) (HA)

¹⁴²⁹ *Nachrichten* (1839), 719.

¹⁴³⁰ *Nachrichten* (1838), 329; *Nachrichten* (1839), 718.

¹⁴³¹ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Febr 1st 1838 (HA).

¹⁴³² *Nachrichten* (1839), 785.

¹⁴³³ *Nachrichten* (1839), 466. The Kat River Settlement was established for the Khoikhoi by the colonial government in 1829, as a measure of frontier defence. Cf. Tony Kirk "Progress and decline in the Kat river settlement, 1829-1854" in *The Journal of African History* (14), 411-428.

¹⁴³⁴ *Nachrichten* (1839), 784-785.

¹⁴³⁵ *Nachrichten* (1840), 681.

*Mr Monro is appointed, and to conclude there is here a chapel of the Baptists, however no Dutch Reformed Church.*¹⁴³⁶ Hallbeck noted that Grahamstown, the most significant town in the colony after Cape Town, looked from a distance like a European city. On the outskirts of the town there were also two Fingu towns.

In Grahamstown Hallbeck had talks with Mr Andries Stockenström.¹⁴³⁷ Lord Glenelg, Secretary of the Colonies, had appointed him to implement a new policy to settle the border issue and unrest. It entailed that the border had to be moved back to the Zwart Kei and the Keiskamma Rivers, and that the military post was withdrawn from Silo. Peace treaties were signed with the chiefs, e.g. on January 18th 1837 with Mapasa, at Silo. Silo was regarded by the colonial officials as of political importance. The locality of the mission station provided a channel of influence outside the colony. However – Hallbeck wrote – the purpose of the missionaries was to gather a Christian congregation from the heathen. And this was still far from being reached. Only 19 adults had received baptism yet. He therefore stressed that all the missionaries of Silo had to learn Xhosa.¹⁴³⁸

In Grahamstown, Mr Stockenström promised Hallbeck that the authorities would do everything in their ability to protect Silo. Since his appointment Stockenström had visited Silo twice and was well acquainted with the situation. Hallbeck received valuable information about the current state of affairs in the border regions and the neighbouring black tribes. He even had the opportunity to meet the black chief Botma, who camped with his company in a tent in Stockenström's garden. Botma's purpose was to raise issues with the colonial authorities and deliberate the future of the region in this regard. Hallbeck was invited by Stockenström to attend the consultation, but, being pressed for time, he had to decline. Before leaving for Silo, Hallbeck also held talks with the Methodist missionary Shaw, learning from his experience and knowledge of the border regions and the black tribes.¹⁴³⁹

¹⁴³⁶ "Die Einwohner sind größtentheils Engländer, welche im Jahr 1820 vornehmlich einwanderten, und die sich hauptsächlich mit dem Handel beschäftigen. – Es ist hier eine geräumige englisch bischöfliche Kirche; außerdem haben die Methodisten zwei Kapellen. Die eine, ein großes geräumiges Gebäude, ist für die weißen Einwohner bestimmt, die andere für die verschiedenen Klassen der farbigen Bevölkerung. An der Kapelle der Londner Missionsgesellschaft ist Herr Monro angestellt, und endlich ist hier noch eine Kapelle der Baptisten, aber keine holländisch reformirte Kirche." *Nachrichten* (1839), 735.

¹⁴³⁷ *Nachrichten* (1838), 631.

¹⁴³⁸ *Protocol HC*, Jan 10th 1838; Hallbeck, *Bericht des Bruders Hallbeck von seiner Besuchsreise nach Enon und Silo und von da zurück nach Gnadenthal in Süd-Afrika vom 19. September 1837 bis 4. Januar 1838*, in *Nachrichten* (1839), 692f.

¹⁴³⁹ *Nachrichten* (1839), 735.

In many respects the situation at Silo was the opposite than that of Enon. The number of inhabitants kept on increasing.¹⁴⁴⁰ Silo was regarded as a place of refuge. Yet not all inhabitants became church members. Hallbeck wrote: *Presently Silo has a number close to 500 inhabitants, of which the actual congregation comprises only a small part.*¹⁴⁴¹ Hallbeck also noticed: *Most of the inhabitants of Silo are still pagans. They have however with their acceptance obliged themselves to renounce their pagan ways, and to live according to the Word of God and the Regulations of the congregation based on it, and to exploit the opportunity of education for their children.*¹⁴⁴² During this visit Hallbeck had talks with the Thembu chief and some of his brothers.¹⁴⁴³

Silo had two separate schools: Dutch and Xhosa.¹⁴⁴⁴ Hallbeck hoped that, as soon as they had enough missionaries able to speak Xhosa, the two schools would be merged, enabling the Thembu children also to learn Dutch, and the Khoikhoi children to learn Xhosa. According to him this should contribute significantly to eradicate mutual prejudices and distrust between the two groups.¹⁴⁴⁵ This racial division is also reflected in the way the missionaries presented the annual statistics, keeping the records of the Thembu and the Khoikhoi separately. The population of Silo was a true mixture. At one stage the missionaries noted that people from eight different nations were staying there.¹⁴⁴⁶ To mention some: Khoikhoi, San, Thembu, Mambukkis (Fingu), Mantatus, Sutus.¹⁴⁴⁷ The missionaries called it a true *Pentecostal congregation with its Khoikhoi, Bantu, Thembu, Fingu, Sutu, etc.*¹⁴⁴⁸ Many of these people had fled to the area of Silo after being attacked and robbed by the Fetchannas and other stronger nations like the Zulus. From time to time quarrels also occurred in Silo between the different ethnic groups.¹⁴⁴⁹

The fact that there was a large contingent of Khoikhoi in Silo presented a challenge. Apart from the Enon nucleus that had joined the first missionaries in the late 1820's, the missionary Fritsch in particular motivated Khoikhoi to move to Silo in the 1830's. After some time it became evident

¹⁴⁴⁰ *Nachrichten* (1839), 775.

¹⁴⁴¹ "Gegenwärtig zählt Silo nahe an 500 Einwohner, wovon das eigentliche Gemeinlein nur einen kleinen Theil ausmacht." *Nachrichten* (1839), 153.

¹⁴⁴² "Die meisten von den Einwohnern Silos sind noch Heiden. Sie haben sich aber bei ihrer Annahme als Einwohner des Ortes verpflichtet, von ihrem heidnischen Wesen abzusehen, nach dem Worte Gottes und nach den auf dasselbe sich gründenden Ordnungen der Gemeinde zu leben, und die ihnen und ihren Kindern dargebotene Gelegenheit zum Unterricht und zur Erbauung treulich zu benutzen." *Nachrichten* (1839), 849.

¹⁴⁴³ *Nachrichten* (1839), 145.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *Nachrichten* (1839), 852-853.

¹⁴⁴⁵ *Nachrichten* (1839), 854.

¹⁴⁴⁶ *Nachrichten* (1835), 87.

¹⁴⁴⁷ *Nachrichten* (1835), 123-124; *Nachrichten* (1839), 846.

¹⁴⁴⁸ "...das man mit Recht ein Pfingst-Gemeinlein nennen kann, Hottentotten, Kaffern, Tambukkis, Fingus, Sutus etc" *Nachrichten* (1844), 481.

¹⁴⁴⁹ *Nachrichten* (1838), 809.

that Fritsch would never master the Xhosa language. Academically he was not talented at all. In order to still be productive in the ministry, he stimulated more (Dutch speaking Khoikhoi) people from Enon to move to Silo. This however did not carry the consent of the Helpers Conference. Silo was not intended to be turned into a Khoikhoi station. Missionaries were expected to master the Xhosa language as soon as possible.¹⁴⁵⁰ The younger and more talented missionary Bonatz, who was the head of Silo, often had a hard time with his older colleague.¹⁴⁵¹

Since it was quite apparent that Bonatz' ministry was blessed, Fritsch made it his mission to keep his younger colleague humble. Fritsch's ministry concentrated on the Khoikhoi in Silo. He tended to focus on the significant differences in character between the two nations. According to him the Thembu were obstinate and not ready to receive the Gospel yet. He even declared Bonatz' work to be futile. He turned a blind eye to those Thembu who did repent and conducted a faithful lifestyle. Fritsch had even made plans to relocate the Thembu to a new station, and to keep Silo for the Khoikhoi. Hallbeck had to intervene as superintendent during his visit in 1838. He admonished Fritsch to focus less on matters of difference.

At the end of 1837 Bonatz wrote: *At the present moment the prospects around us are rather dark, and according to human estimations still some time will have to go by, until the night of paganism will give way to the light of the Gospel.*¹⁴⁵² In the first years of mission at Silo only 19 adult Thembu could be baptised.¹⁴⁵³ Hallbeck encouraged everyone to keep trusting the Lord: *We dare hope in faith, that the Lord, who had promised, that his Word would not return to him empty (Isaiah 55: 11), will also direct things, that it will produce here the fruits for which he had sent it.*¹⁴⁵⁴ In his intercourse with the Thembu, Hallbeck realised the importance of the commandment: *You shall not covet.* Hallbeck wrote: *greed is the mother of theft, robbery and murders ... through greed witchcraft is executing its power on them, because it finds an excuse to rob the innocent neighbour. Greed also helps maintaining the harmful practice of polygamy.*¹⁴⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵⁰ "Kaffern-Sprache" *Nachrichten* (1838), 634; "Tambukki-Sprache" *Nachrichten* (1838), 810.

¹⁴⁵¹ Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbeck's und einer aus ihr*, 6-7. From Hallbeck's youngest daughter Emma Renata's memories about br. Fritsch, who after Hallbeck's death married her mother.

¹⁴⁵² "Im gegenwärtigen Augenblick scheint die Aussicht um uns her ziemlich düster, und nach allem menschlichen Ansehen wird einige Zeit verfließen, bis die Nacht des Heidenthums dem vollen Glanz des Lichtes des Evangeliums weichen wird." *Nachrichten* (1838), 805-806.

¹⁴⁵³ *Nachrichten* (1839), 850.

¹⁴⁵⁴ "Gläubig dürfen wir hoffen, daß der Herr, der verheißen hat, daß Sein Wort nicht leer zurückkommen soll (Jes. 55,11.), auch hier Alles so lenken werde, daß es dasjenige ausrichten wird, wozu Er es gesendet hat." *Nachrichten* (1839), 843-844.

¹⁴⁵⁵ "Durch diese Habsucht entstehen die häufig unter ihnen vorkommenden Diebstähle, Raubzüge und Mordthaten ... durch die Habsucht behauptet die Zauberei ihren verderblichen Einfluß auf sie, indem dadurch ein erwünschter Vorwand gefunden wird, den unschuldigen Nächsten zu gerauben. Die Habsucht hilft selbst die schädliche Sitte der Vielweiberei erhalten." *Nachrichten* (1839), 848-849.

To Herrnhut Hallbeck explained that the mission work in Silo was complicated by the differences in language and culture, and that it required special wisdom and grace to prevent discord and disagreement.¹⁴⁵⁶ Concerning Bonatz Hallbeck wrote: *Br Bonatz has been blessed by the Lord with special gifts for the Thembu mission, not only since he mastered their language with ease, but also since he has a gift to communicate with the Thembu, and enjoys their respect and love. In his wife [Paulina Müller] he has also found a perfect helper, whose intellect and gifts will certainly not remain unused in South Africa.*¹⁴⁵⁷

Silo would continue to test the patience of its missionaries during the coming years. Bonatz wrote: *Some people stay here for years, and can still not understand anything, and still remain so wild and primitive, as they always have been. Others understand well, but about them we have to say, they love the darkness more than the light.*¹⁴⁵⁸ In Silo the spiritual battle had only begun. Bonatz wrote in July 1840: *We are here totally among the heathen... here the evil enemy is still holding the poor heathen hostage with strong chains, with all his power.*¹⁴⁵⁹ *Here in Silo one is reminded of the truth of the following verse: One has to work in the great garden plan of our Saviour with much patience.*¹⁴⁶⁰ For the young teenage girls the mission station was a safe haven. One day after school some of them asked Bonatz to arrange a hiding place for them, since Chief Mapasa was organising a big festival, and was planning to offer the young girls of his tribe to his guests, to satisfy their debauchery.¹⁴⁶¹ Bonatz arranged that they could hide in one of the houses, where they stayed several nights. On the other hand it was not easy for the missionaries to make contact with the young boys. Many of them did not attend school, but stayed for prolonged periods in the fields with the cattle. After ten years of mission work the missionaries had to conclude with pain that many of the boys were still growing up without the Word of God.¹⁴⁶²

¹⁴⁵⁶ Hallbeck, *Memoranda im bezug auf die gegenwärtige Lage der dinge in Silo* (1837) (HA).

¹⁴⁵⁷ "Br Bonatz ist vom Herrn mit besondern Gaben für die Tambukki-Mißion ausgerüstet worden, indem er nicht nur mit Leichtigkeit die Sprache gelernt hat, sondern auch eine ganz vorzügliche Gabe besitzt mit den Tambukkis umzugehen, u. sich ihre Achtung u. Liebe zu erwerben, u. an seiner I. Frau hat er einer sehr treffliche Gehülfin gefunden, deren Verstand u Gaben in Süd Africa gewiß nicht weggeworfen sind." Hallbeck, *Memoranda im bezug auf die gegenwärtige Lage der dinge in Silo* (1837) (HA).

¹⁴⁵⁸ "Andere wohnen Jahre lang hier, und können noch nichts verstehen, und bleiben so wild und roh, wie sie immer waren; Andere verstehen wohl, aber von ihnen muß man sagen, sie haben die Finsterniß lieber als das Licht." *Nachrichten* (1841), 314.

¹⁴⁵⁹ "Hier sind wir ganz eigentlich unter den Heiden ... hier hält der böse Feind noch mit aller Gewalt die armen Heiden gefangen mit starken Ketten." *Nachrichten* (1841), 313.

¹⁴⁶⁰ "Hier in Silo wird man gar oft an die Wahrheit des Verses erinnert, 'des Heilands großen Garten-Plan muß man mit viel Geduld bedienen.'" *Nachrichten* (1841), 693.

¹⁴⁶¹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 754-755.

¹⁴⁶² *Nachrichten* (1841), 703.



Silo (with the church in the background left).¹

¹ HA.

On the return journey back to Genadendal, Hallbeck and his company spent ample time in Knysna, where he stayed with the well-known Mr Rex.¹⁴⁶³ Due to the problem of water scarcity at Enon, there was an urgent need to establish another mission station. Hallbeck's attention has been drawn to a piece of land near Knysna, called Wittelshoek. They visited the spot and Hallbeck made some critical investigations. By now he was experienced in evaluating whether a place had the potential of becoming a thriving mission town. As superintendent he was closely involved in the past with the choice of location and establishment of Elim and Silo. He was also all too aware of the fact that the wrong location was chosen by Latrobe for Enon next to a non-perennial river. Hallbeck reported to the Helpers Conference on Wittelshoek and *the Conference listened attentively to what Hallbeck reported about his visit to Knysna, and the piece of land there, with the name Wittelshoek... proposed because of its position close to the harbour and the forest, and because of its fertility and abundance of water and therefore very suitable for a mission settlement. Yet since it is not known whether it is large enough, and whether the government will give or sell it to us, these points still have to be clarified, before we can do anything further in this matter.*¹⁴⁶⁴ However, with the establishment of Clarkson a year later the plans with regard to Wittelshoek did not materialize.

On January 4th 1838 Hallbeck arrived back in Genadendal, where he resumed the manifold duties waiting for him there. Small wonder that he once complained to the UEC of being a "Jack of all trades".¹⁴⁶⁵ It once happened that Hallbeck was busy building a house with others when someone came running to him with the message that the governor of the colony had arrived and was waiting for him in his house. In no time he had to pull off his working clothes and appear before the governor as a gentleman.¹⁴⁶⁶

Challenges in Genadendal

The death of Dr Lees in Genadendal on April 14th 1837 – only 31 years old – came as an immense shock, not only for his wife who was pregnant, but also for the Moravian Mission in South Africa

¹⁴⁶³ *Protocol HC*, Jan 10th 1838 (MASA & HA). According to Hallbeck he was apparently the son of King George III of England. Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Febr 3rd 1838 (HA).

¹⁴⁶⁴ "die Conferenz hörte mit Intereße, was br. Hallbeck von seinem besuch an der Knysna berichtete, u. daß das Stück Land, Wittelshoek genannt welches die dort ... vorschlagen wegen seiner Lage in der Nähe des Hafens u. der Gebüsche, u. wegen seiner Fruchtbarkeit u. Ueberflusses an Waßer zu einer Missions Niederlaßung gut geeignet ist. da man aber nicht weiß, ob es groß genug ist, u. ob die Regierung es uns geben oder verkaufen will, so mußte man suchen, über diese Punkte erst in Klarheit zu kommen, ehe unsererseits etwas weiteres in d. Sache gethan werden kann." *Protocol Helpers Conference*, January 10th 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁴⁶⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹⁴⁶⁶ H.G. Schneider, *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars*. 3rd ed. (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925), 20-21.

as a whole.¹⁴⁶⁷ Once again the Genadendal inhabitants had to travel to Caledon or Stellenbosch to see a qualified doctor.¹⁴⁶⁸ In 1838 Lees' wife with her son returned to England.¹⁴⁶⁹ At first there were prospects that another English doctor, Dr Bayshawe, would replace him, but this did not materialize. A request of Hallbeck to the UEC to send a medically qualified missionary was turned down because of financial reasons. Hallbeck realised that the only solution would be to call a person who could be both missionary and doctor. But was such a person available?

Hallbeck thought of his own son Carl Wilhelm: *For the time being we will have to stay without a doctor, since I am rather convinced that the Unität does not have somebody, who would fit in here. Nobody can for the time being practise here and make a living, unless he is able and prepared to sacrifice his own capital, nor can somebody live here on the costs of the mission, since that would endanger the common household. Our need, as far as I can measure, would only be met if a brother is called as a missionary, who had also studied medicine and completed the required exam, without which he will not be allowed to practise here, and who will be willing to offer his services for the benefit of the mission, and to live on the same level (financially) as the other brothers and sisters. A thought has emerged in me, when I look into the future, that I want to share with you. My Wilhelm in Zeist has told and written me more than once that he would like to serve the Saviour in Africa. Since as pharmacist he is already half way, and is living near Utrecht, he can perhaps continue to study medicine ...*¹⁴⁷⁰

The untimely death of Dr Lees was felt the more when measles broke out in the colony in 1839.¹⁴⁷¹ Hallbeck and his wife had to attend to all the ill. In April no less than 1250 people had fallen ill, with the death toll rising. He wrote on May 31st: *since Easter no less than 82 bodies had*

¹⁴⁶⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jun 10th 1837 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1837), 859-860; *Nachrichten* (1840), 242; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 179; Cf. *Genadendal Diary*, IX, March 7th 1832; X, Apr 14th 1837; Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Apr 28th 1837 (HA).

¹⁴⁶⁸ F.e. sr. Fritsch in 1840 to Stellenbosch. Cf. letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Oct 21st 1840 (HA).

¹⁴⁶⁹ *Protocol HC*, March 28th 1838 (MASA & HA). Lees' widow appointed Hallbeck to be the receiver of all possible dividends or moneys still to be paid out to the credit of her late husband. Dr Lees had bought a number of shares in the *Cape of Good Hope Steam Navigation Company*, which are still extant in the Genadendal Archive (GA).

¹⁴⁷⁰ "Für's erste mussten wir wohl ohne Arzt hier bleiben, da ich ziemlich überzeugt bin, dass die Unität keinen besetzt, der hier einpassen würde. Niemand kan für die Zeit auf eigene Rechnung hier bestehen, der nicht eigenes Vermögen aufopfern kann u. will, u. auf Missions Rechnung wollen wir keine besondere Haushaltung anfangen, denn dadurch würde unsere gemeinschaftliche Haushaltung in Gefahr gerathen. Unser bedürfniss kann, so viel ich davon einsehe, nun dadurch abgeholfen werden, dass ein bruder als Missionär hierher berufen wurde, der zugleich Medizin studiert u. ein gehöriges Examen bestanden hat, ohne welches er hier nicht practisiren darf, u. der willig ist, seine Kunst für Rechnung der Mission auszuüben, u. auf gleichen Fuss mit den übrigen Geschwistern zu leben. Ein Gedanke is mir aber eingefallen, wenn ich in die Zukunft blicke, den ich dich mittheilen will. Mein Wilhelm in Zeist hat mir mehr als einmal gesagt u. geschrieben dass er den Hld. in Africa dienen will. Da er als Apotheker auf dem halben Weg ist, u. in d. Nähe von Utrecht wohnt, so könnte er vielleicht sich in die medicinische Wissenschaft so hineinstudiren, dass er in Utrecht ein examen bestehen könnte, u. dadurch befähigt werden" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jan 13th 1838 (HA).

¹⁴⁷¹ *Nachrichten* (1839), 966-968; *Nachrichten* (1841), 742.

*to be buried. You can easily imagine what I had to do, and that I thank the Saviour with all my heart, that He had preserved me healthy and lively, and that this hard time is over now. It was very fortunate that I had ordered in time the necessary medicines from Cape Town – anticipating that these things would come.*¹⁴⁷² More than one hundred from a population of 2,000 died in Genadendal, especially the elderly. Among them was the 82-year-old widow Kohrhammer.¹⁴⁷³ In the same year a dreadful disease broke out among the horses in the colony. Only in Genadendal 500 horses died.¹⁴⁷⁴

From time to time Hallbeck took time to write to his children in Europe. The following letter is an example, a letter that Hallbeck wrote to his five year old daughter Emma – who by then could not write herself yet:

Beloved Emma,

You have not written a few lines to us yet, so I want to write you a little letter, to tell you that I, your loving Mother and Gustava are healthy, that we are often thinking of you and praying for you to the beloved Saviour, that you may have recovered well after suffering from measles, and be healthy and become a diligent and obedient child. Do you still often think of Genadendal, and the beautiful gardens and the huge vineyard? In the gardens everyone is busy now with drying the fruit, because there are so many pears and apples and peaches; and in the vineyard we are picking grapes now while it is very hot. When I see every day how a basket full of peaches is thrown for the pigs, so many that even they don't want them anymore, then I often think: if I could just send half of them to the children in the institute in Kleinwelke! Then I want you to hand them out. I'm sure you will love that. Won't you? Receive from Mother and Gustava a lovely kiss and greetings, and also from your loving father

*H.P. Hallbeck*¹⁴⁷⁵

¹⁴⁷² "so dass in allen seit Ostern nicht weniger als 82 Leichen hier begraben worden. – da kannst du dir leicht vorstellen, was ich zu thun gehabt habe, u. dass ich von ganzen Herzen dem Heiland danke, dass er mich dabei gesund u. munter erhalten, u. dass diese schwere Zeit nun vorbei ist. Ein Glück war es, dass ich in Erwartung der dinge die kommen sollten, zu rechter Zeit die erforderlichen Arznei Mittel von der Kapstadt hatte kommen lassen" Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th & May 31st 1839 (HA).

¹⁴⁷³ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Nov 26th 1839 (HA).

¹⁴⁷⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th 1839 (HA).

¹⁴⁷⁵ "Liebe Emma, Noch hast du uns keine Zeile geschrieben; dah will ich dir einen kleinen brief schreiben, u. dir sagen, dass ich, dein I. Mutter u. Gustava recht gesund sind, oft an dich denken u für dich zum I. Heiland bitten, dass du auch den überstandenen Masern recht gesund bleiben, u. ein fleissiges und gehorsames Kind werden möchtest. – denkst du noch manchmal an Gnadenthal, u. die schönen Gärten u. den grossen Weingarten? In den Gärten ist nun alles mit Obstocknen beschäftigt, den es gibt gewaltig viel birnen u. Aepfel u. Pfirsiche; u. in den Weingarten gehen wir nun bei grosser Hitze Trauben pflücken. Als ich täglich sehe wie ein Korb Pfirsiche nach dem andern den Schweinen vorgeworfen wird, so dass sie diese Speise kaum mehr mögen, so denke ich manchmal: könnte ich nur die Hälfte davon den Anstaltskindern in Kleinwelke zuschicken! Da wollte ich dich zur Austheilerin machen. Gewiss würdest du dich dabei sehr glücklich fühlen. Nicht wahr? – Nimm nun von Mutter u. Gustava einen recht herzliche Kuss u. Gruss u

Hallbeck had still to take care of the administration of the Leper's Institute. Shortly before Tietze's death in 1838, Hallbeck wrote, a bit ironically: *In the meantime br Tietze is becoming weaker and weaker, and without doubt his end is not far away.* He then wrote how br Nauhaus found him in Hemel en Aarde, clustered to his bed, and that he had to be nourished like a little child. *His body and feet are dangerously swollen. Nevertheless he – incomprehensibly – still speaks about a journey to Germany, and that there he wants to nurse the sick, of which he regards himself most suitable, since he knows from experience, how it feels to be sick!!* The two exclamation marks were added by Hallbeck.¹⁴⁷⁶

On November 4th 1838 Ludwig Teutsch was ordained as *presbyter* by Hallbeck.¹⁴⁷⁷ The way this happened is illustrative as to the powers of a bishop within the Moravian Church. Only Hallbeck could perform the liturgical act of ordination. This was a significant change. Instead of ordination by way of a letter of the UEC, the accepted candidate could now be ordained by Hallbeck himself. However the decision to ordain was taken by the UEC, sometimes on the proposal of the Helpers Conference, sometimes without.¹⁴⁷⁸ In April 1839 the Helpers Conference requested the UEC to obtain the ecclesiastical privilege to decide on the ordination of deacons themselves, just as was already the case with the Moravian Church in England and in America.¹⁴⁷⁹ But, the UEC objected.

Silo consolidates its position

Compared to Genadendal, life in Silo was very different and much more trying. Far away from medical care, pregnancy and delivery were periods when the women were hovering on the edge of the grave. The Silo missionary Johann Adolph Bonatz' marital life was a testimony to this sombre reality. Two times in the remote Silo he lost his wife with the birth of the first-born! The death of Paulina Müller illustrates the sacrifices young women were prepared to make in order to advance the Gospel in Africa. She was sent from Europe especially to be married to br Bonatz in

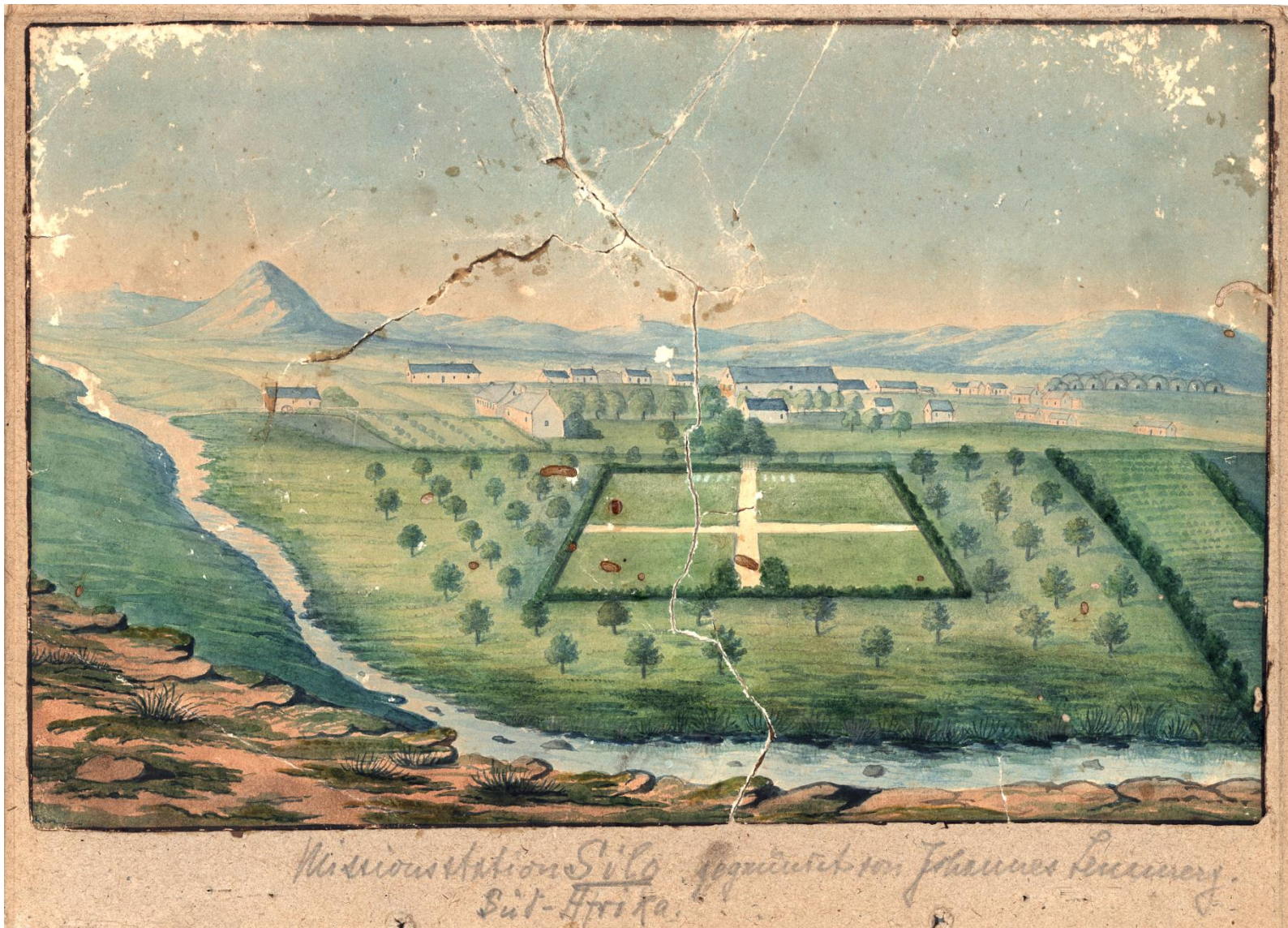
auch von deinem dich liebenden Vater H.P. Hallbeck." Letter Hallbeck to his daughters Carolina and Emma, Febr 3rd 1838 (HA).

¹⁴⁷⁶ "Mittlerweile wird der brüder Tietze immer schwächer, so dass es wohl keinen zweifel mehr unterworfen ist, dass sein Ende nicht mehr ferne ist ... Vorigen Sonntag war br. Nauhaus zum besuch in Hemel en Aarde u. brachte uns die Nachricht, dass er nicht nur ganz bettlägerig ist, sondern weder Hand noch Fuss gebrauchen kann, ... wie ein kleines Kind gefüttert werden muss, wobei sein Leib u. Fusse furchtbar aufgetrieben u. geschwollen sind. Doch spricht er unbegreiflicher Weise noch von der Reise nach deutschland, u. will dort gar Krankenwärter werden, wozu er sich nun um so geschickter denkt, da er aus Erfahrung weiss, wie es einem Kranken zu Muthe ist!!" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Febr 1st 1838 (HA).

¹⁴⁷⁷ *Nachrichten* (1839), 476; *Nachrichten* (1840), 691, 807.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 28th 1838; see also letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Jan 22nd 1821 (HA).

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Protocol HC*, Apr 18th 1839 (MASA & HA).



Silo with the Klipplaat River, either painted by, or belonging to Johannes Lemmerz.¹

¹ Lemmerz was pioneer missionary at Silo as of 1828 (HA).

Silo.¹⁴⁸⁰ They were married in December 1835 and two years later she passed away shortly after having given birth.¹⁴⁸¹ Hallbeck had to report, writing with trembling hands, the tragic events to Herrnhut: *Sister Bonatz ... being pregnant, caught a heavy cold during the night of Christmas ... and on January 1st her little son was born too early. The weak child was baptised on January 6th with the names Hermann Theodor, but passed on into the healthy kingdom already on the 13th. After these events the mother could not sleep anymore.* Hallbeck then describes how she was caught up in a depression, fearful phantasies and convulsions, causing her soul and body ineffable anguish, probably due to an extreme postnatal depression.

When a doctor eventually arrived from Fort Armstrong (a military post in the border area), his efforts were in vain. One night in the early morning *between 3 and 4 'o clock a gurgling was heard, and when they hasted to the patient, she was found full of blood, and after closer examination they saw a big wound in the neck, and on the side of the bed against the wall they discovered a penknife open and full of blood. After having bandaged the wound, the patient said that she had hided the penknife, and that yesterday she had also cut with it her hand at the pulse, where small injuries could be seen, and now in the neck on the right hand side stretching until the throat. The patient talked in her intense phantasies about murder, and wanted to torn herself apart with her hands, biting her fingers, etc ... On the afternoon of the 19th her face and eyes changed, and that evening she was blessed for her departure. She continued with silent prayer and singing until her last breath.* Hallbeck then remarks: *we are convinced that the blessed cannot be held guilty for this act done in an unconscious condition, and from her conduct both before and after this event it is evident that she held firm unto her faith in the Saviour.*¹⁴⁸² Her husband was completely devastated. His wife had just started to make such progress in learning

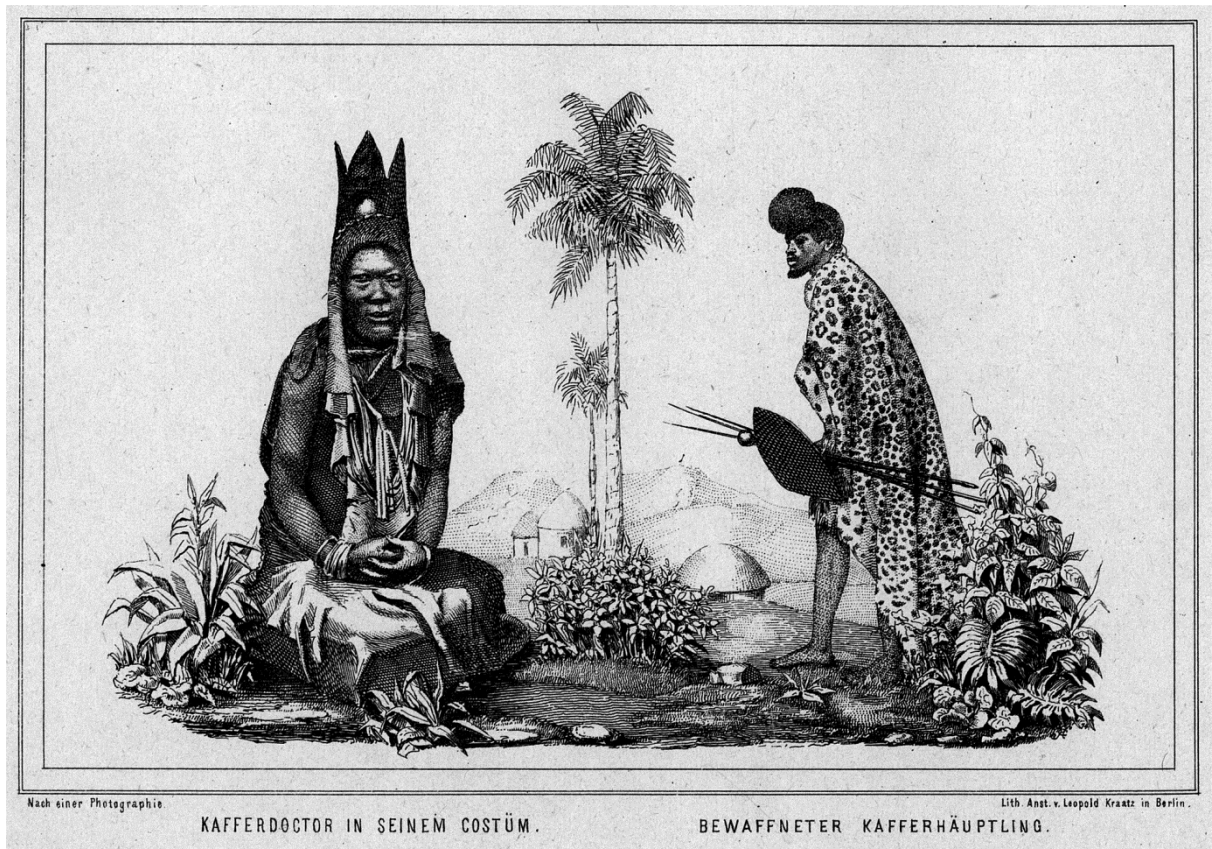
¹⁴⁸⁰ *Protocol HC, Sept 8th 1835 (HA); Nachrichten (1838), 571.*

¹⁴⁸¹ *Nachrichten (1838), 620-621, 811; Nachrichten (1840), 53, 757.*

¹⁴⁸² "Schw. Bonatz, welche wie du schon wissen wirst, ihrer Niederkunft entgegenschah, zog sich an der Christnacht eine starke Verkältung zu, (wahrscheinlich die Influenza) u. kam am 1 Jan. zu früh mit einem Söhnlein wieder. Das schwächliche Kind würde am 6 Jan. mit Namen Hermann Theodor getauft, u. ging schon am 13ten ins gesunde Reich über. Die Mutter konnte ... nach der Niederkunft zu keinen Schlaf kommen ... Des Morgens zwischen 3 u. 4 Uhr bemerkte man ein Röcheln, beim Zueilen fand man die Patientin voll blut, u. bei näherer Untersuchung sah man eine grosse Wunde am Hals, u. an der Wandseite des bettes entdeckte man ein Federmesser offen u. blutig. Nach dem Verbinden der Wunde, sagte die Kranke, sie habe das Federmesser verborgen gehalten, sich gestern in d. Hand in der Gegend des Pulses damit geschnitten, wo auch geringe Verletzungen noch zu sehen waren, u. nun in den Hals von der rechten Seite des Halses bis an die Kehle. Die Patientin sprach wohl in ihren heftigen Phantasien vom Mord, u. wollte sich mit den Händen zerrissen, die Finger zerbeissen u.s.w... Den 19 Nachmittages veränderten sich ihr Gesicht u. Augen, u. Abends würde sie zu ihrem Heimgang eingesegnet. Sie verharete [?] im stillem Gebet u Singen bis zu ihrem letzten athemzug.' ... Wiewohl wir wohl alle überzeugt sind, dass der Seligen dies in einem bewusstlosen Zustand verubte ... nicht als Schuld angerechnet wird, u. so deutlich aus ihrem ganzen benehmen so erst vor als nach desselben herrangeht, dass sie sich im Glauben am Heiland hielt, so können wir doch nicht genug beklagen, dass so etwas vorgekommen ist ..." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Febr 1st 1838 (HA).

the Thembu language, and she was not only named a mother, but also loved as a mother by the Thembu.¹⁴⁸³

In Silo the Christian way of living was often challenged. A confrontation between the missionaries and the witchdoctors occurred when a man – already staying for four years on the station – became ill. Some Thembu inhabitants consulted the witchdoctor staying at Chief Mapasa’s kraal.



*Bantu doctor and armed Bantu chief*¹⁴⁸⁴

The witchdoctor’s answer was that the people on the station were bewitched by the Word of God, and that the specific object that mediated the bewitching of the victim, was hidden somewhere next to the channel the missionaries had dug. He also claimed that he needed permission from the missionaries to perform the ‘smell dance’ in order to find it.

Bonatz however did not give permission. The witchdoctor then declared that the missionaries were guilty of the man’s illness. We then read: *we realised with the deepest sympathy, how Satan*

¹⁴⁸³ *Nachrichten* (1838), 812.

¹⁴⁸⁴ HA.

*was not sparing any effort to keep these poor people hostage in the chains of the most abominable superstition.*¹⁴⁸⁵

A living was made in Silo mainly through agriculture, fruit trees (dried fruit), and cattle breeding (milk, butter, soap). Hallbeck noted that because the blacks were drinking so much milk, they ranked in body size among the biggest people on earth.¹⁴⁸⁶ As for meat supply, the Thembu used to travel to the thinly populated region east of Silo where there were still boundless herds of game. They would then come back with wagons full of wildebeest, blesbok, etc.¹⁴⁸⁷

Commodities such as clothing, coffee, sugar, wine, kitchen implements and the like were very expensive, because the station was so isolated.¹⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, wood was rather scarce in the area. The missionaries planted oaks, pine and poplar trees, but because of the cold winters and strong winds it was not easy to cultivate trees.¹⁴⁸⁹ A big asset however was the perennial river, and the missionaries (especially Fritsch) constructed two channels, that provided irrigation for more land to be used for agriculture.¹⁴⁹⁰ Many a visitor marvelled at observing this masterpiece of industry. It took more than an hour to walk along the channel from the station to its connection with the Klipplaat River upstream.¹⁴⁹¹

In May 1838 Dühne, missionary of the Berlin Missionary Society working in the interior, visited Silo. He preached in Xhosa (“Kaffernsprache”), the first missionary of another society to do this at Silo.¹⁴⁹² The mastering and use of Xhosa were a matter of principle. The Moravian mission regarded it important to preach the Gospel in the mother tongue of the people. This goes back to the times of John Hus and the Reformation, when the fundamental need (and right) of people to read the Bible in their own language, were stressed. The renowned Moravian, Comenius, was valued as an influential pedagogue teaching in the vernacular. The study of the local language is also emphasized in the often-mentioned mission textbook of Spangenberg, revised by Hallbeck. In the first phase of outreach, the textbook emphasises, the missionary had to see to it that the main truths of the Christian doctrine are translated into the vernacular as soon as possible.¹⁴⁹³

¹⁴⁸⁵ “da wir mit dem innigsten Mitleiden gewahr werden mußten, wie Satan keine Mühe spart, diese armen Menschen in den Fesseln des schmähhlichsten Aberglaubens gefangen zu halten.” *Nachrichten* (1838), 541-542.

¹⁴⁸⁶ *Nachrichten* (1839), 837.

¹⁴⁸⁷ *Nachrichten* (1839), 838.

¹⁴⁸⁸ *Nachrichten* (1839), 826.

¹⁴⁸⁹ *Nachrichten* (1839), 829-830.

¹⁴⁹⁰ *Nachrichten* (1839), 831; Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 2nd 1834 (HA).

¹⁴⁹¹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 769.

¹⁴⁹² *Nachrichten* (1840), 767.

¹⁴⁹³ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 44.

The textbook also pays attention to the (initial) use of interpreters. As a rule the use of unrepented interpreters is discouraged. With no converted interpreters available, the missionaries especially had to preach through their lifestyle.¹⁴⁹⁴

The use of Xhosa in Silo was therefore obvious and in line with Moravian tradition and thinking. When visiting *Thembuland* the first time in 1827 and during his subsequent visits to the mission stations Lovedale and Chumie, Hallbeck, fully aware of the need to utilise the indigenous language, expressed the fear that Xhosa as native tongue was just as difficult as the language of Greenland. In Greenland the Moravians were already compiling dictionaries and grammars. Furthermore Hallbeck hoped that the click-sounds will gradually disappear from the indigenous black languages, since, according to him, this was due to Khoikhoi influence, rather than part of the original structure. He added that – except for these click sounds – the language of the blacks was one of the most euphonious languages in the world. As superintendent Hallbeck did his best thus to allocate those missionaries to the Thembu mission who had the talents to learn Xhosa. JA Bonatz (jr) was the first missionary to learn the language of the Thembu. After his visit to Silo in 1838, Hallbeck insisted again that all Silo missionaries had to master the language.¹⁴⁹⁵ However, this was easier said than done, as became clear later when Bonatz, because of failing health, had to be replaced. By 1854 there was only one missionary left who spoke Xhosa fluently: S Gysin.¹⁴⁹⁶ Bonatz got involved in the translation of fundamental Christian truths in Xhosa. In August 1833 he reported that he was busy translating the history of Jesus' sufferings in the Thembu language.¹⁴⁹⁷ The next year this translation was used for the first time during the Passion Week.¹⁴⁹⁸ Bonatz also translated the church lithany in Xhosa and started using it in August 1834.¹⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore he translated the German book *Biblische Erzählungen (Biblical Narrations)*. In 1837 Hallbeck took it along and had 500 copies printed in Cape Town.¹⁵⁰⁰ In August 1838 the mission station Silo received a translation of the four Gospels in Xhosa.¹⁵⁰¹ In 1839 we read in a letter that Hallbeck promised to send a copy to Herrnhut as well as to New York. Why sending a copy to New York is not stated. Was it to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) perhaps?¹⁵⁰² In 1845 Bonatz wrote: *The Bible translation in Xhosa has now become a joint effort. On a conference held in Bantuland by all missionaries of the different*

¹⁴⁹⁴ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 28-29.

¹⁴⁹⁵ *Protocol HC*, Jan 10th 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁴⁹⁶ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 250, from *Protocol HC*, May 5th 1854.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1834), 217.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA).

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Nachrichten* (1838), 542.

¹⁵⁰⁰ *Nachrichten* (1838), 810; *Nachrichten* (1839), 467.

¹⁵⁰¹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 774.

¹⁵⁰² Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 (HA).

In Herrnhut Archive.

Legenda:

“Plan von Silo und seinen Umgebungen aufgenommen im Jahr 1834”

“Maasstab von 1000 Englischen Yards”

“A. Die Abteilung des Alten Grabens.

B. Die do.. Neuen do..

C. Lage der künftigen Kirche.

D. Missionhäuser

E. Einstweilige Kirche

F. Lage der projectirten Mühle

G. Vieh Kraal der Missionarien

H. Do.. der Hottentotten

I. Vieh Kraals der Tambukkis”;

“Weide Land”

“Klipplaat”

“Alter Wasser Graben”

“Neuer Wasser Graben”

“Weide-Land”

“Feld und Gärten der Tambukkis”

“Garten der Missionarien”

“Obst Garten der Mission”

“Gebäude vom ersten Platz”

“Land, das durch den Neuen Graben bewässert werden soll.”

“Geld und Garten Land der Tambukkis und Hottentotten das durch den alten Graben bewässert wird”

“Weiten Feld, das noch durch die beyden Gräben bewässert werden kann.”

“Fahr Strasse”

“Vermuthlicher Lauf des Neuen Grabens”

“Fahr Strasse von der Colonie”

“Tambukkie Hütten u. Viehkraals”

*mission societies, unity was reached with regard to orthography in view of the translation of the Bible. The books of the New Testament not yet translated were divided among those most competent in translating, and those who were printed were also bound with leather in Grahamstown. Each missionary received a copy to peruse and to make corrections, in as far as his knowledge of the language allowed him. I have perused the Gospel of Matthew and have sent it in. Tomorrow there will be again a conference in Fort Paddie, which is about two to three hours on horseback from here: I was also invited, however I am not able to attend.*¹⁵⁰³ The New Testament in Xhosa was completed in 1846, the whole Bible in 1859. Despite the difficult circumstances and the challenges during a first phase of its history, Silo, after ten years, proved to be sustainable. Undoubtedly Hallbeck played a major role in this regard.

In general the Moravian Mission experienced a prosperous time during 1837 and 1838. Genadendal's financial position strengthened from year to year in the 1830's. In 1838 Genadendal even had a reserve fund.¹⁵⁰⁴ In 1838 the HC reported to the UEC in Germany a total surplus for the South African mission as a whole. The older stations, like Genadendal, Groenekloof and Elim, increasingly showed an annual financial surplus, whilst the younger stations still had more expenditure than income. The shop at Elim, for example, was a success story. It also caused Hallbeck some anxiety, because it could put the mission in a wrong light.¹⁵⁰⁵ In Genadendal the missionaries were directly involved in the school. It was perceived as part and parcel of their mission work, having priority even above all upliftment work in the trades. When, for example, the operation of the mill in Groenekloof claimed so much time that the missionaries could not teach in the school, the Helpers Conference admonished them.¹⁵⁰⁶

Genadendal's fame as a successful mission station was recognised internationally. In 1838 two Quakers visited Genadendal. They were involved with mission work in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (later called Tasmania).¹⁵⁰⁷ Hallbeck, however, was no longer a young man. In April 1838, in order to assist the bishop and superintendent, the Helpers Conference

¹⁵⁰³ "Die Bibelübersetzung in die Kaffernsprache ist nun eine gemeinsame Sache geworden. Auf einer im Kaffernland gehaltenen Conferenz von allen Missionarien der verschiedenen Missionsgesellschaften hat man sich zu einer feststehenden Rechtschreibung und zur Uebersetzung der Bibel vereinigt. Die noch nicht übersetzten Bücher des Neuen Testaments sind unter die fähigsten zur Uebersetzung vertheilt, und die schon gedruckten werden in Grahamsstadt mit leeren Blättern durchschossen gebunden. Ein solches Exemplar erhält ein jeder Missionar, sie durchzusehen und Veränderungen zu machen, je nachdem er Kenntniß der sprache hat. So habe ich nun das Evangelium Matthäi durchgesehen und eingeschickt. Morgen ist wieder Conferenz in Fort Paddie, welches 2 bis 3 Tage zu Pferd von hier ist: ich war auch eingeladen, kann aber nicht gehen." *Nachrichten* (1846), 319-320.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 242 – a reserve fund of "59267 Kapschen Reichsthalern".

¹⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 181. *Protocol HC*, Jan 30th 1838, Febr 9th 1839 (MASA & HA).

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Protocol HC*, Febr 17th 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁵⁰⁷ *Nachrichten* (1839), 475; *Nachrichten* (1840), 806.

commissioned the wagon maker and smithy of Genadendal to build a cart, so that Hallbeck no longer had to travel on horseback through wind and rain.¹⁵⁰⁸

Extraordinary Events in the late 1830's – Emigrations and Immigrations

The year 1838 would become known in the annals of South African history especially for the “extraordinary event” during the fall of that year: the liberation of the slaves on December 1st. This event had a lasting impact on colonial history and on the Moravian Mission. It played a pivotal role in the motivation for the *emigration* of many settlers during these years. At the same time the Fingu nation received permission to *immigrate* into the colony and settle on colonial land allocated to them. Hallbeck, well informed about these migrations, as well as aware of the consequences for the Moravian Mission, portrayed these events of consequence in an essay called “Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mißion in Süd Africa in Jahr 1838” – *Extraordinary events in the Mission in South Africa in the Year 1838*.¹⁵⁰⁹

In this essay Hallbeck offered an illuminating and contemporary perspective on the major events in South Africa's immediate history. These events – the liberation of the slaves and the migrations out of and into the colony – were to have a profound influence on the future.¹⁵¹⁰ As experienced superintendent in South Africa, now bishop, Hallbeck accurately grasped the significance of these events. He interpreted them in terms of his understanding and comprehension of the future of the mission in South Africa. *For the country in general*, Hallbeck remarked, *these are extraordinary important events, and have been prepared to an extent in earlier years, and will have a major influence on future times and generations*.¹⁵¹¹ For the purposes of this paragraph we first concentrate on the immigration of the Fingu people. Secondly the attention shifts to the emigration of colonist farmers.

Already in the Journal of his visit to the eastern Cape in 1837 Hallbeck wrote: *Very strange are the unusual upheavals of our times among the inhabitants and tribes of Southern Africa, through which 3,000 to (according to others) 10,000 Fingus have been pushed into the colony, and on the*

¹⁵⁰⁸ Protocol HC, Apr 24th 1838 (MASA & HA); Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Nov 26th 1839 (HA).

¹⁵⁰⁹ HA.

¹⁵¹⁰ *Nachrichten* (1840), 47-64.

¹⁵¹¹ “Für das Land im Allgemeinen war es merkwürdig wichtiger Ereignisse wegen, die zum Theil in früheren Jahren vorbereitet waren, und auf künftige Zeiten und Geschlechter einen wesentlichen Einfluß haben werden” *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 47.

*other hand an equal number of inhabitants of the colony has left it.*¹⁵¹² The movement of the Fingu people into the colony, a large-scale immigration, presented not only a challenge to the Moravian Mission, but was also at the same time an extraordinary event depicting changing times. During the 1830's the Fingus were forced to meandering, being dislocated from their original dwellings and had to move southward due to the Difaqane. They were in a very precarious situation, being treated as slaves by the Xhosas, and because of the Difaqane, threatened with extinction. The Moravian missionaries noted that the Fingus were a *despised tribe*, consisting of about 15,000 people.¹⁵¹³ The influential Chief Hinza for example referred to them as his *dogs*.¹⁵¹⁴ The name *Fingu* was a pejorative denotation given by the other black nations, meaning beggars or vagabonds. They called themselves Mambukki or Amamba.

Initially they were assisted by the Governor Benjamin D'Urban with a new place to stay around Fort Peddie. This allocation followed the 1834-35 war, when the Cape Colony was expanded to the Great Kei River. They were allowed to settle in the new area and to continue their traditions and way of life, albeit now subject to the British crown. Hallbeck already informed Herrnhut about this in 1835.¹⁵¹⁵

Hallbeck was apparently well acquainted with this tribe. He related the history of the Fingu as follows: *The Fingu are the remnant of several tribes who used to live in the further interiors of Africa. Most probably they were expelled by the savage conqueror Chaka. The remnants fled round about the year 1828 to the Xhosas, who made them their slaves. When in the year 1834 war broke out between the colony and the Xhosas, and the British troops conquered a considerable part of Bantuland, the Fingu – tired as they were of their slavery – went to the British, were adopted into the protection of the government, and the part of Bantuland bordering the colony was availed to them. But this caused the Xhosas to become angry... and there were often bloody skirmishes between the Xhosas and the Fingu... Therefore the English Government gave the Fingu the opportunity to move into the colony.*¹⁵¹⁶

¹⁵¹² "Sehr merkwürdig sind die ungewöhnlichen Umwälzungen unserer Zeit unter den Bewohnern und Stämmen des südlichen Afrikas, durch welche 3000 nach andern gar 10,000 Fingoes in die Kolonie hinein gedrängt worden sind, und andererseits eine gleiche Anzahl Einwohner der Kolonie dieselbe verlassen." Hallbeck, *Raise von Gnadenthal nach Enon und Silo, und zurück im J. 1837* (HA). Also published in *Nachrichten* (1839), 732.

¹⁵¹³ *Nachrichten* (1838), 528(5). Report written by the Enon missionaries Genth, Halter and Stolz.

¹⁵¹⁴ *Nachrichten* (1838), 528(5).

¹⁵¹⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA).

¹⁵¹⁶ "Die Fingoes sind die Ueberreste mehrerer ehemals wohnenden Stamme, die durch mächtige Nachbarn, wahrscheinlich durch den grausamen Eroberer Chaka vertrieben und ziemlich aufgerieben worden sind. Die Uebergebliebenen flüchteten ums Jahr 1828 zu den Kaffern, von denen sie aufgenommen und gewissermaßen wie Leibeigene behandelt wurden. Als nun im Jahr 1834 der Krieg zwischen der Kolonie und den Kaffern ausbrach, und die englischen Truppen im Jahr 1835 einen großen Theil des Kaffernlandes eroberten, gingen die

Stockenström moved a number of them 200 miles westward into the Tsitsikamma in 1837. This inaccessible strip of country with indigenous forests, situated between a mountain range and the sea, was thinly populated. In 1838 the new governor, Sir George Thomas Napier, agreed to move the rest of the Fingu also to this region. In this way the Fingu henceforward enjoyed peace, living far away from rivalry black nations. According to Hallbeck this had benefits for both, since the Fingu could provide labourers for the colony, whilst simultaneously they would enjoy education and exposure to the Gospel.¹⁵¹⁷

In the Journal of his visit to Clarkson in 1839, Hallbeck wrote an account of what he had heard from the Fingu themselves about their history: *In the past the Fingus stayed northeast of Thembuland, and consisted mainly of Mambookies or Amambus, to whom however also refugees from other tribes were added. They were expelled from their country by the Fetchannas, about whose migrations there was much upheaval a few years ago, after they had been plundered by the famous Zulu Chief Chaka and had to flee. After their expulsion the Amambus first sought refuge with the Xhosas, from whom they received the pejorative nickname Fingus, that means beggars and vagabonds, and they had to suffer many injustices, until they in the last Xhosa War came under the protection of the colonial government.*¹⁵¹⁸

The settlement of the Fingu in the Tsitsikamma offered the Moravian Mission the opportunity to establish a mission station amongst them. In the next chapter the inception of Clarkson, as it would be called, will be described. Our attention must now shift to the second event of importance noticed and interpreted by Hallbeck: the emigration of settlers.

Whereas the immigration of the Fingu offered an opportunity for the establishment of a Christian lifestyle amongst them, the emigration of white colonists to the north, was interpreted along different lines by Hallbeck. During his *Reise von Gnadenthal nach Enon und Silo und zurück im J.*

Fingoes, ihrer Dienstbarkeit müde, zu den Engländern über, wurden von der Regierung in Schutz genommen, und der, dem Kolonialgebiet zunächst liegende Theil des Kaffernlandes ward ihnen als Wohnsitz angewiesen. Hierüber wurden die Kaffern ihnen gram ... öfters Händel und blutige Auftritte zwischen den Kaffern und Fingoes gesetzt ... Deshalb hat die englische Regierung den Fingoes jetzt Gelegenheit gemacht in das Kolonialgebiet einzuwandern" *Nachrichten* (1839), 709-710.

¹⁵¹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1839), 710.

¹⁵¹⁸ "die Fingus früher nordöstlich vom Tambukkilande gewohnt haben, und hauptsächlich aus Mambookies oder Amambus bestehen, zu denen sich jedoch auch Flüchtlinge von andern Stämmen gesellt haben. Sie wurden durch die Fetchannas, von deren Wanderungen vor einige Jahren so oft die Rede war, aus ihrem Lande vertrieben, nachdem diese zuvor durch den berühmten Zulu-Häuptling Chaka waren ausgeplündert und zur Flucht genöthigt worden. Nach ihrer Vertreibung nahmen die Amambus zuerst ihre Zuflucht zu den Kaffern, von welchen sie den schimpflichen Beinamen Fingus, d.i. Bettler und Landstreicher, erhielten, und mancherlei Ungerechtigkeiten zu erdulden hatten, bis sie im letzten Kaffernkrieg unter den Schutz der Kolonialregierung kamen" *Nachrichten* (1840), 869.

1837,¹⁵¹⁹ embarked on in September 1837, Hallbeck was informed about the Dutch-Afrikaner emigration into the interior that was in the process of taking place, and, as a matter of fact, he met with a group of emigrants on their way. In the essay *Extraordinary Events in the Mission in South Africa in the Year 1838*, printed in the *Nachrichten* of 1840, Hallbeck again reflected on this emigration.¹⁵²⁰ Furthermore he offered an interesting perspective on those leaving the colony in his diary of the journey to Clarkson in 1839.¹⁵²¹

The 1837 Journal notes:¹⁵²² *On the 25th (October) early we saw next to the main road to Grahamstown 15 wagons with substantial herds of cattle, forming part of a caravan consisting of 24 wagons of Dutch settlers, who are leaving the colony and moving into the interior of Africa. This emigration of colonists is occurring since year and day, and has become so widespread, that the consequences may be very serious both for the colony and the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Several causes gave occasion to this; however, the main reason is the liberation of the slaves.¹⁵²³ Moreover, one can point to the changed border system, and a certain extent of carefully fed dissatisfaction and bitterness against the government, not protecting the settlers in the border areas adequately from the raids of the Bantu.¹⁵²⁴ Added also to this is the fact that many, due to the raids of the Bantu into the colony, had lost their houses, and had to start all over again. What I heard from well-informed persons is that about a thousand wagon companies or about four to five thousand colonists have left the country. How much the government may regret it, at the same time they realise that with the great expansion of the colonial borders they cannot prevent it, and therefore took no measures. The greatest number of these people is apparently now at the Val River, where they have chosen from among them leaders and appointed a former missionary as preacher. Others are in the area of the French mission institute, and others are still travelling. It seems, however, that they were disappointed in their intention to establish a colony at the Val River, since that region seems to be unhealthy for humans and cattle and a pestilential illness have already caused many fatalities among them. It seems as if they intend now to annex a piece of land between Port Natal and the Fakees tribe.¹⁵²⁵*

¹⁵¹⁹ HA, Published in the *Nachrichten* (1839), 731 ff.

¹⁵²⁰ *Nachrichten* (1840), 47-64.

¹⁵²¹ Hallbeck, *Tagebuch einer besuchsreise nach den neuen Mißionsort Clarkson in d. Zitzikamma, im Sept u. Oct. 1839* (HA).

¹⁵²² *Nachrichten* (1839), 731-735.

¹⁵²³ See also *Nachrichten* (1840), 849.

¹⁵²⁴ See also *Nachrichten* (1845), 712.

¹⁵²⁵ "Am 25ten früh sahen wir seitwärts von der großen Straße nach Grahamstradt 15 Wagen mit beträchtlichen Viehheerden, die zu einer aus 24 Wagen bestehenden Karavane holländischer Bauern gehörten, welche die Kolonie verlassen und in das Innere von Afrika ziehen. Diese Auswanderungen von Kolonisten finden seit Jahr und Tag Statt, und haben so weit um sich gegriffen, daß die Folgen davon sowol für die Kolonie als die benachbarten Kaffernstämme sehr ernstlich werden dürften. Mehrere Ursachen haben die Veranlassung hiezu gegeben, hauptsächlich aber die durch

Hallbeck relates this emigration in a broader perspective to – what he calls – current upheavals in the colony. He writes: *Most noteworthy are the unusual upheavals of our time among the inhabitants and tribes of Southern Africa, by which three thousand and according to others even ten thousand Fingu have been pushed into the colony, and at the other hand an equal number of inhabitants have left the colony. According to human estimations the settlement of the Fingu in the colony would bring both to them as to the colonists substantial benefits, but just as likely it is that the migration of the settlers promises both for themselves as for the original inhabitants of those areas a disaster. Because, although there are also many decent people among these migrants, who, due to ignorance, were dragged into this unfortunate speculation, as a whole they are led by this maxim in their conduct, that the coloured inhabitants are viewed and have to be treated according to their paternal customs, which entails that a white man is free to take from the defenceless wild his pastures, his wells and his hunting river, and would he dare to resist, to shoot him, and to keep the remaining part of his family as slaves. Bloody trade has already occurred, and slave trade seems to have been introduced already, in so far that the children of those killed are sold and purchased. It is to be feared that serious incidents are to be expected, if this evil is not terminated.*¹⁵²⁶

The Enon missionaries (Genth, Halter and Stolz) also met a group of eighteen ox wagons in Uitenhage. They described them as wealthy farmers who descended from the Europeans, calling

die Freiegebung der Sklaven und das veränderte Grenzsystem herbeigeführte, und durch eine gewisse Partei sorgfältig genährte Unzufriedenheit und Erbitterung gegen die Regierung. Dazu kommt noch, daß viele durch den Einfall der Kaffern in die Kolonie ihre Wohnungen eingebüßt haben, und also ganz aufs Neue wieder anfangen müssen. So viel ich von den am besten unterrichteten Personen habe erfahren können, haben ungefähr 1000 Wagengesellschaften, oder ungefähr 4 bis 5000 Kolonisten das Land verlassen. So ungern die Regierung dies auch sieht, so fühlt sie sich gleichwol bei der großen Ausdehnung der Kolonialgrenzen außer Stande es zu hindern, und hat deshalb auch keine Maaßregeln dagegen getroffen. Die größte Masse dieser Leute soll sich gegenwärtig am Valrivier befinden, wo sie aus ihrem Mittel obrigkeitliche Personen erwählt und einen ehemaligen Missionar als Prediger angestellt haben. Andere halten sich in der Nähe des französischen Missions-Instituts auf, und wieder andere sind noch auf der Reise dahin begriffen. Es scheint aber, daß sie sich in ihrer Rechnung, am Valrivier eine Kolonie anzulegen, getäuscht haben, weil die dortige Gegend für Menschen und Vieh ungesund sein und eine pestartige Krankheit unter beiden schon große Verheerungen angerichtet haben soll. Es heißt jetzt, daß sie weiter ostwärts ein Stück Land zwischen Port Natal und dem Fakeestamm in Besitz nehmen wollen." *Nachrichten* (1839), 731-732.

¹⁵²⁶ "Sehr merkwürdig sind die ungewöhnlichen Umwälzungen unserer Zeit unter den Bewohnern und Stämmen des südlichen Afrikas, durch welche 3000 nach andern gar 10,000 Fingoes in die Kolonie hinein gedrängt worden sind, und andererseits eine gleiche Anzahl Einwohner der Kolonie dieselbe verlassen. Menschlicher Berechnung nach verspricht die Unterbringung der Fingoes in der Kolonie sowol ihnen als den Kolonisten wesentliche Vortheile, eben so wahrscheinlich aber droht die Auswanderung der letztern ihnen selbst und den Urbewohnern derjenigen Gegenden, in die sie sich begeben, gewisses Verderben. Denn wiewol sich viele brave Leute unter diesen Auswanderern befinden, die aus Unwissenheit in diese unglückliche Speculation mit verflochten werden, so werden sie doch als ein Ganzes von dem unseligen Grundsatz in ihrer Handlungsweise geleitet, daß die farbigen Einwohner nach väterlicher Sitte angesehen und behandelt werden müssen, d.h. daß es dem weißen Mann freistehe, dem wehrlosen Wilden seine Weide, seine Quelle und sein Jagdrevier ohne weiteres wegzunehmen, und falls ers wagen sollte, sich zu widersetzen, ihn zu erschießen, den übrig bleibenden Theil seiner Familie aber als Leibeigene zu halten. Blutige Händel sind daher schon vorgefallen, auch soll der Sklavenhandel unter ihnen bereits eingeführt sein, indem die Kinder der Erschossenen ver- und gekauft werden. Ja es steht zu befürchten, daß noch ernsthaftere Auftritte der Art zu erwarten sind, wenn dem Uebel nicht kann gesteuert werden." *Nachrichten* (1839), 732-733.

themselves Afrikaner, and who considered the country of Cape Town as their fatherland. They were now on their way from the colony to look for another earthly fatherland, in order to live an independent life.¹⁵²⁷ The missionaries wrote: *The exodus of white people, who, descending from the Europeans, calling themselves Afrikaner and regarding the region of Cape Town as their country of birth and fatherland, to the north-eastern regions, is still ongoing. In April eighteen large African farm wagons arrived in Uitenhage from the Chamtoos River, wealthy farmers, who were moving out with their families and large herds of cattle. Far away from the borders of the Cape these people are looking for another earthly fatherland, in order to live, liberated from many discomforts and independently.*¹⁵²⁸

Hallbeck notes that the best the colonial government could do under the present circumstances, was probably to establish a settlement and fort in Port Natal, in order to put boundaries to the arbitrary treatment of the black tribes.¹⁵²⁹ The Bantu are – Hallbeck continued – as one can imagine – not at all indifferent spectators in this matter, and when they would be powerful enough, without a doubt they will with armed forces try to protect their independence, before they are totally ensnared and refuted. Hallbeck then mentions: On the other hand, it seems as if the government endeavours to keep friendly relationships with the migrants, in order that they act as allies in future occurrences and not as enemies. Hallbeck concludes: *What however might be the objectives and plans of humans in all this, at the same time we will not lose the hope, that all these extraordinary events may in the end be conducive to the expansion of the kingdom of God.*¹⁵³⁰

This last comment is in terms of Hallbeck's theology, interpretation and comprehension of the events that occurred, of crucial significance. Throughout his writings one finds that he as a missionary like the prophets of old is critical about a lifestyle that is not confirmative to the Word of God. His criticism was directed both against the colonists as well as the indigenous nations of Africa. Perhaps it was more painful for the missionaries to be confronted with unchristian practices among the colonists, since they called themselves Christians. He also identified trajectories of injustices and oppression.

¹⁵²⁷ *Nachrichten* (1840), 366.

¹⁵²⁸ "Die Auswanderung der weißen Leute, die, von Europäern abstammend, sich Afrikaner nennen und den Bezirk der Kapstadt als ihr Geburts- und Vaterland ansehen, nach den nordöstlichen Gegenden dauert noch immer fort. Im April kamen achtzehn große afrikanische Bauerwagen von Chamtos Rivier in Uitenhagen an, wohlhabende Landleute, welche mit ihren Familien und großen Viehheerden auswanderten. In weiter Ferne von den Grenzen der Kap suchen diese Leute ein anderes irdisches Vaterland, um frei von manchen Beschwerden und unabhängig zu leben."
Nachrichten (1840), 366.

¹⁵²⁹ Hallbeck, *Reise von Gnadenthal nach Enon und Silo, und zurück im J. 1837*, (HA); *Nachrichten* (1839), 733.

¹⁵³⁰ *Nachrichten* (1839), 734.

As Hallbeck mentioned, there were a number of causes that led to the colonist migrations.¹⁵³¹ One of them was the border wars. Around Christmas 1834 an estimated number of twenty thousand Bantu invaded the colony. The devastations they caused had never been worse, especially in the regions of Grahamstown and Bathurst.¹⁵³² The colonial forces drove them back beyond the Kei River. Peace was reached in September 1835 and the Bantu had to submit their territories to the British crown and became British subjects.¹⁵³³ However, then the Parliament in England – under influence of the philanthropic movement – decided to reverse this decision of the colonial government and to return large pieces of land to the black tribes. This caused great dissatisfaction among the settlers. In general the settlers had been complaining about the policies of the colonial government for decades. In their opinion the government did not protect the borders adequately. In addition, Hallbeck observed, many colonists had lost their homes and gardens during the last wars. This finally pushed not a few families over the threshold to emigrate. Furthermore the opportunistic and unscrupulous reports of adventurers returning from the interior, especially from Port Natal, had filled many a settler with misplaced expectations and made them believe that a fresh start in these regions was guaranteed and a prosperous future was awaiting them.

Yet what became the main reason for the Trek – as Hallbeck noted – was the liberation of the slaves. The period of preparation for the liberation of the slaves (1834-1838) caused a perverse spirit of dissatisfaction: *Since several years an unfortunate obsession to emigrate, especially among the colonists in the eastern districts of the country, has emerged. Changed principles in the interaction with our raw neighbours and new unusual relations, that have already been implemented or are expected soon, with the coloured inhabitants of the country, have brought commotion in some parts of the colony and a perverse spirit of dissatisfaction.*¹⁵³⁴ One example was the fact that the Khoikhoi had received equal of rights in the colony and general freedom of movement.

The liberation of 35,000 to 36,000 former slaves on the 1st of December 1838 was indeed an event of consequence. Hallbeck was aware of the fact that the British government had availed

¹⁵³¹ See also *Periodical Accounts* (1839), XV, 54-60.

¹⁵³² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 4th 1835 (HA).

¹⁵³³ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 8th 1835 (HA).

¹⁵³⁴ "Seit mehreren Jahren hat eine unglückliche Auswanderungssucht, besonders unter den Kolonisten der östlichen Distrikte des Landes Statt gefunden. Veränderte Grundsätze in dem Verkehr mit unsern rohen Nachbarn und neue ungewohnte Verhältnisse, die entweder schon eingetreten oder bald zu erwarten waren, zu den farbigen Einwohnern des Landes, brachten in einige Theilen der Kolonie eine Aufregung der Gemüther und einen verderblichen Geist der Unzufriedenheit hervor." *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 47.

more than a million Pounds Sterling to the colony as compensation – an unheard of amount of money for a rather small population. The government also invested in public enterprises to boost the commerce and transport, for example a steamship connexion between Table Bay and Port Elisabeth.¹⁵³⁵ More money was also availed for the Christian education of the poorer classes of the population. By then the missionaries were almost the only ones in the colony dedicating time and money for the education of people of colour and the blacks.

The foreseen consequences of the liberation of the slaves played a key role in the emigration. According to the Moravian missionaries many slave owners treated their slaves too harsh, and therefore they had to blame themselves for the fact that their former slaves left the farms. Others, the missionaries noted, tried to prolong the status quo by offering the ex-slaves very meagre wages.¹⁵³⁶ Some emigrating settlers indeed took along their slaves. In the Genadendal report of 1837 Hallbeck made mention of a Khoikhoi who had bought free his slave wife and children for a considerable amount,¹⁵³⁷ since he feared that their owner would take them along to Port Natal. This capital he had saved during the past years in order to once buy free his family. Full of pride he came to show his family to the missionaries.¹⁵³⁸

Other colonists used the compensational monies they received for their slaves to prepare for their emigration. Hallbeck for example observed that a number of colonists, who had decided to emigrate, used the compensational monies to buy equipment and commodities they needed for the trek and the eventual settlement. They decided to send all these things with a ship from Cape Town to Port Natal where they planned to settle. Due to their patriotism they did not allow English sailors on the ship. However, since there were not enough experienced non-english sailors employed for the voyage, the ship was shipwrecked and its cargo buried in the waves. The men could only be saved with much trouble.¹⁵³⁹

Hallbeck estimated that a number of about five thousand people had left the colony. Their departure had economic consequences for the colony. The emigrations caused a sudden price increase of commodities. Already in 1837 Genadendal and Elim experienced a shortage of sheep for the slaughter.¹⁵⁴⁰ And the liberation of slaves caused a lack of labour. On his way to the

¹⁵³⁵ In 1844 the missionary Bonatz benefited from this, by travelling in a record time of three days from Algoa Bay to Cape Town on the steamship *Phoenix – Nachrichten* (1844), 792.

¹⁵³⁶ *Nachrichten* (1841), 721.

¹⁵³⁷ "130 Thaler".

¹⁵³⁸ *Nachrichten* (1840), 252.

¹⁵³⁹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 849-850.

¹⁵⁴⁰ *Nachrichten* (1840), 241, 382.

eastern Cape in 1839 Hallbeck saw for the first time white people working on the lands, or shepherding the sheep. He regarded this as something positive: *A totally new appearance it is, to see a white person as shepherd; this is one of the consequences of the liberation of the slaves, about which the people complain so much. Hopefully they will soon learn to realise that it is better in every respect to have an occupation, rather than spending the whole day in idleness. The impartial observer will find in these changed circumstances as a whole more reason for thankfulness and joyful hope for the future, than complaints and fear, although it cannot be denied that in isolated cases temporal embarrassments can occur from it. – Towards the evening we arrived at the Zoetemelksrivier. – Here I observed with joy that the people are gradually starting to get used to the new order of things, and that the parents now already start to realise that it is to their greatest advantage to use instead of unreliable hirelings, their own children to look after the cattle and with the work.*¹⁵⁴¹

To Hallbeck it was not a surprise that the black nations of the inner parts of Africa rose up and defended their territories with war and bloodshed. What he feared became true. He referred to what happened at the beginning of the year when a substantial part of the emigrants, including their wives and children, were murdered in the most gruesome way by Dingane. This caused a war between the Zulus and the emigrants. In the colony the arrival of this grave news caused an unprecedented weeping, since there were very few Dutch families who did not had to mourn the loss of relatives and beloved ones: *it was indeed easy to predict that the black inhabitants of those regions would not with the consistent encroachment of the colonists just remain indifferent spectators and try with cunning or force to maintain their threatened independence, before they would become totally ensnared, and that therefore war and bloodshed would be the inevitable consequence. Indeed this was the case. Towards the beginning of this year a considerable part of the emigrants with women and children were murdered in a most insidious and cruel way. A war broke out between them and the Zulus – a Bantu tribe – in which the former, despite of all proven bravery, were gradually exhausted and driven into an embarrassing situation... And towards the middle of the year the news of the defeat suffered by the emigrants caused consternation and*

¹⁵⁴¹ “Eine völlig neue Erscheinung ist es, einen Weißen als Schafhirten zu sehen; dies gehört mit zu den Folgen der Sklavenbefreiung, über welche die Leute sich so sehr beklagen. Hoffentlich aber werden sie bald einsehen lernen, daß es für sie in jeder Hinsicht vortheilhafter ist, eine Beschäftigung zu haben, als den ganzen Tag im Müßiggang hinzubringen. Der unparteiische Beobachter findet in dieser veränderten Lage der Dinge im Ganzen mehr Stoff des Dankes und der freudigen Hoffnung für die Zukunft, als des Wehklagens und der Bangigkeit, wiewol nicht zu leugnen ist, daß in einzelnen Fällen für die Zeit Verlegenheiten daraus entspringen können. – Gegen Abend langten wir in Zoetemelksrivier an. – Hier bemerkte ich mit Vergnügen, daß die Leute sich allmählig an die neue Ordnung der Dinge gewöhnen, und daß die Eltern jetzt schon es einzusehen anfangen, daß es zu ihrem größten Vortheil gereicht, statt der unzuverlässigen Miethlinge ihre eigenen Kinder beim Hüten des Viehes und bei der Arbeit zu gebrauchen.” Hallbeck, *Tagebuch einer besuchsreise nach den neuen Mißionsort Clarkson in d. Zitzikamma, im Sept u. Oct. 1839* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 850-851.

*mourning to spread through the whole colony, since there were few of the old Dutch families, that did not count closer or remote relatives among the murdered.*¹⁵⁴²

The colonial government felt obliged towards the end of the year to send an expedition over sea to Port Natal and to occupy the harbour, in order to prevent further unfortunate effects of the emigration. However, Hallbeck added, it is not easy to quench an already burning fire, and the Lord alone knows what will still happen in future.¹⁵⁴³ In November 1838, in a letter to Breutel in Herrnhut, Hallbeck mentioned that the colonial government had indeed sent an expedition to Port Natal to occupy the harbour, however not with the intention to establish a permanent colony. Probably – he wrote – this measure would restrain the desire to migrate and probably bring back home some of the migrants.¹⁵⁴⁴

The most painful – as Hallbeck feared – was that because of all the bloodshed this dark (he means pagan) region would probably become inaccessible for the preaching of the Gospel in the foreseeable future. He referred in particular to the English and American missionaries who were working in that region prior to the start of the emigrant-Zulu war. They now had to flee and abandon their mission work. They had to give up everything in order to save their own lives.¹⁵⁴⁵ Hallbeck mentions the names of Adams and Champion in this regard.¹⁵⁴⁶ Adams visited Silo in December 1838 while waiting for more advantageous circumstances to return to the Zulus. He reported that Dingane, king of the Zulus, had killed most of the whites living in those regions.¹⁵⁴⁷

¹⁵⁴² “indem leicht vorauszusehen war, daß die schwarzen Bewohner jener Gegenden bei dem beständigen Vordringen der Kolonisten keine gleichgültigen Zuschauer bleiben und durch List oder Gewalt ihre gefährdete Unabhängigkeit aufrecht zu erhalten suchen würden, bevor sie gänzlich umstrickt wären, und daß demnach Krieg und Blutvergießen die unausbleibliche Folge sein werde. Wirklich war dies der Fall. Zu Anfang dieses Jahres wurde ein beträchtlicher Theil der Auswanderer nebst Frauen und Kindern auf eine hinterlistige und grausame Weise ums Leben gebracht. Es entstand ein Krieg zwischen ihnen und den Zulus – einem Kaffernstamm – in welchem erstere, aller bewiesenen Tapferkeit ungeachtet, allmählig erschöpft wurden und in die äußerste Verlegenheit geriethen ... So wie um die Mitte des Jahres die Nachricht von der erlittenen Niederlage der Auswanderer Bestürzung und trauer in der ganzen Kolonie verbreitete, indem wenige von den alten Holländischen Familien waren, die nicht unter den Gemordeten nähere oder entferntere Verwandte zählten” *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 48-49.

¹⁵⁴³ “Die Kolonial-Regierung sah sich gegen Ende des Jahres genöthiget, über See eine Expedition nach Port Natal zu senden und militärischen Besitz von diesem Hafen zu nehmen, um den ferneren unglücklichen Folgen der Auswanderung vorzubeugen. Allein es ist nichts leichtes, das einmal angefachte Feuer zu dämpfen, und dem Herrn allein ist es bekannt, was künftig noch daraus entspringen kann.” *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 48-49.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 28th 1838 (HA).

¹⁵⁴⁵ “So viel ist gewiß, daß durch diese blutige Händel jene finstere Gegend für die Zeit der Verkündigung des Evangelii verriegelt zu sein scheint. Die Englischen und Amerikanischen Missionare, welche vor dem Ausbruche der Feindseligkeiten die Erkenntniß der Wahrheit unter den rohen Zulus zu befördern suchten, mußten sich schleunigst durch die Flucht retten; sie hatten von Glück zu sagen, daß sie durch Aufopferung ihrer Habseligkeiten einem grausamen Tode entgingen.” *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 49.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Nachrichten* (1840), 684. Cf. also Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

¹⁵⁴⁷ *Nachrichten* (1840), 783.

Some of the whites were tortured in the most gruesome way.¹⁵⁴⁸ Adams and Champion also visited Enon.¹⁵⁴⁹

The Governor Sir George Napier – after his arrival at the Cape – immediately left for the eastern border where he stayed for half a year,¹⁵⁵⁰ in an effort to tranquillize the situation and secure peace with the neighbouring nations. The colonial government availed some of the land that was left empty after the settlers emigrated to the Khoikhoi soldiers who had fought in the border wars.¹⁵⁵¹

Hallbeck's significant interpretation and portrayal of these extraordinary events were underestimated or even ignored in subsequent (church) historiography. His perspective calls for consideration in the re-interpretation of early colonial history of South Africa.

Conclusion

This chapter covered more or less the first 16 months after the Hallbecks return from Europe. As superintendent Hallbeck visited the stations Enon and Silo in the interior districts. Enon had to grapple with a severe shortage of water. Silo survived the first ten years of its existence, and it seemed as if the station had established itself. Bishop Hallbeck brought a new dimension to the Moravian Church in the colony. Hallbeck was not only the first Moravian bishop in South Africa, but also the very first bishop South Africa ever received.

On December 1st 1838 all slaves in the Colony were *de facto* liberated. On Moravian mission stations this was celebrated. The following chapter offers an overview in this regard, as well as Hallbeck's reaction. The liberation of slaves was to have a profound influence on the Moravian Mission. At the same time the training of teachers and pastors at Genadendal saw its inception. A building for this purpose was constructed. For a long time Hallbeck had already realised the importance of training and involving indigenous people in the education and ministry offered by the mission. He was convinced that the academic and official training of teachers and pastors could no longer be postponed. The next chapter gives an in-depth analysis of the inception of the seminary at Genadendal.

¹⁵⁴⁸ *Nachrichten* (1841), 266-267.

¹⁵⁴⁹ *Nachrichten* (1841), 266-267.

¹⁵⁵⁰ *Nachrichten* (1840), 677.

¹⁵⁵¹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 749-750.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

LIBERATION OF THE SLAVES, ESTABLISHMENT OF CLARKSON, INCEPTION OF A SEMINARY (1838-1839)

Introduction

With all slaves in the Cape Colony liberated on December 1st 1838, the year 1839 started to show the impact of this historic event. As was pointed out in previous chapters, the abolition of slavery – *de jure* in 1834 – already had a profound impact on the colony. Large amounts of money were paid out to the slave owners in compensations, causing inflation. A considerable number of colonists decided to emigrate from the colony. On December 1st 1838 all slaves in the colony were *de facto* liberated. This was a significant and controversial event. How did the Moravian Mission in South Africa interpret the event? How did they receive the liberation of slaves? Since many ex-slaves opted to reside on mission stations, Superintendent Hallbeck was challenged to lead the mission in addressing the new situation. The sudden influx of many people not only raised the question of infrastructure, but in particular the provision of quality schooling and instruction in the Christian faith. In addition, the tendency to establish outstations was greatly advanced. After the liberation, the missionaries had to attend to many more outstations, ministering to non-residential members. The first paragraph of the current chapter focuses on the liberation of the slaves, how it was perceived by the Moravian Mission in South Africa, as well as the profound impact the liberation had on the ministry of the missionaries.

The second paragraph is devoted to the establishment of the new mission station in the Tsitsikamma among the Fingu people, initially known as Koksbosch, but soon thereafter called Clarkson. It was named after Thomas Clarkson, a leading figure and champion of the abolition of slavery in the British politics. Hallbeck played an important role in establishing this new station in 1838 and 1839.

Hallbeck foresaw that with the liberation of the slaves many more teachers would be needed. The last paragraph depicts the establishment of a seminary in Genadendal for the training of local teachers and pastors. The building erected at Genadendal specifically for this purpose,

opened its doors in September 1838. The Genadendal Seminary was the very first tertiary institution of its kind in South Africa.

Liberation of the slaves in December 1838

On December 1st 1838 it was the final day of the liberation of the slaves. The transitional period of four years was completed.¹⁵⁵² A number of about 35 thousand slaves¹⁵⁵³ (some estimated more than 40 thousand)¹⁵⁵⁴ received their freedom in the Cape Colony.¹⁵⁵⁵ It was a rainy day in Genadendal and in the middle of the harvest.¹⁵⁵⁶ Hallbeck wrote: *The 1st of December was the joyful day, on which the slaves in the South-African Colony received their full freedom. We engaged in a silent mood with this wonderful triumph of humanity and thanked the Saviour for it that He had again taken away a significant obstacle that was standing in the way of the advancement of his kingdom.*¹⁵⁵⁷ The fear of the missionaries that the event would be accompanied by public disruptions proved needless. Hallbeck wrote that *the great day of liberation... occurred almost unnoticed without any uprising, and, where there was opportunity, the liberated commemorated it in worship services.*¹⁵⁵⁸

On Sunday December 2nd 1838, during the Genadendal church service, God was thanked once more for the liberation, and Hallbeck prayed for the spiritual freedom of the ex-slaves: *This gratitude combined with the prayer, the Nachrichten reported, that those who were liberated in the flesh would now also receive the spiritual freedom of being children of God, was expressed publicly by Hallbeck the next Sunday during the service. We are so thankful to mention that not only our Khoikhoi, but also the colonists who were present, were heartily in agreement with this thanksgiving and prayer.*¹⁵⁵⁹ Hallbeck mentioned that there was not a single Khoikhoi house in Genadendal that did not lodge newcomers and visitors, yet everything went peacefully.¹⁵⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵² *Nachrichten* (1841), 258.

¹⁵⁵³ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jan 18th 1839 (HA).

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Nachrichten* (1840), 811.

¹⁵⁵⁵ *Nachrichten* (1840), 49.

¹⁵⁵⁶ *Nachrichten* (1841), 256.

¹⁵⁵⁷ "Der 1. December war der freudenvolle Tag, an welchem die Sklaven in den Süd-Afrikanischen Kolonien die völlige Freiheit erhielten. Wir waren in der Stille mit diesem herrlichen Triumph der Menschheit beschäftigt und dankten dem Heiland dafür, daß Er nun wieder ein großes Hinderniß, welches bisher der Ausbreitung seines Reiches im Wege gestanden, weggeräumt hat." *Nachrichten* (1840), 807-808.

¹⁵⁵⁸ "Am 1. Dec. v.J. war der große Befreiungstag unsrer 35 bis 36,000 Lehrlinge, welcher ohne die geringste Störung gleichsam unbemerkt vorüberging, und, wo Gelegenheit dazu war, von den Befreiten gottesdienstlich begangen wurde." *Nachrichten* (1839), 770.

¹⁵⁵⁹ "Diese Dankgefühle und zugleich der Wunsch, daß die leiblich frei gewordenen auch zur geistlichen Freiheit der Kinder Gottes gelangen mögen, sprach Br. Hallbeck auch in dem Gebet vor der Predigt am folgenden Tage öffentlich aus; und wir freuen uns, sagen zu können, daß nicht allein unsre Hottentotten, sonder auch die Kolonisten, welche

Hallbeck's *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* contains a substantial assessment of the significance and effects of the liberation of slaves. In his opinion the liberation of the slaves was a triumph of justice and love: *Indeed one cannot deny that there are those who preferred to keep the old order of things, because the new circumstances are irreconcilable with their personal interests; but in general the better educated part of the free population shared heartily in the joy and thanksgiving, that permeated the hearts of the liberated amidst this important process, and this joy of the right-minded friends of humanity was not a little increased by the consistently good behaviour of the former apprentices. The preparation for this measure already had important consequences for the whole colony. More than one million Pounds Sterling, an unheard of amount for so little a population had flown into the country since a few years ago as emancipation-money. All fixed property, as well as the produce of the land and necessities of life have increased significantly in price because of this, and many articles are not to be found even at double the price; on the other hand the economy is flourishing and commerce has been promoted exceptionally, with the consequence that whoever can and is prepared to put in some effort, will be able to make ends meet abundantly. And it is comfortable to be able to add, that with the increase of the external welfare, not only many enterprises for the common interest to develop commerce and transport have been launched, e.g. a steamship connection between Table Bay and Port Elisabeth, but also that many institutes are to be found now for the promotion of learning and Christian education, especially for the lower classes of the population. Also here, like in so many other colonies, an increasing desire for the knowledge of the truth has revealed itself among the former slaves, which have had a blessed influence on the spiritual functioning of our mission stations, just as the increased industriousness have benefitted the external state. However how deserving of thankfulness the benefits already enjoyed are, yet one can expect with reason, that these cannot be compared to what will develop for future generations from this holy triumph of justice and love for people.*¹⁵⁶¹

zugegen waren, von Herzen in diesen Dank und diese Bitte einstimmten." *Nachrichten* (1840), 808; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 196, from *Genadendal Diary*, XI, Febr 1st 1838.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Nachrichten* (1839), 771.

¹⁵⁶¹ "Zwar fehlte es nicht an Solchen, die am liebsten die alte Ordnung der Dinge beibehalten hätten, weil sie die neuen Verhältnisse mit ihrem persönlichen Interesse unvereinbar glaubten; im Allgemeinen aber nahm doch der am besten unterrichtete Theil der freien Bevölkerung herzlichen Antheil an der Freude und Dankbarkeit, welche bei diesem wichtige Vorgang die Herzen der Befreiten durchdrang, und diese Freude der wohldenkenden Menschenfreunde wurde nicht wenig erhöht durch das durchgängig gute Betragen der ehemalige Leibeigenen. Schon die Vorbereitung auf diese große Maßregel ist von den wichtigsten Folgen für die ganze Kolonie gewesen. Mehr als eine Million Pfund Sterling, eine ungeheure Summe für eine so geringe Bevölkerung, ist seit einigen Jahren als Emancipations-Geld in das Land eingeströmt. Alles feste Eigenthum, so wie die Landes-Erzeugnisse und Lebensbedürfnisse sind hiedurch bedeutend im Preise gestiegen, und manche Artikel sind nicht einmal um den doppelten Preis zu haben; andern Theils aber ist auch das Aufblühen des Handels un der Gewerbe so außerordentlich befördert worden, daß, wer sich nur einigermaßen mühen kann und will, ein reichliches Durchkommen findet. Und es ist tröstlich, hinzufügen zu können, daß mit dem Steigen des äußern Wohlstandes sich nicht nur mancherlei gemeinnützige Unternehmungen zur Förderung des Handels und Verkehrs entwickelt haben, z.B. eine Dampfschiffahrt zwischen der Tafelbai und Port

Hallbeck held the firm conviction that slavery was the blackest of all evils, which must certainly lead to the destruction of a country. The liberation of slaves in the colony would undoubtedly be for the benefit of future generations living in the colony, he wrote to Breutel in January 1839, not only from an ethical viewpoint, but economically as well.¹⁵⁶² Future generations will find justification to pay tribute to this great event. *Coming generations will find reason to blissfully commemorate this important year of liberation 1838 as a holy year of jubilee.*¹⁵⁶³

Hallbeck did not only apprehend the historical, political and economic effects of the liberation, but also the spiritual: *And when the joyfully liberated would remain mindful of the great truth, that many of them already seemed to have perceived, that only those are truly free, whom the Son of God liberates, and through the power of his reconciliation has removed from the servitude to sin, then the great event of this year will contribute to the expansion of the kingdom of God and towards the salvation of many thousands.*¹⁵⁶⁴

In hindsight it is ironic that in later (twentieth century) South African history not the 1st of December, but the 16th became a day of commemoration. It recalled the battle of Blood River, won by the emigrants against the Zulus on December 16th 1838 – thus 16 days later than the de facto liberation of the slaves. It was related to a covenant and celebrated since 1994 as Day of Reconciliation. It remains a fact however that December 1st 1838 brought an end to a period of injustice in the colony, something for which future generations should still thank God.

Elisabeth, sondern daß auch mehr als sonst mancherlei Anstalten getroffen worden sind zu Beförderung der Erziehung und des christlichen Unterrichts, besonders der niederen Volks-Klassen. Auch hier, wie in so manchen andern Kolonien hat sich unter den ehemaligen Slaven ein steigendes Verlangen nach Erkenntniß der Wahrheit geoffenbart, welches auf den innern Gang unserer Missions-Plätze einen gesegneten Einfluß geäußert hat, so wie die vermehrte Vertriebsamkeit auf den äußern Zustand derselben vortheilhaft einwirkt. So dankenswerth aber die schon genossenen Vortheile schon jetzt sind, so ist doch mit Grund zu erwarten, daß dieselben in keinem Vergleiche stehen mit denjenige, welche sich aus diesem heilige Triumph der Gerechtigkeit und Menschenliebe für künftigen Geschlechter entwickeln werden." *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 50-51.

¹⁵⁶² Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jan 18th 1839 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 808.

¹⁵⁶³ "Wenn so viele Tausende unserer Miteinwohner, die bis jetzt als eine todte Last, ein unnatürlicher Auswuchs am politischen Körper, die freie Bewegung desselben nur erschwerten und hinderten, als ein wesentlicher Theil desselben vom nämlichen Geiste beseelt und zu gleichem Zwecke mitwirkend die Kräfte des Ganzen vermehren werden; dann werden sich die Hilfsquellen des Landes auf eine noch nie erfahrene und kaum geahnete Weise entwickeln, und kommende Generationen werden Ursache finden der großen Maßregel segnend zu gedenken, und das wichtige Befreiungs-Jahr 1838 als ein heiliges Jubeljahr zu feiern." *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 51.

¹⁵⁶⁴ "Und wenn dann die glücklich befreiten der großen Wahrheit eingedenk bleiben, die viele derselben schon aufgefaßt zu haben scheinen, daß nur diejenigen wahrhaft frei sind, welche der Sohn Gottes frei macht, und die durch die Kraft Seiner Versöhnung von der Knechtschaft der Sünde erledigt sind, dann wird die große Begebenheit dieses Jahres zur Ausbreitung des Reiches Gottes und zum Heil vieler Tausende beitragen." *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838* (HA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1840), 51.

The fact that the Moravians received the liberation of slaves in the way they did, should be linked to a long tradition of involvement and reflection on slavery. In Herrnhut in the 1720's serfdom was neither allowed nor tolerated. Furthermore, two thirds of the worldwide Moravian mission stations were situated in areas where slavery was part of everyday life.¹⁵⁶⁵ Many of the converts were slaves. This caused the Moravian missionaries from the very beginning to critically reflect on the institution of slavery as it was found in the European colonies.

The Christian compassion with the slaves, common in Pietist circles in the 18th century and also accommodated in Herrnhut, did not originate in the libertine ideas impregnated by the revolutionary movement in France. The Moravians were not against the fact as such that slavery existed – in this they resembled the apostle Paul – although they had severe criticism of the treatment of slaves in the European colonies, and were vehemently opposed against the transatlantic slave trade, ripping families apart and having no respect for marriages. As later became known, since the first transatlantic slave ships came into operation about 1560 until the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, an estimated 15 million people were transported from Africa to the Caribbean, comprising about 1.5% of the total world population by 1800. Up to 40% of the captured slaves did not survive the transatlantic journey. The first Moravian missionary ever sent out – Leonhard Dober – even professed that he was willing to take up himself the yoke of slavery, should that prove necessary to win other slaves for Christ.

In 1784 after already half a century of mission experience in countries where slavery was rampant, Spangenberg wrote in the Moravian mission textbook: *The heathen, who are in the state of slavery, like for example the negroes in the West Indies, should be encouraged to be obedient towards their lords and masters; because it is not accidental, but from God that they have come in these circumstances, and He has wise reasons, which we cannot always understand ... When they are not disgruntled, God will bless them for that, and regard the service they render to their masters obediently as if they are doing it to Him, Eph. 6:5 etc. and Col. 3:22.* At the same time the textbook drew a clear line: *However, they should always know that the love of God surpasses everything; therefore they cannot do anything God has forbidden, and they will commit a sin when they would consent in doing such a thing, in order to please a human.*¹⁵⁶⁶ This last

¹⁵⁶⁵ Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 184.

¹⁵⁶⁶ "Die Heiden, welche in der Slavery stehen, wie z.E. die Neger in Westindien, müssen zum Gehorsam gegen ihre Herren und Meister angewiesen werden; denn es ist nicht von ohngefahr, sondern von GOtt, daß sie in die Umstände gekommen sind, und Er hat weise Ursachen dazu, die wir nicht alle so verstehen können. Wenn sie sich nun in Geduld in die Wege schicken, welche GOtt mit ihnen geht, und darüber nicht murren, und nicht unzufrieden sind, so wird sie GOtt dafür segnen und den Dienst, welchen sie ihren Herren im Gehorsam thun, so ansehen, als wenn sie Ihm damit dienen, Eph. 6,5.u.s. und Col.3,22. Doch müssen sie immer dabey wissen, daß die Liebe Gottes über alles geht; und

sentence was based on experience. Slave women for example had to realise that they did not belong to their masters in every respect and that their masters did not have the right to sexually abuse them. This Biblical view on how Christian slaves had to behave, remained the same in the second edition of this textbook, which was revised in 1837 by Hallbeck.

For half a century men like Wilberforce and Clarkson contented to promulgate legislation on the abolition of slavery in the British Parliament. It became a political issue. In general the worldwide Moravian mission enterprise remained hesitant to get involved with politics. The attitude of the well-known London Moravian secretary Christian Ignatius Latrobe, who was a personal friend of William Wilberforce, illustrates the point. In 1786 Wilberforce requested his support for the anti-slavery movement. Although the Moravians were closely aligned with the anti-slavery movement, Latrobe did not wish the Moravians to be overtly connected to political positions, since their overseas settlements were dependent on colonial powers for protection. Nevertheless Wilberforce financially contributed to Moravian mission activities.¹⁵⁶⁷ The same applied to Thomas Clarkson, specifically contributing to the Moravian mission in South Africa.

Most people in Europe were not aware of the fact that the treatment of the slaves in the European colonies was much worse than that of the serfs within Europe. Although the Moravians did not oppose having slaves as such, when they came face to face with how this social institution was perverted in the European colonies, it soon became clear to them that abolition was the only solution. August Spangenberg, after a visitation to the West Indies in 1736, wrote to a friend in Amsterdam that the slavery in the West Indies is such an un-human thing, that it made one's hair stand on end.¹⁵⁶⁸

Spangenberg – who had experienced slavery in the Americas first hand – wrote: *There is one thing, in particular, which seems inconsistent with the providence of God. By far the greatest part of mankind are poor, and many are slaves, or at least vassals, and these are, in general, treated severely; they maintain themselves with great difficulty, and what arises from their hard labour, serves either for their master's avarice or luxury... If they beget children, they know beforehand, that they will be in the same state of slavery... Now, if God has an eye upon the whole human race, how is it possible that he can allow these things? Ought he not to lift up his arm, and destroy*

daß sie keine Dinge, die GOtt verboten hat, und damit sie sich versündigen würden, wenn sie darein willigten, jemand zu Gefallen thun dürfen." *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen* (1784), 66 (HA).

¹⁵⁶⁷ R. Ganther, "Herrnhut (Moravians) (1722, 1869)", www.missionaries.griffith.edu.au (accessed Jul 17th 2013).

¹⁵⁶⁸ Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 46.

*those who thus torment their neighbour? To this we may answer: The thoughts of God concerning riches and poverty are entirely different from the thoughts of men. For he knows that poverty tends much more to preserve men from many sins than riches. To what then do riches and affluence lead mankind? For the most part they are forgetful of God and of his commandments... God will one day call them to an account... They are, of all others, the most unfit for the kingdom of God... But the poor have not so many hindrances... and in eternity it will become still more evident, that many thousands have reason to bless God for their having been poor in this world.*¹⁵⁶⁹

Would the Moravians have embraced the anti-slavery movement publicly, they would most probably not have been allowed to enter the sugar plantations in Surinam and the Caribbean, missing the opportunity to proclaim the Gospel there. Their permit to work in South Africa would neither have been issued. The *Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC)* and the *Dutch West Indian Company (DWIC)* however realised that the *Unitas Fratrum* had in mind the spreading of the Gospel and not politics.¹⁵⁷⁰

The Moravian Synod of 1825 warned the missionaries in the West Indies against participation in the struggle for the liberation of the slaves, because it was not part of their task and would invite the hostility of the farmers to the detriment of their mission work.¹⁵⁷¹ Nevertheless, one cannot maintain that the subordinate attitude of the Moravians prolonged the abolition of slavery. The confrontational approach – often inherited from the ideas of the French Revolution – caused uprisings under the slaves, polarisation, loss of lives and ensuing restrictive coercive measures. The Moravians however worked more in the background, empowering the slave population for a life of freedom and responsibility. A good example is the activities of the Moravians under the slave population on the island Antigua. Their contribution was valued so much by the local

¹⁵⁶⁹ “Eine Sache sieht insonderheit so aus, als wenn sie mit der Vorsehung Gottes nicht bestände. Die meisten Menschen sind arm, und viele sind Slaven oder doch Leibeigene, die man gemeinlich sehr hart behandelt. Kümmerlich müssen sie sich nähren, und was aus ihrer Arbeit herauskommt, damit wird gemeinlich entweder gegeizt oder gepraßt ... Seugen sie Kinder, so wissen sie voraus, daß solche in eben die Slavery und Leibeigenschaft geboren werden ... Hat nun Gott ein Auge auf alle und jede Menschen, wie ist es möglich, daß Er den Dingen zusehen kann? Sollte Er nicht drein fahren, und die Menschen umbringen, die ihren Nächsten so quälen? Hierauf dient zur Antwort, daß Gott von dem Reichthum und der Armuth ganz anders denkt, als die Menschen auf Erden, und daß Er die Armuth viel bequemer findet, sie vor vielen Sünden zu bewahren, als den Reichthum. Wozu bringt dann der Reichthum und Ueberfluß die Menschen? ... Sie vergessen mehrentheils Gottes und seines Gebots ... und daß Gott einmal Rechenschaf von ihnen fordern wird ... Sie sind die ungeschicktesten Leute zum Reiche Gottes ... Die Armen aber haben nicht so viel Hinderungen ... Und in der Ewigkeit wird es sich noch mehr aufklären, daß viel tausend Menschen Ursach haben, Gott dafür zu danken, daß sie hier in dieser Zeit arm gewesen sind.” Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, ¶ 38. Illuminating is that Cl Latrobe said the same whilst engaging with the Genadendal inhabitants in 1816. Cf. Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 405-406.

¹⁵⁷⁰ De Boer and Temmers, *The Unitas Fratrum*, 58.

¹⁵⁷¹ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, from *Syn.* 1825, 108.

government that with the abolition of slavery in 1834 they did not deem a transitional phase necessary, as was the case in all other British colonies. Thanks to the work of the Moravians, Antigua became the very first place where the slaves were really set free.¹⁵⁷²

From Hallbeck's writings it is evident that he had the same approach – theologically and practically – towards slavery than the general Moravian line articulated by Spangenberg and Latrobe.

The liberation of the slaves had a considerable impact on the society of Genadendal. Only in December 1838 more than 200 persons arrived and requested to become part of the community. During the first weeks of 1839 the number increased to 640. Hallbeck was constantly occupied with receiving them and explaining the Rules and Regulations of Genadendal to them. From December 15th 1838 every morning he met the newcomers in the church. Initially all were lodged with the inhabitants. Only after they were formally accepted as residents, a plot was allocated with the right to build a house.¹⁵⁷³ Applicants were admitted after they had received comprehensive instructions and had promised to obey and to act in accordance with the Rules and Regulations. The Helpers Conference gave final approval with confirmation of the lot.

Hallbeck wrote in a letter dated January 18th, 1839: "We have fallen in with a mighty shoal of fishes, and as faithful fishermen, we will, by the mercy of our Lord, do what we can to assure as many of them as possible, perhaps many will, after all make their escape."¹⁵⁷⁴ In April 1839 he wrote: *More than 570 new comers, most of them former apprentices, have received permission to stay here since Dec 1st.*¹⁵⁷⁵ In the new year the total population of Genadendal rose above two thousand for the first time.¹⁵⁷⁶ In September 1840 he reported that already more than 800 new people have received permission to stay on the station. This number as such proves that many slaves were living in poor conditions on the farms and did not have exposure to education and to the preaching of the Gospel. Hallbeck added that it is a great privilege to be eye witness of this wonderful work of the Lord, quoting Matthew 13:17: "For I tell you the truth, many prophets and righteous men longed to see what you see but did not see it, and to hear what you hear but did

¹⁵⁷² Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 191.

¹⁵⁷³ Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Jan 18th 1839, & Sept 10th 1840 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 196.

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Periodical Accounts* (June 1839), 12-14.

¹⁵⁷⁵ "Mehr als 570 Neukommlinge, meist gewesene Apprentices haben hier seit 1 Dec. Erlaubniss erhalten" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th 1839 (HA).

¹⁵⁷⁶ The number of inhabitants at Genadendal increased from 1478 in 1838 to 2187 in 1840. See Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 196; *Genadendal Diary*, X, Dec 31st 1837, Dec 31st 1840; *Elim Diary*, Dec 31st 1837, Dec 31st 1840; *Mamre Diary*, Dec 31st 1837, Dec 31st 1840.

not hear it.”¹⁵⁷⁷ In the western Cape the other Moravian mission stations also had an influx of ex-slaves. Groenekloof grew from 725 to 1096.¹⁵⁷⁸ Teutsch in Elim wrote on April 15th 1839 that 90 liberated slaves and 15 Khoikhoi have been registered.¹⁵⁷⁹

The missionaries did what they could to teach the liberated slaves. Hundreds of Bibles received from the British and Foreign Bible Society were distributed among them. Hallbeck had no illusions that some ex-slaves came to the stations with the wrong motives. He wrote: *At the same time we should not be amazed, when with such a large influx also rotten fish will be among them: it can happen easily, that we in the coming years have to write out again many of those who apply now.*¹⁵⁸⁰ Bodily freedom did not automatically mean spiritual freedom. Hallbeck reflected: *only those are truly free, who are made free by the Son of God, and who by the power of his reconciliation are liberated from the servitude of sin. The great event of this year will only in that case be conducive to the expansion of the kingdom of God and for the good of many thousands.*¹⁵⁸¹

The ex-slaves now received the opportunity to be instructed in the Christian faith.¹⁵⁸² Especially the old people among them, who had spent their lives in ignorance and slavery, were grateful to the missionaries in this regard. On Easter day 1840, 18 men and 13 women received holy baptism, the biggest number to be baptised on one day in Genadendal’s history yet. Hallbeck commented: *O may they all thrive for the Saviour!*¹⁵⁸³ And when in May 1840 the civil commissioner came to collect the annual taxes, it was striking how willing the ex-slaves were to pay their share.¹⁵⁸⁴

Education at the mission stations was challenged. The newcomers put a lot of pressure on the schools. Concerning Genadendal, Hallbeck wrote: *our schools are so overcrowded with children that we do not know what to do. In total we count about 500 school children, of which the school*

¹⁵⁷⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 10th 1840 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1841), 309.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 196; *Genadendal Diary*, X, Dec 31st 1837, Dec 31st 1840; *Elim Diary*, Dec 31st 1837, Dec 31st 1840; *Mamre Diary*, Dec 31st 1837, Dec 31st 1840.

¹⁵⁷⁹ *Nachrichten* (1839), 972.

¹⁵⁸⁰ “Ueberhaupt müßen wir uns nicht verwundern, wenn bei einem so großen Zug manche faule Fische dabei sind u. wenn andern uns am Ende doch entweichen; es könnte leicht geschehen, daß wir von den jetzt aufgeschriebenen in künftigen Jahren manche wieder abschreiben müßen. Indeßen wollen wir mit des Heilands Hülfe arbeiten, weil es Tag ist, u. die angenehme Zeit nicht unbenutzt vorbeischießen laßen.” Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jan 18th 1839 (HA). *Nachrichten* (1839), 772.

¹⁵⁸¹ “daß nur diejenigen wahrhaft frei sind, welche der Sohn Gottes frei macht, und die durch die Kraft Seiner Versöhnung von der Knechtschaft der Sünde erledigt sind, dann wird die große Begebenheit dieses Jahres zur Ausbreitung des Reiches Gottes und zum Heil vieler Tausende beitragen.” *Nachrichten* (1840), 51.

¹⁵⁸² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 215, from *Mamre Diary*, March 3rd 1841; Aug 14th 1841; Dec 2nd 1843.

¹⁵⁸³ “O daß sie doch Alle für den Heiland gedeihen möchten!” *Nachrichten* (1840), 1118; *Nachrichten* (1843), 57.

¹⁵⁸⁴ *Nachrichten* (1843), 58.

*for small children only has more than 200.*¹⁵⁸⁵ The fact that so many ex slaves came to live on the mission stations is a testimony to the fact that equal treatment was still a long way ahead. The treatment and conditions they received on the stations were by far better than in any other part of the colony, whether on the farms or in Cape Town.

The impact of the liberation of the slaves became clearly visible in the colony in 1839. As Hallbeck travelled to the Tsitsikamma in September 1839, he met trekking colonists on their way out of the colony. He also saw on some farms the children of farmers doing the work that had previously been done by slaves. For the first time he saw white people herding flocks of sheep. He wrote: *Hopefully they will soon learn to realise, that it will be for them better in every respect to have something to do, rather than spending the whole day in idleness.*¹⁵⁸⁶ Hallbeck regarded this as a hopeful development for the good of the country.¹⁵⁸⁷ Until then the colonists were not used to manual labour themselves, and the women and children were not used to do any domestic work, because of the availability of male and female slaves.¹⁵⁸⁸

Some of the wealthy farmers and former slave owners suffered a financial setback. They raised complaints with the government: they were to farm without the support of labourers, whilst (according to them) the ex-slaves resided on mission stations, where they were unemployed, doing nothing. They threw suspicion on the mission stations. The number of ex-slaves that had found a living in Genadendal was exaggerated. Hallbeck had to defend the truth. The farmers, he wrote, *complain about the fact that their people go to church and abandon them, and have spread the rumour that 6,000 apprentices had flocked to Genadendal.*¹⁵⁸⁹ In another letter Hallbeck wrote, describing the delicate position they were finding themselves in: *The former slave owners, angry about the new conditions of the working class, have spread all sorts of rumours about the apprentices and mission stations, necessitating the government to submit to me and others some time ago a questionnaire, and also assigned a senior judge to visit our location as well as Elim and other places... The judge seemed fully convinced that the rumours*

¹⁵⁸⁵ "unsere Schulen sind am Kindern so überfüllt daß wir uns kaum mehr Rath wißen. Im Ganzen zählen wir circa 500 Schulkinder, von denen die kleine Kinderschule allein mehr als 200 hat" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jan 18th 1839 (HA).

¹⁵⁸⁶ "Hoffentlich aber werden sie bald einsehen lernen, daß es für sie in jeder Hinsicht vortheilhafter ist, eine Beschäftigung zu haben, als den ganzen Tag im Müsiggang hinzubringen." *Nachrichten* (1840), 850-851.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 202.

¹⁵⁸⁸ *Nachrichten* (1841), 722.

¹⁵⁸⁹ "Dabei jammern sie jedoch, dass ihre Leute zu der Kirche gehen u. sie im Stich lassen, u. haben unter andern das ungereimte Gerücht ausgesp..gt, dass 6000 Apprentices nach Gnadenthal gezogen sind." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th 1839 (HA).

were either untrue or heavily exaggerated.¹⁵⁹⁰ The judge only found 20 former apprentices in Genadendal. The rest were all employed on farms. Hallbeck concluded: *It is for us therefore a critical time, and we need all your prayers, in order not to give unnecessary offence, and the Lord will help us also through this. I can sense that some of our neighbours became prejudiced against us because of the false gossiping, but others remain not only loyal, but seem to honour us even more.*¹⁵⁹¹

The liberation of slaves also advanced the trend of outstations, a ministerial approach that was for some years already employed by the Moravians in the Cape Colony. Outstations were primarily preaching points, serving people that did not reside on the mission stations, but who associated themselves with the Moravian Church. Many ex-slaves, who had decided to remain in the service of farmers, were reached in this way.

Hallbeck envisioned that each mission station should have a ring of outstations in its vicinity, to spiritually serve people working on farms.¹⁵⁹² Thus, a new dimension was introduced in the ministry of the Moravian Mission. The Christian community was no longer confined to one place or location, but became fully part of colonial society, within the traditional social-political and economic structures. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the first outstation established was Houtkloof¹⁵⁹³ near Elim in 1834. People had started there to hold church services in a big house. Later a church building was erected.¹⁵⁹⁴ Houtkloof was placed under the pastoral care of the Elim missionaries.¹⁵⁹⁵ The second outstation was Kopjeskasteel, established in 1838 and located a few hours from Genadendal.¹⁵⁹⁶ Genadendal missionaries were responsible for its ministry.¹⁵⁹⁷ Hallbeck preached there for example on September 19th 1837 on his way to Silo.¹⁵⁹⁸ In January

¹⁵⁹⁰ "Die ehemaligen Sklavenbesitzer, zornig über die neuen Verhältnisse der arbeitenden Classe, haben allerlei ungünstige Gerüchte von den Apprentices u. den Missionsplätzen im Umlauf gesetzt, wodurch die Regierung veranlasst worden ist, mir u. andern seit einiger Zeit allerlei Fragen zur Invente...tung vorzulegen, u. auch einer der Oberrichter aufzutragen so wohl hier als in Elim u. anderen Plätzen zu besuchen. Der Gouverneur hat öffentlich erklärt, dass er überzeugt ist, dass das betragen der Missionaren unterdulhaft [?] u. pflichtgemäss gewesen ist, u. auch der Richter schien völlig überzeugt zu seyn, dass die Gerüchte entweder gründhalsch [?] oder im hohen Grad übertrieben u. verdrehet waren." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 (HA).

¹⁵⁹¹ "Es ist indessen für uns eine critische Zeit, u. wir alle Vorspricht nöthig haben, um nicht unnöthigen Anstoss zu geben, u. der Herr wird uns auch durchhelfen. Ich glaube bemerken zu können, dass einige unserer Nachbarn durch das lügnerhafte Geschwätz gegen uns eingenommen worden sind, andere aber bleibe nicht nur fest, sondern scheinen uns noch mehr zu verehren." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 (HA).

¹⁵⁹² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 153.

¹⁵⁹³ Hallbeck, *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA); *Nachrichten* (1838), 676.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 10th 1834 (HA).

¹⁵⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1838), 690.

¹⁵⁹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1839), 696.

¹⁵⁹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1839), 475; *Nachrichten* (1841), 309.

¹⁵⁹⁸ *Nachrichten* (1838), 328.

1839 Hallbeck visited Major Henderson in Driefontein, to inquire whether an outstation could be established there. The latter was willing, and promised to make a building for this purpose available.¹⁵⁹⁹

Since November 1839 the farmer Petrus Klink offered a big granary to conduct church services,¹⁶⁰⁰ and also white people from the area attended.¹⁶⁰¹ In that year already more than 200 people, as an indication of the new post-slavery situation, were attending the church services there, which were conducted every second week.¹⁶⁰² In August 1840 Hallbeck laid a cornerstone¹⁶⁰³ and in 1841 a chapel was completed.¹⁶⁰⁴

In 1839 Matjesgat near Genadendal was established as outstation, because of the influx of the ex-slaves. Hallbeck preached there for the first time on May 5th. The service was attended by many colonists from the neighbourhood together with their workers. This farm belonged to Christoffer Groenewald, a God-fearing man.¹⁶⁰⁵ The third outstation established in the Genadendal region was Hamansdal.¹⁶⁰⁶ However, this station was moved shortly afterwards to a more suitable location: Matjesdrift.¹⁶⁰⁷ The first service, led by Hallbeck, was on September 8th 1839. Matjesdrift was on the farm of Mr Keiter, one of the largest and most beautiful estates of the region. Services were conducted fortnightly, and were attended mostly by whites.¹⁶⁰⁸ At the end of 1839 Genadendal was responsible for three outstations: Kopjeskasteel, Matjesdrift and Matjesgat.¹⁶⁰⁹ Other outstations in the Genadendal area that were later added were Voorstekraal and Boschmanskloof. In the Robertson district four preaching points on different farms were eventually established. Sometimes it happened that preaching at an outstation had to be discontinued, when a farm was sold. This happened to the outstation Quartelrivier after a Roman Catholic had bought the farm.¹⁶¹⁰

¹⁵⁹⁹ *Nachrichten* (1841), 740.

¹⁶⁰⁰ *Nachrichten* (1841), 749.

¹⁶⁰¹ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁰² Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 334.

¹⁶⁰³ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 10th 1840; letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Aug 24th 1840 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1841), 308; *Nachrichten* (1843), 62.

¹⁶⁰⁴ *Protocol HC*, Jan 10th 1838 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1841), 993; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 189.

¹⁶⁰⁵ *Nachrichten* (1839), 971; *Nachrichten* (1841), 743.

¹⁶⁰⁶ *Nachrichten* (1840), 330.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Aug 31st 1839 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 332.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Aug 31st 1839 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1841), 746-747.

¹⁶⁰⁹ *Nachrichten* (1843), 67.

¹⁶¹⁰ *Nachrichten* (1846), 51.

In 1839 Groenekloof also received an outstation because of the influx of ex-slaves, called Wittezaand.¹⁶¹¹ The first service was held on September 22nd, 1839.¹⁶¹² In the Tsitsikamma, where a mission station Clarkson was incepted in 1838, the Moravians immediately implemented the practice of outstations. As soon as the missionaries received horses, they started to preach in two Fingu kraals located some distance from Clarkson.¹⁶¹³

In later years, after Hallbeck's death, the teachers and preachers trained at the Genadendal Seminary played a vital role on the outstations.¹⁶¹⁴ Many a student, who was trained at the Genadendal Seminary, found a ministry on one of these outstations as teacher and preacher.¹⁶¹⁵

Clarkson was mentioned above as a new mission station, incepted in 1838. Our attention should now turn to this event, in which Hallbeck played a key role.

Establishment of Clarkson

In the previous chapter we have paid attention to the migrations of the Fingu nation. The Tsitsikamma region, east of the Groot River, was availed to them in 1838. The Governor Sir George Napier requested the Moravians to establish a mission in the Tsitsikamma to serve the Fingu, now living there.¹⁶¹⁶ He had a good impression of the work of the Moravians in the colony.¹⁶¹⁷

After Hallbeck had received more information from the governor regarding support, property rights and the size of land to be availed, the matter was discussed by the Helpers Conference. They considered it as a call from God.¹⁶¹⁸ Since the governor had stressed the urgency of the matter, the HC decided to start investigating the prospects without waiting for an answer from Herrnhut.¹⁶¹⁹ In addition a new station would provide welcome relocation possibilities for people

¹⁶¹¹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 346.

¹⁶¹² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 197; *Genadendal Diary*, XI, May 5th 1839; Aug 25th 1839.

¹⁶¹³ *Nachrichten* (1840), 1116.

¹⁶¹⁴ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 253.

¹⁶¹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1846), 303.

¹⁶¹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1839), 131; *Nachrichten* (1840), 671, 778; *Nachrichten* (1841), 264.

¹⁶¹⁷ *Nachrichten* (1840), 799. For example on September 12th 1838, Napier, accompanied by his son, visited Silo. *Nachrichten* (1840), 776.

¹⁶¹⁸ *Protocol HC*, Apr 24th 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁶¹⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 28th 1838 (HA).

from Enon, who found it increasingly difficult to make a living at the Witter River, due to the scarcity of water.¹⁶²⁰

The missionaries Teutsch and Bonatz were sent to locate a suitable place in the Tsitsikamma area,¹⁶²¹ which they identified in the vicinity of Koksbosch,¹⁶²² at a distance of about two hours from the sea.¹⁶²³ Water and vegetation was abundant, although the soil was rather sour and therefore less fit for grazing.¹⁶²⁴ The Koksbosch was situated more or less in the centre of the different Fingu tribes (Captain Manqoba to the south, Captain Makopula to the west, Captain Mlaz to the east, and the mountains to the north).¹⁶²⁵ Hallbeck estimated that there were about 112 Fingu kraals in the Tsitsikamma, consisting of about twenty people each. Hallbeck was also aware that those staying in the Tsitsikamma were only a fraction of the Fingu who had spread all over the colony.¹⁶²⁶ On October 14th 1838 the Gospel was first preached in the open air at Koksbosch. According to Teutsch the Fingu were eagerly waiting for a mission station to be founded among them.¹⁶²⁷

Hallbeck did not take part in the investigative journey. In November he travelled to Cape Town, where he had many hours of in-depth negotiations with the Governor Napier regarding the Fingu mission.¹⁶²⁸ A vital point was to acquire property rights for the new station. He wanted to make sure that the Moravian Mission would not end up with yet another grant station. On this issue Hallbeck reported: *the important principle was acknowledged, which never had been adopted in the past, that the superintendent could possess land, through which we can now hope, also with regard to Elim, that all the problems can be avoided connected to the present nominal possession when transferred from one to another, something that filled me with intense gratitude.*¹⁶²⁹ The title deed would be issued to the superintendent and his successors. If the station had ever to be abandoned, the government would grant another suitable place in exchange. Furthermore, Hallbeck secured that the government would not grant permission to anyone to sell wine or

¹⁶²⁰ Protocol HC, Apr 24th & May 16th & May 20th 1838 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1839), 131.

¹⁶²¹ Protocol HC, May 20th 1838 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1839), 477.

¹⁶²² Protocol HC, Oct 30th 1838 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1839), 475.

¹⁶²³ *Nachrichten* (1840), 686.

¹⁶²⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶²⁵ *Nachrichten* (1841), 1000.

¹⁶²⁶ *Nachrichten* (1840), 877, 882.

¹⁶²⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 28th 1838 (HA).

¹⁶²⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 28th 1838 (HA).

¹⁶²⁹ "der wichtige Grundsatz anerkannt worden, der sonst nie angenommen würde, dass der Superintendent, als solcher, Land besitzen kann, wodurch wir nun hoffen können, auch im bezug auf Elim allen den Schwierigkeiten zu entgehen, die mit dem jetzigen Nominal besitz, u. mit dem Uebertragen von dem einen auf den andern verbunden sind, ein Umstand, der mich mit innigster dankbarkeit erfüllt hat." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 28th 1838 (HA).



Clarkson, den 14. Oct 1840.¹

¹ Noted beneath this pencil sketch: "1. Wohnhaus, a. Wohnstube d. Geschw. Nauhaus, b. de. Geschw. Küster. 2. c. d. Küche d. Tischlerei 3. Wagenhaus u. Pferdestall in welchen wir bei offenen Thüre bis jetzt gepredigt haben 4. Hühnerstall. 5. Häuser d. Apprentices 6. eine Finguhütte 7. d. Ochsenkraal 8. Weg zur neue Kirche 9. d. b... 10. d. große Wassergraben" (HA).

brandy within a range of ten miles from Koksbosch. He also received permission that as many Khoikhoi could move to Koksbosch as was necessary to alleviate the pressure from Enon.¹⁶³⁰

In his opening speech to the Legislative Council in 1839, Napier referred to the accepted conditions regarding the establishment of a Moravian Mission in the Tsitsikamma. It was reported in the different newspapers.¹⁶³¹ In February 1839 Halter and Küster arrived at Koksbosch.¹⁶³² Küster had learnt to speak Xhosa in Silo. At Koksbosch there were already a few so-called *Hartbeest* houses, built by woodcutters.¹⁶³³ The missionaries immediately erected a sheep and cattle kraal, and cleared a piece of land for the planting of crops.¹⁶³⁴ Hallbeck reported the inception of the mission, quoting Halter: *the Fingu were very glad because of our arrival and welcomed us with visible love. Their desire to hear the Gospel is truly edifying. On Sunday the 17th two days after our arrival, many people from the neighbourhood visited us, and 48 Fingu were present during the preaching in the Bantu language, held by br Küster. On the next Sunday 24th people came from all directions, and more than 100 persons gathered around br Küster, of whom most were eager to hear the Word of life; and with the preaching in Dutch I had 28 listeners, most apprentices from the neighbourhood and 8 white people, who all gathered eagerly in our small room of 15x10 feet.*¹⁶³⁵

In May the same year Nauhaus and his wife joined them and Halter returned to Enon. Because of the wet and cold weather, Nauhaus' baby daughter Charlotte Gustava fell ill during the journey. She passed away a month after their arrival, and was the first to be buried on the station – *the first little seed to be sown on the new God's Acre in Koksbosch.*¹⁶³⁶ Since no colleagues were present at the moment and his wife ill in bed, Nauhaus had to bury his daughter all alone. The little grave is still to be found on the God's Acre in Clarkson.

¹⁶³⁰ *Protocol HC*, Nov 19th 1838 (MASA & HA).

¹⁶³¹ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jan 18th 1839 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Nov 19th & Nov 26th & Dec 10th 1838 (MASA & HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 200.

¹⁶³² *Protocol HC*, March 19th 1839 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1839), 774, 787.

¹⁶³³ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 28th 1838 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1839), 476; *Nachrichten* (1840), 687.

¹⁶³⁴ *Nachrichten* (1839), 775.

¹⁶³⁵ "die Fingoes waren sehr erfreuet über unsern Anknunft u. nahmen uns mit sichtbarer Liebe auf. Ihr Verlangen das Evangelium zu hören ist wahrhaft erbaulich. Am Sonntag d. 17ten zwei Tage nach unserer Anknunft besuchten uns viele Leute aus d. Nachbarschaft, u. 48 Fingoes waren gegenwärtig bei der Kaffer Predigt, die br. Küster hielt. Am folgenden Sonntag d. 24. kamen die Leute aus allen Richtungen herbei, u mehr als 100 Personen versammelten sich um br. Küster, welche grössentheils begierig das Wort des Lebens anhörten; u. in der holländischen Predigt hatte ich 28 Zuhörer, meist Apprentices aus der Nachbarschaft u. 8 weisse Leute, die sich alle in unseren Kämmerlein von 15 F. X 10 traulich u. verlangend um mich versammelten" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶³⁶ "das erste Samen-körnlein auf dem neuen Gottesacker in Koksbosch" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 329, 341, 841.

The missionaries started the station with a nucleus of members from the older stations, in particular Silo and Enon. Two services were arranged for, one in Xhosa and one in Dutch. A Fingu called Klaas, who could speak Dutch and had worked as interpreter in the past for an English missionary, was employed by Nauhaus as an interpreter.¹⁶³⁷ Hallbeck wrote: *Black, brown and white people appear to be very happy with our presence here.*¹⁶³⁸ The farmers in the neighbourhood welcomed the establishment of the station. One of them donated a pulpit.¹⁶³⁹ A group of Khoikhoi, ex-slaves, Fingu and colonists gathered each Sunday for the services.¹⁶⁴⁰

When Hallbeck visited in September 1839, they could enjoy potatoes, carrots, cabbage and salad from their own gardens.¹⁶⁴¹ Around 110 people were staying on the station (41 Fingu, 44 former slaves, and 25 Khoikhoi mostly from Enon)¹⁶⁴² and the church had about 70 members.¹⁶⁴³ Hallbeck also met Chief Manqoba and paid a visit together with him, Nauhaus and Küster to the *Karredoo* Mountains.¹⁶⁴⁴ According to Hallbeck *Zitzikama* was the name the Khoikhoi had given to a small river flowing from the *Karredoo* Mountains to the Indian Ocean. It was adopted to indicate the region between the mountains and the sea, stretching to Plettenberg Bay in the west. Typical of this region is the abundance of water. Hallbeck wrote: *Seldom would a week pass without rain. It is also an area with an abundance of very useful wood. The forests are still inhabited by elephants and buffaloes. This region however is not useful for cattle breeding, because the grass is sour, causing it to remain wild and uncultivated.*¹⁶⁴⁵

Hallbeck intended to meet the land surveyor, since he knew the importance of clearly drawn border lines to prevent conflicts with the surrounding farmers.¹⁶⁴⁶ Unfortunately the surveyor did not turn up due to illness.¹⁶⁴⁷ The survey of land took place in 1841.¹⁶⁴⁸ Only after Hallbeck's death the title deed was made out in the name of the superintendent of the Moravian mission and all his successors, without time limits and without taxation. A better deal could not have been reached.

¹⁶³⁷ *Nachrichten* (1840), 839.

¹⁶³⁸ "Kurz, Schwarze, Braune und Weiße schienen sich über unser Hiersein herzlich zu freuen." *Nachrichten* (1839), 774-775.

¹⁶³⁹ Several neighbouring settlers also showed themselves benevolent towards the missionaries, amongst others a man called De Brès. *Nachrichten* (1840), 828.

¹⁶⁴⁰ *Nachrichten* (1840), 855-857; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 201, from *Clarkson Diary*, Febr 15th 1839.

¹⁶⁴¹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 867.

¹⁶⁴² *Nachrichten* (1840), 859.

¹⁶⁴³ *Nachrichten* (1840), 333, 858.

¹⁶⁴⁴ *Nachrichten* (1840), 861-862 (Kareedouw).

¹⁶⁴⁵ *Nachrichten* (1840), 862-864.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁴⁷ *Nachrichten* (1841), 312; Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁴⁸ Jun 16th 1841 – *Nachrichten* (1841), 1001; Jan 14th 1841 – *Nachrichten* (1843), 212.



Pencil sketch of Clarkson – the church is at the right hand side.¹

¹ HA.

The station received the name Clarkson, honouring Thomas Clarkson – friend of William Wilberforce – for his role in the abolition of slavery. Governor Napier received a gift of 210 pounds from his philanthropic friends in England (including Thomas Clarkson and his sister, the Lady of Bunbury) for the Fingu.¹⁶⁴⁹ Napier had put the money at Hallbeck's disposal and requested that the station should be called Clarkson.¹⁶⁵⁰ Hallbeck used the gift for the building of a chapel and school hall, the construction of a water channel,¹⁶⁵¹ as well as the promotion of agriculture among the Fingu. As for agriculture, the Fingu believed that animal manure polluted the soil. But after they had been educated, they immediately started to apply this new method of fertilizing the soil. Hallbeck regarded this as a sign that the Fingu did not adhere in an un-yielded way to old superstitions.¹⁶⁵² It seemed as if the Fingu embraced Christian habits quicker than the Thembu. However, later it became evident that some of the pagan practices continued hidden from the eyes of the missionaries.

The fact that the station received the name Clarkson, was however questioned by some Moravians. The tradition stipulated that Moravian mission stations should accept Biblical names. Hallbeck received letters from P Latrobe and the brothers Mallalieu and Leach from England, objecting to the name.¹⁶⁵³ They were of the opinion that Hallbeck and the South African Moravian Mission – by giving this name to the Fingu station – compromised the Moravian Mission politically. They also appealed to the UEC in Herrnhut. The UEC therefore proposed to Hallbeck to change the name to Mamre, since they feared that many supporters of the Moravian Mission in England would be offended. The whole matter caused some irritation between Hallbeck and the UEC. *Do not burden me with such folly*, he wrote.¹⁶⁵⁴

In a letter of April 9th 1840 he defended his position to the UEC, quoting from the protocols of the Helpers Conference. The name was an explicit request of the governor. It should therefore not be regarded as a local Moravian preference for Clarkson as a person or the political party he represented. The South African mission has always tried to remain neutral and not to interfere with any political issues. Hallbeck then points out that, should the mission now force a name change, it would indeed be seen as political partiality against Clarkson and his party. Even worse, it would send out the message that the Moravians are against the abolition of slavery, and that is

¹⁶⁴⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Latrobe, Aug 8th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁵⁰ *Protocol HC*, Aug 16th 1839 (MASA & HA); Letter Hallbeck to Latrobe, Aug 8th 1839 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 844.

¹⁶⁵¹ Letter Napier to Hallbeck, Nov 14th 1839 (HA); letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁵² *Nachrichten* (1840), 866.

¹⁶⁵³ Letter Hallbeck to Latrobe, Aug 8th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁵⁴ *“Die U.A.C. würde mir mit Recht eine solche Thorheit nicht verzeihen können.”* Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 9th 1840 (HA).

definitively not the case. Furthermore it would jeopardize Hallbeck's efforts to secure property rights for the mission stations. Therefore Hallbeck urged the UEC to leave the matter as it is.¹⁶⁵⁵

Clarkson was the last station Hallbeck established as superintendent before his death. He was clear on the primary reason for the establishment of this station: *we know that for all humans applies that they will die sometime, and then will be the judgment, and nobody of us can save ourselves or accomplish eternal salvation but through Jesus Christ, who had been totally unknown to them [the Fingu] until now, therefore my brethren had come to them, to make known to them this Saviour and Friend of the lost, and the main purpose of my visit in the Tsitsikamma is to support my brethren with this objective.*¹⁶⁵⁶

The first Fingu to be baptised in Clarkson was a man called Mazisa. With his baptism on Easter day 1840 he received the name Johannes.¹⁶⁵⁷ Another Fingu confessed: *I experience a great difference between Bantuland and here; there the people lived in continuous strife and animosity, but here, where God's Word is preached, peace and harmony reign.*¹⁶⁵⁸ Just as in Silo, it was striking that the women were the first to join the church.¹⁶⁵⁹ With regard to the building of the church in Clarkson, Hallbeck remarked with gratitude: *and so Europeans, Khoikhoi, Negroes and Fingus are building together in joyful spirit the house of the Lord.*¹⁶⁶⁰ The cornerstone was laid in May 1840¹⁶⁶¹ and the building inaugurated two weeks after Hallbeck's death.¹⁶⁶² A few years later Küster reported a break through when a former witchdoctor repented: *I asked a Fingu candidate for baptism, in the past one of the biggest witchdoctors, what actually gave occasion to him to start coming to the church. He answered... In the past people came to me, since I was a great*

¹⁶⁵⁵ Letter Hallbeck to P. Latrobe, August 8th 1839 (copy in HA); Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Aug 31st 1839 & Apr 9th 1840 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Apr 6th 1840 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 844. This incident just underscores the Moravian's positive disposition towards the liberation of the slaves and the total abolition of slavery, although they didn't want to engage into party politics, even not concerning this very matter.

¹⁶⁵⁶ "weil wir wüßten, daß es dem Menschen gesetzt ist, einmal zu sterben, und darnach das Gericht, und daß niemand uns von demselben erretten und zur ewigen Seligkeit verhelfen kann, als Jesus Christus, welcher ihnen bis jetzt gänzlich unbekannt geblieben, so wären meine Brüder zu ihnen gekommen, um sie mit diesem Erretter und Freunde der Verlorenen bekannt zu machen und der Hauptzweck meines Besuchs in der Titzikama sei, diese Absicht meiner Brüder befördern zu helfen." *Nachrichten* (1840), 875-876.

¹⁶⁵⁷ *Nachrichten* (1840), 1116; *Nachrichten* (1842), 367.

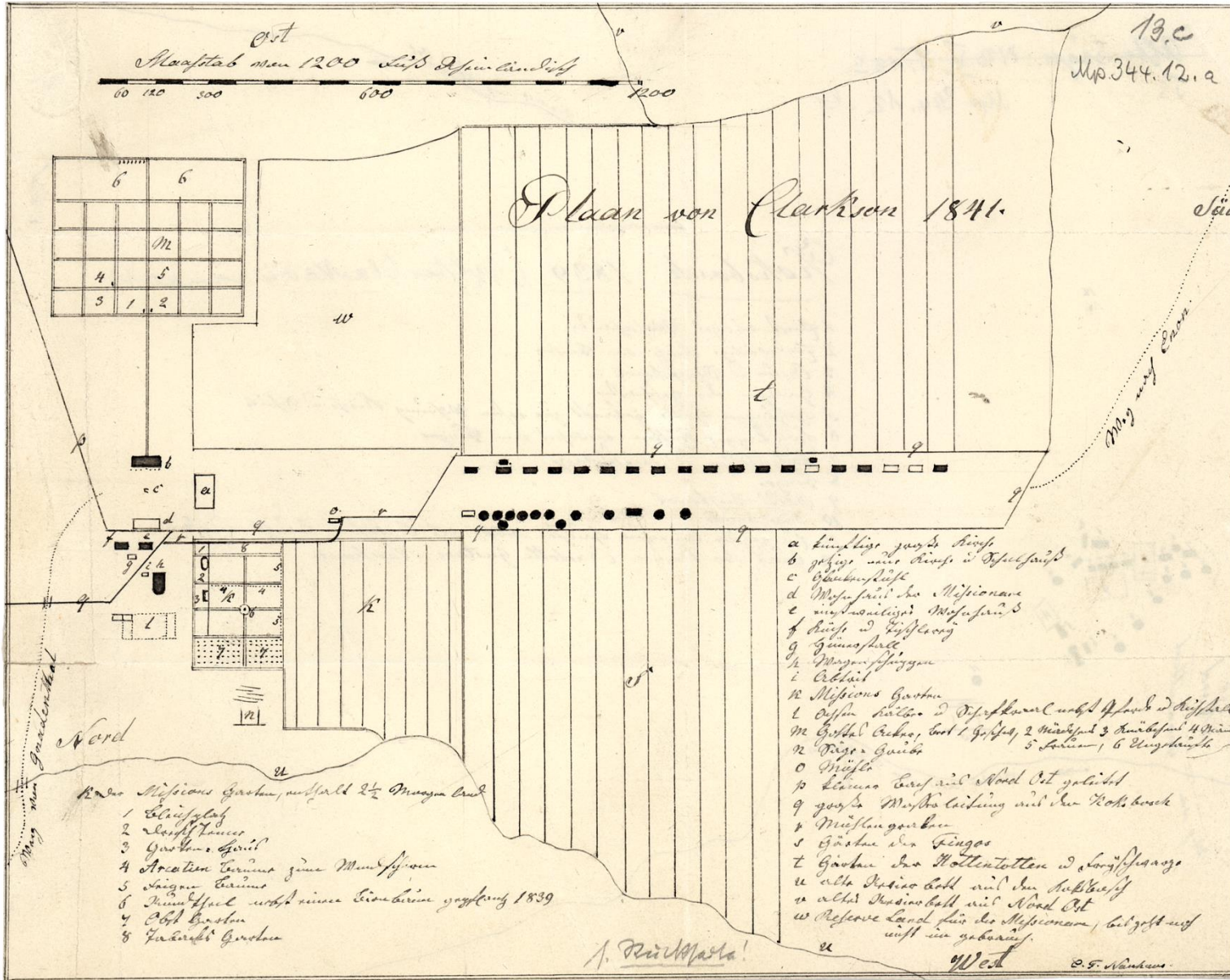
¹⁶⁵⁸ "Ich finde einen großen Unterschied zwischen dem Kaffernland und hier; dort leben die Menschen in immerwährendem Unfrieden und in Feindschaft, aber hier, wo Gottes Wort verkündigt wird, herrscht Friede und Eintracht." *Nachrichten* (1841), 756.

¹⁶⁵⁹ *Nachrichten* (1843), 649.

¹⁶⁶⁰ "und so arbeiten nun Europäer, Hottentotten, Neger und Fingus im fröhlichen Geiste am Hause des Herrn." *Nachrichten* (1840), 1119.

¹⁶⁶¹ *Nachrichten* (1841), 484.

¹⁶⁶² *Nachrichten* (1843), 211.



Map of Clarkson drawn by Nauhaus in 1841 (for the legenda on the map, see opposite side)

In Herrnhut Archive.

Legenda:

“Plaan von Clarkson 1841”

“a künftiges große kirche b jetzige neue kirche u Schulhauß c Glockenstuhl d Wohnhaus der Missionare e einstweiliges Wohnhauß f küche u Tischlerey g hünestall h Wagenschuppen i Abtrit k Missions Garten l Ochsen kälber u Schafkraal nebst Pferde u Kuhstall m Gottes Acker, Erst 1 Geschw 2 Mädchen 3 Knäbchen 4 Männer 5 Frauen 6 Ungetaufte n Säge=Grube o Mühle p kleiner bach aus Nord Ost geleitet q große Wasserleitung aus den Koksbosch r Mühlengraben s Gärten der Fingos t Gärten der Hottentotten u [...] u alte Revier bett aus den Koksbosch v alte Revierbett aus Nord Ost w Reserve Land für die Missionare, bis jetzt noch nicht im gebrauch.”

“C.F. Nauhaus”

“1 bleichplatz

2 [...]

3 Garten=Haus

4 Arcatien baume zum M[...]

5 feigen baume

6 Rundtheil [?] nebst einer birnbaume gepflantz 1839

7 Obst Garten

8 Tabacks Garten”

“Weg von Gnadenthal

“Weg nach Enon”

“Maasstab von 1200 Fuß Rheinländisch”.

*witchdoctor, to find the truth. But now I admit that I had been the greatest liar, and although I earned a lot with my so-called truth, I don't want to know anything more about it.*¹⁶⁶³

Obviously the mission had to address challenges similar to those at Silo.¹⁶⁶⁴ Christianising (and thus confronting)¹⁶⁶⁵ cultural customs and accepted traditions, caused problems and remained difficult. The church and its mission were resisted and even rejected.¹⁶⁶⁶ The missionaries saw the words of Jesus literally fulfilled among the Fingu: "Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to turn a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law – a man's enemies will be the members of his own household." (Matthew 10:34-36).¹⁶⁶⁷ In 1841 Nauhaus exclaimed: *Ach! The darkness is still so terribly immense among the Fingus!*¹⁶⁶⁸ But the Lord gave the few who were faithful, like a Fingu with a crippled leg who had to walk for three hours every Sunday to attend the church services.¹⁶⁶⁹ Typical Moravian persistency prevailed and the station survived the first phase in its history. Hallbeck though, did not live to see it.

Earlier in the chapter we have indicated that the influx of large numbers of ex-slaves into the mission stations challenged the existing provisions for appropriately schooling the children. More than ever the need for trained teachers from the indigenous population was evident and unquestionable. In 1838 the seminary for the training of teachers and pastors was inaugurated in Genadendal. Hallbeck saw a dream come true.¹⁶⁷⁰ The next paragraph is dedicated to the

¹⁶⁶³ "fragte ich einen Fingu, der Tauf-Candidat ist, früher aber einer der größten Zauberer gewesen war, was ihn eigentlich antreibe, in die Kirche zu gehen? Er gab mir darauf zur Antwort: ... Früher suchten sie bei mir, da ich ein großer Zauberer war, die Wahrheit, aber nun erkenne ich, daß ich der größte Lügner gewesen sei, darum will ich, obgleich ich mir durch meine frühere vermeinte Wahrheit viel verdient habe, nichts mehr davon wissen." *Nachrichten* (1845), 314.

¹⁶⁶⁴ *Nachrichten* (1840), 829.

¹⁶⁶⁵ In their work among the Fingu the missionaries were confronted with pagan practices comparable to those the Silo missionaries faced, like the culture of dancing and screaming for a whole night long. See *Nachrichten* (1840), 829. Another tradition was to organize a wild feast of dancing, eating and drinking, during which the young men were circumcised. The missionaries urged the people to choose: either serve the devil in these wild feasts, or come to church and serve God. *Nachrichten* (1840), 1129. Küster once paid a surprise visit to one of the wild feasts, and when finding a number of dancing skirts lying on the floor, he cut them in pieces. See *Nachrichten* (1843), 201.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Resistance against the mission surfaced one day when the men painted their bodies red and assembled together to dance and entertain themselves. See *Nachrichten* (1842), 370. In another instance three girls were tied with ropes and beaten unconscious by their parents because they dared to visit the church. See *Nachrichten* (1840), 1128. There were tensions because of the Fingu culture to sell their daughters, even against their will. See *Nachrichten* (1841), 311.

¹⁶⁶⁷ *Nachrichten* (1841), 486.

¹⁶⁶⁸ "Ach! die Finsterniß ist doch noch schrecklich groß unter den Fingus!" *Nachrichten* (1842), 922.

¹⁶⁶⁹ *Nachrichten* (1843), 215.

¹⁶⁷⁰ On Moravian mission stations in other parts of the world the same was the case. On the Danish islands in the Caribbean the missionaries also started to train the slave population more intensively in the 1830's, preparing them for a life as free people. On St. Croix by 1840 eight new school houses were built. It happened in cooperation with the local government, who wasn't able to do this alone. Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 187.

establishment of this institution in Genadendal. In many respects it was the most significant embodiment of Hallbeck's influence and work in the Moravian Mission.

Inception of post-school training institution at Genadendal (1838)

Already in 1823 Hallbeck had considered and introduced the idea of training "Nationalgehülfen".¹⁶⁷¹ At that time the Helpers Conference regarded the step as premature, offering the following reasons:

- The inhabitants do not want to be ruled by their own people, complaining that they have the tendency to become dictatorial.
- The farmers would not easily permit a coloured man to conduct Christian meetings on their farms.
- The LMS had made an unsuccessful attempt to work with indigenous assistants.
- With the mission work being in the public limelight, great care was required to avoid offence, since the mission enterprise as a whole was under suspicion – it was 1823 after all.¹⁶⁷²

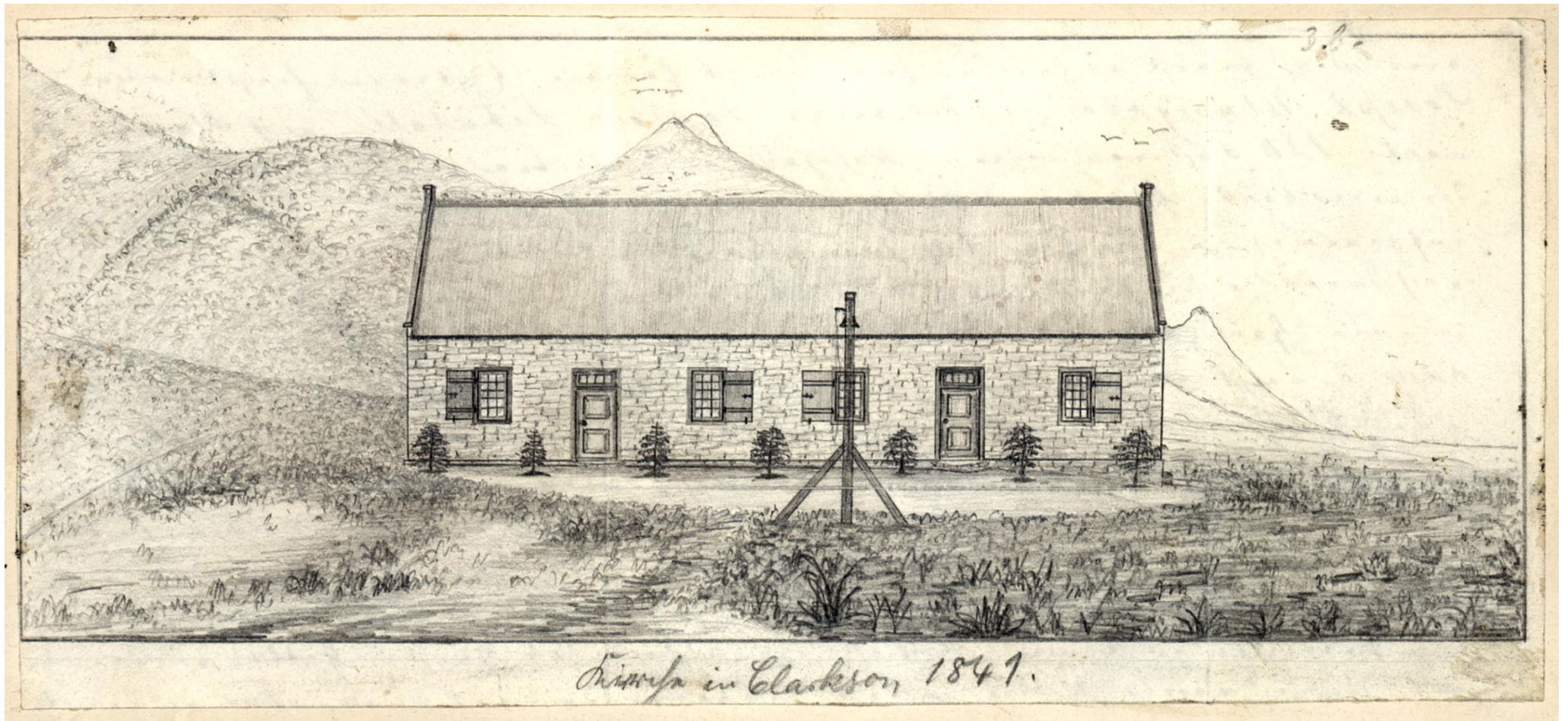
The Moravian Synod of 1825, however, urged the South African mission to make more use of indigenous overseers and to start training local people. At that stage Hallbeck was cautious to implement the proposal in view of the tense circumstances. After press freedom was acquired in the colony in the 1820's, a wave of criticism hit the mission stations. As discussed in a previous chapter, Hallbeck did however not leave the matter at rest. In 1828 the training of indigenous helpers commenced, when Hallbeck himself started to educate Ezekiel Pfeiffer and Wilhelm Plezier. Pfeiffer did him proud. In 1835 he reported: *He displays much faithfulness and punctuality in his new office of schoolteacher... It is apparent that with his new calling he has devoted himself afresh to his Saviour.*¹⁶⁷³

During his visit to Herrnhut in 1836, Hallbeck requested the UEC specifically to avail a brother capable to assist him in this task of training indigenous teachers and preachers. Hallbeck's plans to start a formal teachers' training received warm support from the 1836 Synod. Two additional workers were called to accompany him back to South Africa: CA Küster and CF Francke, the latter

¹⁶⁷¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 31st, 1823 (HA).

¹⁶⁷² *Protocol HC*, Febr 26th 1823, Apr 4th 1823 (HA); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 176.

¹⁶⁷³ "Ezekiel Pfeiffer (ein Hottentotte) beweiset große Treue und Punctlichkeit in seinem Amt als Schulmeister ... Bei seinem neuen Auftrag scheint er sich ganz aufs Neue dem Heiland hingeeben zu haben." *Nachrichten* (1835), 203.



Pencil sketch of the church building in Clarkson (1841).¹

¹ "Kirche in Clarkson, 1841" (HA).

being a married teacher with a talent for music. The training of teachers became Francke's main responsibility.

A German prince, Victor von Schönburg-Waldenburg, offered a substantial amount to sponsor a training school for teachers or mission helpers at Genadendal.¹⁶⁷⁴ This enabled the mission to commence with the erection of a building in 1837. The corner stone was laid on November 1st 1837. Unveiling the corner stone of a new building was a solemn occasion.¹⁶⁷⁵ The builders were asked to mortar a leaden box with the names of the teachers and students into the corner stone. Subsequently Teutsch hit with a hammer on the stone thrice declaring: In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He then knelt down on the stone and asked the Lord's blessing. Hallbeck was not present – he was on a journey to the mission stations on the eastern border – however he wrote the text (both in Dutch and English) for the cornerstone:

*After the missionaries of the United Church of the Brethren in South Africa had experienced for a long time the need for a training institute for the education of young people from the Khoikhoi to become teachers and missionary assistants, they were given the opportunity at last through the generosity of the governing Prince of Schönburg Waldenburg in Germany, to erect a special building for such an institution. Consequently this corner stone was laid on the first day of November in the year of Christ 1837 which was the first year of governance of her Majesty Alexandrina Victoria I Queen of Great Britain, through brother CL Teutsch, with prayer and supplication, in the presence of the missionaries of the congregation and school children in Genadendal in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Governor over the Colony was his Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban KCB Civil Commissioner over district Swellendam Harry Rivers Esq: The congregation in Genadendal was ministered by the missionaries HP Hallbeck Episc Fratrum and his wife JC Beck. CL and Maria Teutsch, CF u CS Nauhaus, JIF and CB Stein. CG and AS Sondermann. HB and AMH Schopmann. PH and AF Brauer. CF and FC Franke. ED Kohrhammer. CG Hallbeck. AE Lees ...*¹⁶⁷⁶

¹⁶⁷⁴ "20 000 Taler" - Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 8th 1835 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Jul 25th 1837 (HA).

¹⁶⁷⁵ *Nachrichten* (1828), 231.

¹⁶⁷⁶ "Nachdem die Missionarien der vereinigten Brüderkirche in Südafrika das bedürfnis einer Erziehungsanstalt zur bildung von jungen Leuten aus den Hottentotten zu Schullehrer u Mißionsgehülfen lange gefühlt hatten, wurden sie endlich durch die freigebigkeit des regierenden Fürsten von Schönburg Waldenburg in deutschland, in den Stand gesetzt, ein besonderes Gebäude für eine solche Anstalt zu errichten. Demzufolge wurde dieser Grundstein, an dem ersten Tag des Novembers im Jahr Christi 1837 welches das erste Jahr der Regierung Ihrer Majestät Alexandrina Victoria I Königin von Großbritannien war, durch den bruder C.L. Teutsch, mit Gebet u Flehen, in Gegenwart des Mißionarien der Gemeine u Schulkinder in Gnthal in den Namen des Vaters u des Sohnes u des H. Geistes gelegt.

The double storey building was inaugurated on September 12th 1838.¹⁶⁷⁷ This was a historic day for education in South Africa, since at the time no other teachers' training college existed in the entire colony. Hallbeck realised the significance: *It is a venture of such importance that few can realise it, therefore it is my continuous prayer that we will be given wisdom not to spoil anything, but arrange everything according to the will of the Saviour.*¹⁶⁷⁸



Seminary at Genadendal.¹⁶⁷⁹

And, it was a historic day for the mission as well, because on the same day (September 12th 1838) the teacher Ezekiel Pfeifer was the first African to be ordained as an *Acolyte* in the Moravian

Gouverneur über die Colonie war der excellence Sir Benjamin D'Urban K.C.B. Civil Comissioner über district Swellendem Harry Rivers Esq:

Die Gemeine in Gnthal wurde bedient durch die Mißionarien H.P. Hallbeck Episc: fratrum. u seine frau J.C. Beck. C.L. u Maria Teutsch, C.F. u. C.S. Nauhaus, J.J.F. u C.B. Stein. C.G. u A.S. Sondermann. H.B. u A.M.H. Schopmann. P.H. u A.F. Brauer. C.F. u F.C. Franke. E.D. Kohrhammer. C.G. Hallbeck. A.E. Lees.

Die übrigen Mißionarien der brüdergemeine waren. S u A. Lemmerz. J u F. Lehmann. J.A. u E. De Fries in Groenekloof. C.J. u M. Tietze in H. en A. D. u C.E. Luttringshauer H.F. u C.D. Meyer in Elim. W.C. u H.F. Genth A. u M.H. Halter W.A. u S. Stolz in Enon. J. u JE. Fritsch, S.F. u M.E. Hoffmann J.A. u P. Bonatz, C.A. Kuster in Silo.

Mittglieder der U.A.C. waren Fried: Lud: Kölbing, P.F. Früauf. Hans Wied. Johann Daniel Anders. Joh: Christ: Breutel, Sam: Christl: Reichel. Johannes Ballein Christ: Willh: Matthiessen." *Genadendal Diary*, Nov. 1837.

¹⁶⁷⁷ *Nachrichten* (1840), 804.

¹⁶⁷⁸ "Es ist ein Unternehmen von solcher Wichtigkeit dass wenige es recht einsehen können, darum ist es mein Anständiges Flehen, dass uns Weisheit geschenkt werden möge, dabei nichts zu verderben, sondern alles nach dem Sinne des Heilands einzurichten." Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Sept 4th 1838 (HA).

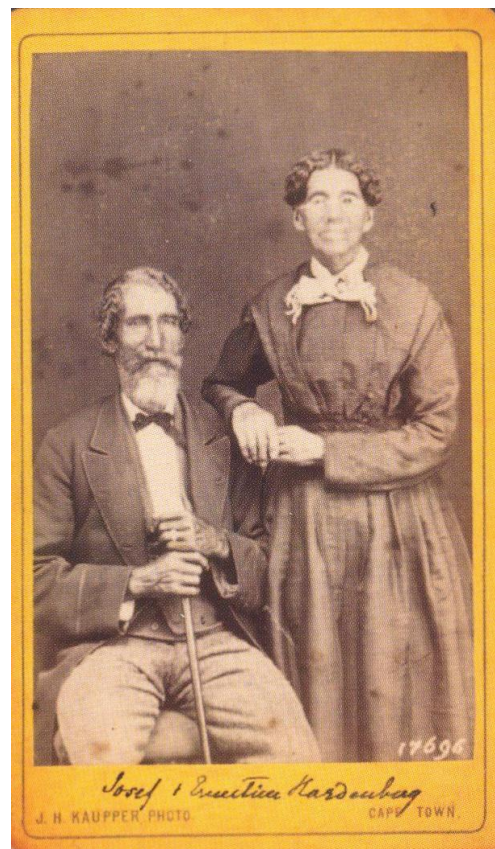
¹⁶⁷⁹ Noted below the pencil sketch: "Gehülpen Schule zu Gnadenthal" (HA).

Church.¹⁶⁸⁰ Ezekiel entered into a stable marriage with Martha Cloete,¹⁶⁸¹ and their son Pieter Salomon later became teacher at the Genadendal Training College in 1859.

With the official opening of the seminary in 1838, 11 young men enrolled: seven from Genadendal (Alexander Haas, Dawid Lakey, Jozua Pleizier, Johannes Absalom, Michael Baalie, Jacob Haas and Petrus Beukman), two from Groenekloof (Nikolaas Oppelt and Josef Hardenberg), one from Elim (Carl Jonas) and one from Enon (Wilhelm Klein).¹⁶⁸² All of them were still young, not older than 15 years. In addition a few children of the missionaries also received lessons here.



Nikolaas (Niclaas) Oppelt (1826-1880), one of the first students at the seminary (1838-1843), later assistant pastor in Enon (1872) and missionary worker and teacher in Goedverwacht (1873-1880)¹⁶⁸³



Josef Hardenberg (born 1825), one of the first students at the seminary, with his wife Ernestine (born 1827). Josef was teacher in Goedverwacht (1846-1873). Photo taken in about 1870.¹⁶⁸⁴

¹⁶⁸⁰ Protocol HC, Sept 8th 1838 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1840), 805.

¹⁶⁸¹ Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 & Apr 9th 1840 (HA).

¹⁶⁸² *Nachrichten* (1839), 858; *Nachrichten* (1840), 805.

¹⁶⁸³ HA. Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 161.

¹⁶⁸⁴ HA. Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 161.

Soon afterwards black young men from the eastern Cape also followed, as well as students of colour from the Berlin Missionary Society. The training took about *two years*.¹⁶⁸⁵ The first persons who taught at the seminary were, besides Hallbeck, the missionaries Küster, Francke and Schopmann.¹⁶⁸⁶

In 1839 Hallbeck noted that the training demanded 16 to 20 hours per week of his time, something that was irreconcilable with all his other duties. The Helpers Conference requested Herrnhut urgently to send more people capable of teaching.¹⁶⁸⁷

The purpose of the training was to:

- Expand the students' knowledge.
- Teach them how to transfer the knowledge on others.
- Teach them how to use next to their mind also their hands.
- Equip students to assist in the ministry.¹⁶⁸⁸

The Dutch word *Kweekschool (Seminary)* denoted not merely a teacher's training in the first place, but included also the notion of training young men for the ministry. These two callings were regarded as being related to each other, since both teachers and pastors had to teach and educate using the Word of God as directive. A normal day at the seminary followed a stipulated schedule:

8-9	Religion, English reading from the Bible, English Grammar, Geography
9-10	Singing, drawing, writing, translation from English to Dutch (using e.g. Spangenberg's <i>Idea Fidei Fratrum</i>)
10-11	Old Testament Studies, Bible History, Mathematics
11-11.45	Written English translations, oral work in Dutch, General History
12-1:30	Lunch and Recreation
Afternoon	Gardening, Handwork, Music Lessons on violin and piano (later also on organ and trumpet) and practicals in different trades. ¹⁶⁸⁹

Music classes received a prominent place as well. Students were taught to direct choirs, play the organ, piano, and violin, and also a brass band was erected.¹⁶⁹⁰ According to Hallbeck Genadendal

¹⁶⁸⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Oct 22nd 1838 (HA).

¹⁶⁸⁶ *Nachrichten* (1840), 328.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Aug 31st 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁸⁸ Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 52.

¹⁶⁸⁹ In later years this applied especially to the printing press. Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 52.

produced the first Khoikhoi organist under the sun.¹⁶⁹¹ A French lady who had once visited Genadendal decided to provide funds for an organ, which Hallbeck bought in 1832. Upon its introduction to the congregation, Hallbeck wrote: *The joy of our Khoikhoi about it is without limits.*¹⁶⁹² One should realise that an instrument producing such sounds was something totally unheard of in South Africa at the time. Genadendal was one of the first places to receive such an instrument.

The students also received the opportunity to gain practical experience by teaching at the nursery school and boys and girls schools at Genadendal.¹⁶⁹³ On Sunday afternoons the students were allowed to visit their family and friends. The students were expected to strictly adhere to the rules. Three of the first eleven students were suspended due to illicit behaviour. The others received after completion of their studies employment on the different mission stations or outstations.

The institution was the first of its kind in South Africa and became the pinnacle of Hallbeck's ministry and work. It was in many respects an institution of consequence. It played a pivotal role in the colony's future. Hallbeck, though, was now faced with a problem that he for a long time since, foresaw. Indigenous members of the church received official training, while the missionaries in general were lacking behind. Most of them did not have any formal education at all. Decisive in the appointment of Moravian missionaries was, apart from the use of the lot, a faithful heart and a good practical mind. Hallbeck was critical of this accepted tradition and practise. There was an extent of traditionalism that took hold of the Moravians. Hallbeck emphasized that piety and a sincere heart do not exclude erudition. He explicitly raised the issue. Uneducated missionaries could no longer meet the demands of a changed context. The bishop emphasised that something had to be done for the training and instruction of the brothers in Europe, before they were called. As long as the Khoikhoi were not able to read, brothers who had not received an education and scarcely were able to read themselves, could be used. But, things have changed...¹⁶⁹⁴

¹⁶⁹⁰ Malan ed., *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiekensiklopedie*, Part 1, 239.

¹⁶⁹¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 16th 1835 (HA).

¹⁶⁹² "Die Freude unsrer Hottentotten darüber ist grenzenlos" *Nachrichten* (1832), 634.

¹⁶⁹³ *Nachrichten* (1846), 999.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th 1839 (HA).

Emphasis on trained missionaries

Prior to his visit to Europe in 1836, Hallbeck explained to the mission committee of the UEC that especially trained men and women were now needed in South Africa, for example to provide quality and relevant teaching in the growing number of schools. *With trained brothers*, Hallbeck wrote to Schneider already in 1835, *I do not mean necessarily literati, however men like Teutsch, Bonatz, Schopman. Brothers like Stein, Tietze, Hofman, Thomsen, Voigt should not even be considered for South Africa, because they do not fit in the present set up, and are even laughed at by the Khoikhoi.*¹⁶⁹⁵ Herrnhut acknowledged Hallbeck's competent discernment in this regard, in view of the fact that he was asked in 1836 to revise and update the textbook for missionaries written by Spangenberg way back in 1784.

Yet, when in 1839 Herrnhut again sent a brother (Christenson) to South Africa with no proper training, Hallbeck was outspoken: *I was under the impression that we were agreeing on the fact that brothers without any training are not suitable for the mission here, notwithstanding the fact that they may be faithful, and that we hope to be excused from subjects such as Voigt, Tietze, etc ... Colleagues like these are a shame for the whole mission, especially in a civilised country, where there are other mission societies as well ... Someone like this will cause the fruits of our efforts in the training institute to be destroyed. For the Helpers Conference it was an embarrassment to try and find employment somewhere for br & sr Christenson.*¹⁶⁹⁶ Somewhat sarcastically he noted that Christenson is involved with the girls' school at Groenekloof, probably to learn more himself than to teach, and that this did not promise anything good to the children.¹⁶⁹⁷ Towards the end of the year he again wrote about this brother: *For his willingness to be of help everywhere, one can certainly praise him, but for me his involvement at the horse-mill is of no consolation, because a Khoikhoi can do it as well. It is neither economic nor does it serve to our legitimation, that we*

¹⁶⁹⁵ "Mit gebildeten brüdern meine ich nicht gerade literati, sondern, solche wie br. Teutsch, Bonatz, Schopman. Ueberhaupt müssten je keine solche brüder, wie Stein, Tietze, Hofman, Thomsen, Voigt .. für S. Africa in Vorschlag kommen, den sie passen nicht für die hiesigen Lage, u. werden selbst von den Hottentotten ausgelacht." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 22nd 1835 (HA).

¹⁶⁹⁶ "Ich war ganz der Meinung, dass wir alle darin einverstanden waren, dass brüder ohne alle Erziehung u. bildung, wenn auch übrigens traugesinnt, für die hiesige Mission nicht passten, u. dass wir mit sochen Subjecten wie Voigt, Tietze u.a.w. verschont bleiben sollten ... Es sey mir aber erlaubt meine Meinung auszusprechen, daß die berufung von solchen Sübjecten für eine Mißion in einem civilisirten Lande, neben Heidenboten von so vielen andern Gesellschaften, sehr gewagt ist, u. zugleich darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß solche brüder, weil ihr Ausehen mit dem Vorwärtsschreiten der Hottentotten unvereinbar ist, die Früchte unserer Arbeit in der Gehülffen Schule ganz zu zernichten. Die Helfer Conferenz is in keiner geringen Verlegenheit gewesen, wo Geschw. Christenson untergebracht werden sollten." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Apr 11th 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁹⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 23rd 1839 (HA).

*fetch brothers from Europe for duties like these, and by it bar the sustenance and development of the Khoikhoi.*¹⁶⁹⁸

Hallbeck found himself in a desperate situation. Only recently the new mission station Clarkson was established among the Fingu, which demanded a lot of his time. In the meantime he had to teach for 15 to 20 hours every week in the school at Genadendal, his other duties not even mentioned.¹⁶⁹⁹ To receive a brother from Herrnhut without any teaching experience or training was a great disappointment.

In November 1839 Hallbeck again wrote: *The sort of brothers we need, is well known by now. We have nothing against faithful and willing artisans, but totally raw and untrained brothers and sisters are of no help, rather a burden... Something must be done as to their training, before they are called. As long as the Khoikhoi could not read and were totally ignorant, and only a few to no Europeans were attending our church services, and no other missionaries were working alongside us, such brothers could be tolerated, who had no training and who could hardly read themselves.*¹⁷⁰⁰

Hallbeck's insistence on well-educated missionaries definitively expedited the inception of formal academic training for Moravian missionaries. But, it took another 30 years, because only in 1869 did Herrnhut establish its missionary training institute in Niesky. Niesky's curriculum was less academic, compared to the other mission schools, with more emphasis on music and practical

¹⁶⁹⁸ "Seit seiner Anstellung in Gr. habe ich keine Klage über ihn gehört, vielmehr rühmt br. Teutsch seine Willigkeit in Außern zuzugreifen. Daß er die Pferdemühle treu besorgen wurde, daran zweifelte ich nie, u. ich werde immer die Treue im Außern hoch schätzen, aber – was auch andere, die nur den scheinbare Vortheil eines Platzes im Auge haben darüber urtheilen – für mich ist die Pferdemühle kein Trostgrund; denn das ist das Geschäft für einen Hottentotten, u. es ist weder oeconomisch noch dient es zu unserer legitimation, daß wir zu solchen Geschäften brüder aus Europa holen, u. dadurch das durchkommen u. Vorwärtsschreiten der Hott. eher verhindern, als befördern ... daß wir uns über den Grundsatz verstehen, daß rohe ungebildete brüder, auch bei der so wesentlichen Herzenstreue, zu dem Mißionsdienst alhier in der regel nicht passen. Es ist nicht das Schulwesen allein, sondern der ganze Mißionsdienst welcher es erfordert, daß diese Regel im Auge behalten wird. Zum Theil durch veränderte Verhältnisse äußern uns, zum Theil durch den auf unserer geringen Arbeit ruhenden Segen sind unsere Pflēgbefohlenen u. unsere Umgebungen seit 50 Jahren vorwärtsgeschritten, u. es ist gewiß nöthig, wenn wir nicht den Krebsgang wollen, daß diejenigen die bei Versammlung halten u. der Seelenpflege als lehrer angestellt sind, ihren Zöglingen angemessen sind." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Dec 2nd 1839 (HA).

¹⁶⁹⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Aug 31st 1839 (HA).

¹⁷⁰⁰ "Welche Sorte von brüder wir brauchen, ist ja bekannt. Wir haben nichts gegen treue u. willige handwerksleute, aber ganz rohe u. unwissende Geschwister sind uns keine Hülfe, sondern eine Last ... Allein etwas musste zu ihrer belehrung u. Ausbildung gethan werden, ehe sie berufen werden. So lange die Hottentotten nicht lesen konnten u. ganz unwissend waren, u. wenig oder keine Europäer an unseren Gottesdienst Theil nahmen, u. keine andere Missionare neben uns standen, so lange konnten brüder mitgeschleppt werden, die nichts gelernt hatten u. kaum lesen konnten" Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA).

subjects like gardening.¹⁷⁰¹ Later, Moravian seminaries were also established in Gnadenfeld, Fairfield England, and Bethlehem (North America).

Herrnhut thus eventually followed in the steps of the other Protestant missionary trainings. One of the first Protestant missionary training institutes was established by Rev Jänicke in Berlin, called *Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Missionen unter den Heiden*. Many German missionaries trained by Jänicke found their way to the LMS.¹⁷⁰² Another well-known institution was that of David Bogue in Gosport near Southampton, often regarded as the cradle of the LMS. In 1816 the Basel Missionary Society opened a mission school comprising a three-year course. This school was modelled on the institute of Rev Jänicke in Berlin. These mission schools were a challenging phenomenon for the theological world of early 19th century Europe. They offered training for ordination independent from the expensive theological universities, opening the road to the ministry also to young men from artisanal and peasant backgrounds. More mission schools followed in Germany: Barmen in 1825, Hamburg in 1836, Neuendettelsau in 1841 and Hermannsburg in 1849.

At the Cape of Good Hope in Genadendal, formal theological training had already started in 1838. Bishop Hallbeck was leading this groundbreaking institution.

Conclusion

The establishment of Clarkson incepted a seventh mission station for the Moravian Mission in South Africa. Hallbeck stood at the cradle of five of them. Furthermore an increasing number of outstations were being implemented around these stations. This testifies to the expansion during the Hallbeck era, an expansion that could have been even more significant if Hallbeck had been equipped with enough and properly trained missionaries from Europe. Yet Hallbeck also started to reduce the mission's dependency on Europe, with the establishment of the seminary in 1838. This was the very first training institution for teachers in South Africa. It was also the first training institution for the pastors in South Africa. Through this training Genadendal was becoming even more influential in Southern Africa, starting to train also young men from other missionary societies, especially those from the German societies. The second institution to offer training for

¹⁷⁰¹ R. Ganther, "Gossner (1836) and the Berlin Mission Societies & Basel Mission Society (1815) & Herrnhut (Moravians) (1722, 1869)", www.missionaries.griffith.edu.au (accessed Jul 17th 2013).

¹⁷⁰² Hallbeck clearly had a positive impression about one of Jänicke's students, the missionary Helm in Zuurbraak: "eines Zöglings des bekannten seligen Prediger Jänike in Berlin." Hallbeck then writes about Zuurbraak: "ist gegenwärtig im Vergleich mit frühern Zeiten in einem blühenden Zustand" Hallbeck, *Reise von Gnadenenthal nach Enon u. Silo, u. zurück im J. 1837* (HA). Published in *Nachrichten* (1839), 698.

teachers and pastors in South Africa was started in 1841 in Lovedale by the Scottish Mission. Only in 1859 the first Reformed Theological Seminary was established in Stellenbosch.

Our research has concluded the end of 1838 and the beginning of 1839. In the next chapter we will pay attention to the rest of 1839 and 1840, Hallbeck's last year, which also proved to be extremely busy and fulfilling for this "Jack of all trades".¹⁷⁰³

¹⁷⁰³ "ein Jack of all trades seyn muß" Letter Hallbeck to GH Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

HALLBECK'S DEATH (1840)

Introduction

Hallbeck died 56 years old, many thousands kilometers from where he was born in Malmö, Sweden. He had resided in four countries: Sweden, Germany, Ireland and England, before he devoted the rest of his life – 23 years – to South Africa. Of these years we only read once that he was considered by the UEC to fill a vacancy in Europe, which did not happen.¹⁷⁰⁴ South Africa indeed became his new *Heimat*. A year before his death he wrote, quoting the words of the apostle Paul: *I forget what is behind me, and press towards what is ahead of me – a very striking description of my heart's sentiment. The amenities of the Heimat and obligations of my office pull me forward with irresistible power... O may I always keep this attitude on the great journey of life through the time towards eternity! How wonderful will it be then in future, how inexpressibly blessed will be the end!*¹⁷⁰⁵

Genadendal became his *Heimat*. One month before his death he observed: *Our gardens and orchards are standing in their full splendour, and it is a pure delight to view our beautiful valley from the hill and to stroll through outstretched garden corridors. We are all healthy and well.*¹⁷⁰⁶

After the establishment of Clarkson and the consolidation of the ministry among the surrounding people, Hallbeck continued with his work as bishop and superintendent. The affairs of the mission and the church had to be taken care of. The year 1840 took its course and Hallbeck was involved in the normal duties, feeling perfectly well. Yet this same year would bring his untimely death.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 24th 1827 (HA).

¹⁷⁰⁵ "Ich vergesse was dahinten ist, und strecke mich zu dem, was da vorne ist' – als eine besonders treffende Beschreibung der Stimmung meines Herzens. Die Annehmlichkeiten der Heimath und die Obliegenheiten meines Amtes zogen mich mit unwiderstehlicher Gewalt unablässig vorwärts ... O wer doch immer so gesinnt wäre auf der großen Lebensreise durch diese Zeit der Ewigkeit entgegen! Wie herrlich würde es dann vorwärts gehen, wie unaussprechlich selig das Ende sein!" *Nachrichten* (1840), 886.

¹⁷⁰⁶ "Unsere Gärten u. Obstgärten stehen jetzt in ihrer Pracht, u. es ist eine wahre Lust, unser schönes Thal von den Anhöhen zu überschauen, u. zwischen den immer weiter sich ausdehnenden Gartenfluren zu wandeln. Uebrigens sind wir alle gesund u. Wohl" Letter Hallbeck to JC Breutel, Oct 21st 1840 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1841, 312). Cf. also letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA).



The Middle House at Genadendal, where Hallbeck lived. Picture probably from Hallbeck's time.¹

¹ HA.

The death of the bishop

On October 8th and 9th 1840 the Colonial Governor Napier with his wife and two sons visited Genadendal for two days. The aim was to discuss the new mission station among the Fingu in the Tsitsikamma.¹⁷⁰⁷ The governor was also in particular interested in the schools. Hallbeck conducted the examinations in the school that had lately grown to the number of 365 children. This was done in the presence of Napier, who was quite impressed with the standard of teaching.¹⁷⁰⁸

Hallbeck's death came unexpected for everyone. On November 25th 1840 he passed away because of an illness that had plagued him from time to time during his life. His father died in 1809 because of the same illness, at the age of 49.¹⁷⁰⁹ Apart from this recurring illness one seldom heard him complaining about his health. Only now and then about rheumatism, caused – according to him – because of the cold he had caught during the long journeys on horseback.¹⁷¹⁰

In September 1840 Hallbeck still wrote in a letter: *although my head has become now almost as white as snow, I still enjoy – thanks to the Saviour – a very good health.*¹⁷¹¹ Little did he foresee that only a few months later his Saviour would call him. There is an account written by one of the colleagues, Schopmann, about Hallbeck's last days. Schopmann remembered: *On November 25th six 'o clock in the evening it pleased the Lord to relocate our beloved brother Hallbeck from our midst into the congregation above.* He then continues to tell how on November 13th Hallbeck first complained about pain in the cheekbone. He asked another brother to lead the evening gathering, trying to stay inside as much as possible. On November 16th it became clear that an ulcer had developed. On the question whether Dr O'Flinn from Stellenbosch – an experienced doctor and friend of Hallbeck – should be called, he answered: *Why then? This is the old problem with my throat I already had five times.*¹⁷¹² *Only on the 19th, after he had developed a high fever during the night, we were allowed to call a doctor... But on Friday afternoon 20th the left side of the face became swollen more and more... On the 21st the doctor arrived in the afternoon... That*

¹⁷⁰⁷ *Nachrichten* (1841), 311.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Oct 21st 1840 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1841), 311; *Nachrichten* (1843), 63.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Aug 9th 1819 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, March 6th 1835 (HA).

¹⁷¹⁰ See for example letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 12th 1826 (HA).

¹⁷¹¹ "Wiewohl mein Kopf nun beinahe schnee-weiss geworden ist, so geniesse ich / dem Hld sey dank, mit den meinigen eine sehr gute Gesundheit, eine Wohlthat, für die wir nicht dankbar genug seyn können." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Sept 10th 1840 (HA).

¹⁷¹² "Ich wußte nicht, warum, - es ist meine alte Halskrankheit, ich habe sie jetzt schon das funfte Mal." *Nachrichten* (1841), 481. Letter Hallbeck to Frühauf, Aug 9th 1819 (Het Utrechts Archief).

*evening the ulcer in the throat broke open, and we took courage and hoped on a fast recovery, so the doctor left again on Sunday afternoon the 22nd.*¹⁷¹³

In the Genadendal Archive is a letter that a friend of Hallbeck, W Mallalieu from London, had written to him on August 20th 1840. We find – as was his custom with all letters received by him – a notice of receipt in Hallbeck’s own handwriting dated November 22nd 1840. This was probably the last time Hallbeck wrote anything.¹⁷¹⁴ In this letter his friend, little aware of the circumstances in which Hallbeck would receive it, and thanking for a letter Hallbeck had written to him earlier that year, wrote: “Your last letters made us anxious about the spread of the small pox at Genadendal, but we pray almost in hope against hope that you may be preserved free from the scourge...”¹⁷¹⁵ The same applied to a letter written by JW Verbeek from Zeist dated July 6th 1840, on which Hallbeck’s handwriting can be found also of the same date. A letter by Verbeek written on October 24th did not come in time though, but only in February 1841.¹⁷¹⁶

Schopmann continued: *But on Monday the 23rd however the patient’s condition deteriorated more and more.*¹⁷¹⁷ That evening Hallbeck called Schopmann, informing him that this illness is going to bring his end. He gave instructions with regard to the congregation. Schopmann immediately wrote to Dr Honey of Caledon to come. The next morning 8 ‘o clock the doctor of Caledon arrived. He diagnosed that the ulcer had caused meningitis. He conducted a bloodletting, after which Hallbeck became calmer. He stayed with Hallbeck until one ‘o clock in the night, when brother De Fries took over the vigil. During this night Hallbeck prayed a lot for his children, recommending them in the faithful hands of the Saviour. Later the night the fever became so high that he wanted to get out of his bed again and again. He exclaimed: *Rest, give me rest!*¹⁷¹⁸

The next day he was mostly unconscious. In the night of the 24th to 25th he spoke a lot in Swedish and also English, but very unclear. The next morning he regained his consciousness. On his

¹⁷¹³ “Am 25. November Abends 6 Uhr gefiel es unserm lieben Herrn, unsern geliebten Bruder Hallbeck aus unserer Mitte zu nehmen und in die obere Gemeine zu versetzen.” “Ich wußte nicht, warum, - es ist meine alte Halskrankheit, ich habe sie jetzt schon das funfte Mal. Erst am 19ten, nachdem er in der Nacht starkes Fieber gehabt hatte, erhielten wir die Erlaubniß, nach dem Arzt zu schicken. Aber am Freitag, den 20sten, Mittags fing die linke Seite des Gesichts an, mehr und mehr zu schwellen .. Am 21sten zu Mittag kam der Arzt ... Abends brach das Halsgeschwür auf, wir faßten Muth und hofften eine baldige Genesung, als der Arzt uns am Sonntag den 22sten Mittags verließ.” *Nachrichten* (1841), 481-482.

¹⁷¹⁴ The last protocol Hallbeck wrote for the Helpers Conference was the one of Nov 4th 1840 (MASA).

¹⁷¹⁵ Letter Mallalieu to Hallbeck, Aug 20th 1840, (GA).

¹⁷¹⁶ These letters by Verbeek are in the file of Hallbeck’s correspondence with Zeist (GA).

¹⁷¹⁷ “Aber am Montag den 23sten verschlechterte es sich mit dem Kranken mehr und mehr.” *Nachrichten* (1841), 482.

¹⁷¹⁸ “Ruhe, gebt mir Ruhe!” *Nachrichten* (1841), 482.

request all the missionaries appeared at his bed. He talked with a clear voice for more than an hour. Above everything else, he emphasized the free grace of God in Christ Jesus: *that is the main issue, everything is built on this...* He warned everyone to heed over the flock, so that the enemy will not destroy them; and to take care that the kingdom of God will in its progression not be obstructed by us, to cherish the souls (of the congregants) in their hearts, so that nobody will be lost. When Schopmann told him: *we want to do this, but we are so weak*, he answered: *You don't have to do it, the Lord will do it!*¹⁷¹⁹ He also instructed them to love one another, to guard the unity, and to keep to the Word of God: *Worlds will collapse, but the Word of God will remain in eternity!*¹⁷²⁰ He also praised the grace he had received and ensured the brothers that it was much bigger than they thought. He closed with intercession for the missionaries, the congregation and all of the mission work. Then he pronounced the blessing and the *amen* he repeated three times. The brothers sang some German hymns at his bed, and he sang along the verse "O angenehme Augenblicke" (*O pleasant moment...*).¹⁷²¹ The rest of the day he was calm until his breath stopped about six 'o clock that evening.

Two days later, on the 27th, starting at eleven 'o clock in the morning, the funeral took place. A big crowd attended, including all the neighbouring farmers. The work on the surrounding farms came to a standstill as farmers and labourers alike flocked to Genadendal to attend the funeral.¹⁷²² Schopmann preached on Matthew 25:21 "His master replied: 'Well done, good and faithful servant! You have been faithful with a few things; I will put you in charge of many things. Come and share your master's happiness!'"¹⁷²³ For everyone it was clear that the South African mission had suffered a great loss.¹⁷²⁴ Of Hallbeck's family only his wife and daughter Gustava were present. Hallbeck's death caused deep mourning in the whole region.¹⁷²⁵

He was buried in the Genadendal old cemetery where his grave is still this day, bearing a flat tombstone according to Moravian tradition, inscribed with the words:

"Hans Peter Hallbeck Bisschop der Broederkerk Geboren te Malmo in Sweden d 18 Maart 1784 en Ontslapen alhier d 25 Nov. 1840"

(Hans Peter Hallbeck Bishop of the Brethren Church Born in Malmo in Sweden d 18 March 1784 and Passed on here d 25 Nov. 1840).

¹⁷¹⁹ "Wir wollen ja gern, aber wir sind so schwach, so unvernünftig! antwortete er: Ihr sollt's auch nicht thun, der Herr wird es thun!" *Nachrichten* (1841), 483.

¹⁷²⁰ "Welte werden fallen, aber Gottes Wort wird stehen bis in Ewigkeit!" *Nachrichten* (1841), 483.

¹⁷²¹ *Nachrichten* (1841), 483.

¹⁷²² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 205, from *Genadendal Diary*, XI, Nov 25th 1840.

¹⁷²³ *Nachrichten* (1841), 483-484; *Nachrichten* (1843), 64-67.

¹⁷²⁴ *Nachrichten* (1843), 78.

¹⁷²⁵ *Nachrichten* (1841), 480-481.

In the Moravian *Periodical Accounts* in England, P Latrobe wrote the following about his friend: “I perused with deep and painful interest the account of the departure of our dear Br. Hallbeck, and the estimate of his character, in the pages of the *Periodical Accounts*. Will you allow me, however, to express my opinion that the latter hardly does justice to the gifts he possessed as a public speaker, and especially as a preacher of the Gospel. In readiness of thought and of utterance, and in the power of adapting himself to the circumstances of those he was called to address, and of delivering his sentiments with fluency and correctness, in the four different languages, which he was required to use in succession, - the Swedish, the German, the English, and the Dutch, - I think he excelled most whom I have met with.”¹⁷²⁶

Latrobe also mentioned his outstanding preaching. “Having had the favour of his correspondence, as well as of his personal acquaintance, I cannot help quoting some remarks, which he once made to me, on the subject of extempore preaching, - to which, as you are aware, he early accustomed himself, - in the hope that they may be useful as well as interesting to some who read them. ‘When preaching,’ he observes, ‘becomes so easy to me, that I am not obliged to apply to our Saviour with fervent and persevering prayer, and when, as is generally the case at such times, I am disposed to feel satisfied with myself, the faithful Friend of my soul so orders it, that I afterwards find some reason or other for being displeased with my performance. On the contrary, when I do not find it so easy a matter, but am necessitated to cry earnestly to our Saviour for his help, and then mount the pulpit in poverty of spirit, He is pleased to grant his blessing to my weak endeavours, and I feel his peace in my heart. Should one or other of my hearers afterwards express satisfaction with my discourse, and declare, that it has been blessed to his soul, I feel deeply ashamed of myself, and choose rather to be silent and to think, This does not belong to me, for I could do nothing; our Saviour has helped me; to his name be all the glory.’”¹⁷²⁷

Following Hallbeck’s death

After Hallbeck’s death his wife and daughter Gustava continued to serve the mission in Genadendal.¹⁷²⁸ Sr Hallbeck still rendered the medical and pastoral care for the ill.¹⁷²⁹ In 1842 she was responsible to speak with the choir of the widows, just to mention one activity. Hallbeck’s

¹⁷²⁶ *Periodical Accounts* (XV), 483.

¹⁷²⁷ *Periodical Accounts*, XV, 483.

¹⁷²⁸ *Protocol HC*, Jan 28th 1841 (MASA & HA).

¹⁷²⁹ *Nachrichten* (1847), 188.

daughter Gustava spoke with the choir of the unmarried sisters.¹⁷³⁰ Three years later, on January 9th 1844, Hallbeck's wife was remarried to the missionary Fritsch,¹⁷³¹ working at that stage at Hemel en Aarde, who had lost his wife in September 1842.¹⁷³² The marriage was solemnized on the very same day her daughter Gustava was married to the missionary Johann Daniel Schärf.¹⁷³³

It was not unusual to remarry within the mission. Johannes Fritsch (born in 1777) was quite the opposite of Hallbeck. Fritsch was not talented in an academic way. Nevertheless he possessed many practical gifts and had a faithful character. Hallbeck employed him especially for duties like building projects, constructing water channels, plumbing and the like. When marrying sr Hallbeck, Fritsch was already 66 years old. She was 53. Hallbeck's youngest daughter Emma Renata could recall – herself a widow in the 1890's – that it was her mother's intention to return to her children in Germany and retire there. Thus, when Fritsch proposed to her, she did not even consider it. However, Fritsch found many allies among the other brothers and sisters in the mission, who were adamant to retain her for the South African mission. All of them exercised considerable pressure on her to be married to Fritsch and stay in South Africa. At last Johanna Hallbeck conceded that the lot be consulted on the matter. The lot gave a positive answer. According to the youngest daughter this was an enormous sacrifice her mother had brought for the mission work in South Africa, since her heart was actually with her children in Germany.¹⁷³⁴

Hallbeck's descendants

In Genadendal Gustava took over the needlework, knitting and embroidery classes after sr Lees had returned to England. First the widower Johann Adolph Bonatz proposed to marry her, but the lot rejected it. Later she was engaged to the young missionary CTh Küster, but due to unfortunate circumstances the engagement was broken. In 1844 she married Johann(es) Daniel Schärf. Schärf was also a missionary's child. His father had served on the Danish St. Thomas in the West Indies for six years until his death in 1819. Johann Daniel came to South Africa in 1843. He served in Genadendal from 1843-1844. After the marriage with Gustava they were called to Silo. Their start was difficult, since in 1846 they lost a baby son because of dysentery.¹⁷³⁵ They served in Silo from 1844-1852.¹⁷³⁶ From 1852-1861 they served again in Genadendal. Gustava died

¹⁷³⁰ *Nachrichten* (1843), 289.

¹⁷³¹ *Nachrichten* (1844), 475, 477; *Nachrichten* (1847), 188.

¹⁷³² *Nachrichten* (1843), 290; *Nachrichten* (1845), 396-397.

¹⁷³³ *Nachrichten* (1844), 475, 477.

¹⁷³⁴ Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbeck's under Einer aus ihr*, 8.

¹⁷³⁵ *Nachrichten* (1847), 667.

¹⁷³⁶ *Nachrichten* (1844), 787; *Nachrichten* (1846), 63-64.

rather young – 39 years old – on December 16th 1857. She passed away in the same room where she was born. She was buried in the God's Acre of Genadendal, where her baby son "Franz Eduard Schaerf" was also buried. He was born on December 11th 1853 and passed away on Christmas Day 1853.

Hallbeck's greatest wish was that his children would also serve in the mission, preferably in South Africa. Due to circumstances Hallbeck's two sons did not follow in his footsteps, but his daughters fulfilled this dream. Gustava's oldest daughter – also called Gustava and born in Silo – was married to the missionary Wagner, and alongside her husband she served the South African mission from 1870 – 1909. Gustava (senior)'s daughter Louise Clementine (born in Genadendal) was married to the missionary Carl Samuel Günther, who served the South African mission from 1876 – 1912. Hallbeck's grandson Albert Schärf first served the mission in Greenland, but later returned to serve in South Africa. His grandson Adolf Schärf served as missionary in Suriname. And his grandson Daniel Schärf served in the financial division of the Moravian Church in Europe.

In 1859 Johann Daniel Schärf was remarried to Sophie Sondermann. From 1861-1866 he served in Mamre. In 1866 he returned to Europe and died in 1884 in Niesky. It should be noted that a younger brother of Johann Daniel, Ernst Gustav Adolph Schärf, also served the South African mission from 1847 – 1872.¹⁷³⁷

As said, Hallbeck's dream that his sons would follow in his footsteps to South Africa did not materialise. His eldest son – Paul Theodor – followed the teachers training course in Niesky and Gnadenfeld. In 1839 he was appointed teacher at the institute for missionary children in Kleinwelke. Having been a missionary's child himself, he was considered to be suitable for this position. However, he proved to have a very austere character, but not strict enough on himself. His father was well aware of this, as he had written already in 1834 to the UEC: *I hope that Theodor will also wake up to be more diligent, and make proper use of his youth, as I urgently pleaded with him recently!*¹⁷³⁸

After Hallbeck's death Theodor had to be suspended as teacher because of an offense. He was relocated to become teacher in Christiansfeld in Denmark. But there he fell into the same transgression, and he had to be deposed of his employment in the Moravian Church. This is

¹⁷³⁷ In the God's Acre at Clarkson one finds the grave of his baby son "Ernst Gustav Schaerf", born at Clarkson August 10th 1851 and died on April 8th 1852.

¹⁷³⁸ "Möchte doch auch Theodor zu mehr Fleiss aufwachen, u. sich seiner Jugend-Jahre besser zu Nutze machen, wie ich ihn erst vor kurzem dringend gebeten habe!" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, May 8th 1834 (HA).



Two grandchildren of Hallbeck (only born after his death): Clara Schärf (1854-1917) – front row right & Albert Schärf (1855-1917) – back row second from left.

Photo taken in 1862 in Cape Town, together with other mission kids on their way to Europe for their school education, accompanied by the missionary Paul Heinrich Brauer and his wife Auguste Brauer (Schluckner)¹

¹ HA. Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 146.

rather ironic in view of the fact that it was in Christiansfeld where his father took the decision to join the Moravians. Theodor then joined a cartographic agency. Later he emigrated to America, together with a Norwegian man called Tank, who had served the Moravian mission in Surinam. They endeavoured to establish a Moravian congregation in West-Salem, but it was not successful. Theodor then became consecutively a merchant, farmer and in the end an officer. He was involved in the American Civil War between the North and the South in the 1860's. He survived the war but died in a steamboat accident on the Mississippi. With his death he left behind a wife, children and grandchildren – members of the Moravian Church in America. These are the only descendants of Hallbeck bearing his surname.¹⁷³⁹



*Pencil sketch of Hallbeck's oldest son, Theodor.*¹⁷⁴⁰

Hallbeck's second son, Wilhelm, was sent to Germany only five years old. He proved to be a talented learner, especially interested in natural sciences. When thirteen years old, in 1833, he

¹⁷³⁹ Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbeck's und Einer aus ihr*, 13-14.

¹⁷⁴⁰ HA.

was sent to Zeist in Holland to stay with the pharmacist Kräpelin (Kraeplin) and his wife, in order to be trained in this profession. The couple had a very positive and profound influence on him. Wilhelm also learned to play flute and even participated in concerts. In 1838 he became formally assistant-pharmacist and remained for more than two years with the Kräpelins. In February 1841 he moved to Berlin to pursue his medical studies.¹⁷⁴¹ The mission's directorate of the Moravian Church had offered him the possibility to study medicine on their costs, in order to be sent out thereafter to South Africa. This plan originated with Hallbeck, who in 1839 had made this proposal to Herrnhut. The UEC was hesitant at first to employ both father and son on the same mission station, but after Hallbeck's death they supported the idea.¹⁷⁴² This was not only a dream come true for the late father, but also for Wilhelm.

The medical study however posed a number of challenges, not that Wilhelm was not talented or motivated, to the contrary. The British government had other requirements for a doctor to practise in South Africa than was the case in Germany. This necessitated Wilhelm to also complete the gymnasium, which he had not done in Kleinwelke. As a consequence he both studied medicine and did his gymnasium at the same time. He was also very much involved in the Moravian congregation in Berlin. He proved to be an extraordinary faithful and helpful young man, not shying away from helping with his medical knowledge everyone who approached him for treatment.

This self-denying lifestyle however became fatal. During a cold December night in 1845 – whilst ill himself – he was called out to assist at the deathbed of an old lady. Consequently he contracted bronchitis and pneumonia, of which he never fully recovered. He passed away a year later, December 23rd 1846, only 26 years old, however, with a mature faith and full confidence in his Lord and Saviour. In his booklet *Die Sippe der Hallbecks und Einer aus ihr (The children of Hallbeck and especially one of them)* Hermann Schneider pays attention to the short but exemplary life of Carl Wilhelm, drawing from information he received from Wilhelm's youngest sister Emma Renata, as well as from Wilhelm's personal diaries.¹⁷⁴³

Hallbeck's fourth child, Johanna Caroline, remained unmarried. For many years she served at the girls institute in Kleinwelke, where she earned much respect. She passed away in 1892.¹⁷⁴⁴

¹⁷⁴¹ Letter JW Verbeek to Hallbeck, Oct 24th 1840 (GA).

¹⁷⁴² "Lebenslauf unserer am 29. Mai 1892 selig entschlafenen Schwester Johanne Caroline Hallbeck" (HA).

¹⁷⁴³ Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbeck's und Einer aus ihr*, 15-21.

¹⁷⁴⁴ "Lebenslauf unserer am 29. Mai 1892 selig entschlafenen Schwester Johanne Caroline Hallbeck" (HA).



*Silhouette of Hallbeck's second son, Carl Wilhelm.*¹⁷⁴⁵

The fifth child, Hennetta Paulina, died at a young age. Hennetta Paulina was physically and mentally retarded because of an illness she contracted in Genadendal in her first year. Although already three years old, she could only speak a few words, as Hallbeck informed her older siblings who were already in Europe.¹⁷⁴⁶ Her nanny, Maria Sophia Wittboy, meant a lot for her and taught her much. Her departure to Europe was at a later age, together with her parents, in 1836.¹⁷⁴⁷ She died eleven years old in Kleinwelke on February 6th 1837, a few months after she had to say farewell to her parents, who returned to South Africa.¹⁷⁴⁸

Hallbeck's sixth child, Emma Dorothea, was born on May 27th 1829, but passed away already on February 21st 1830, only becoming 9 months old. She is buried – just like her father – in the God's Acre at Genadendal.

Mission secretary Hermann Schneider wrote at the end of the 19th century in Herrnhut that many people still remember Hallbeck's youngest child: Emma Renata known as sr Warmow. She received the same name as her sister Emma (Dorothea) who had passed away in Genadendal as a

¹⁷⁴⁵ HA.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Letter Hallbeck to his children, May 13th 1829 (HA).

¹⁷⁴⁷ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Jul 11th 1833 (HA).

¹⁷⁴⁸ Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, March 20th 1837 (HA).

baby. With Emma Renata's birth Hallbeck wrote: *On Nov 29th we received compensation after the death of our daughter two and a half years ago, when my beloved wife received a healthy little daughter, Emma Renata.*¹⁷⁴⁹ Just as her older siblings Emma went to the institute in Kleinwelke. Later she was involved for many years in the girls school in Niesky. Hallbeck did not live to see her grow up and marry. We only read that in 1839 a portrait was made of her in Herrnhut and she sent it to the parents in South Africa.¹⁷⁵⁰

In later years she was called to the mission to become the bride of br Bönisch in Greenland. Great was the shock when the ship arrived in Greenland on June 12th 1862 and she received the news that her bridegroom had died shortly before her arrival. The Greenland mission was devastated, since shortly before his death two married sisters had also passed away. One of the missionaries – with the name Warmow – who had lost his wife one month before the ship's arrival, saw the coming of Emma Renata as guidance from above: *Since the bridegroom of sister Hallbeck had died and since I had become widower a couple of weeks earlier, I am in my faith convinced that sister Hallbeck has been sent to Greenland for me.*¹⁷⁵¹

Emma Renata however did not agree – as she told Hermann Schneider in later years. For a few weeks she went through a difficult time, but with the result that she became engaged to br Warmow end of June. They were married on Emma Renata's birthday, November 29th 1862. In 1883 they together returned to retire in Herrnhut. On April 20th 1897 sr Warmow passed on, the last child of Hallbeck, followed by her husband a year later.¹⁷⁵² Hermann Schneider received from her a wealth of information both orally and in writing, which he used to write his booklet *Die Sippe der Hallbecks und Einer aus ihr (The Children of Hallbeck and Especially One of Them)*.¹⁷⁵³

Reflecting on the Moravian mission through the centuries, it is striking how this calling seized entire families. Hallbeck's dream that his sons would succeed him in the South African mission did not materialise. But three of his daughters became directly involved in the Moravian service, two in the worldwide mission, and one in Germany. According the Hermann Schneider, Johanna

¹⁷⁴⁹ "Am 29 Nov wurde uns der durch den Heimgang unserer Tochter vor 2,5 Jahren erlittene Verlust wieder ersetzt, indem meine I. Frau mit einen gesunden Töchterlein, Emma Renata, glücklich niederkam." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 5th 1832 (HA).

¹⁷⁵⁰ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA) – it seems as if Hallbeck was not sure exactly who made it – he mentioned the name Ultich (?) as a possibility.

¹⁷⁵¹ "Da aber der Bräutigam der Schwester Hallbeck gestorben, und ich seit mehreren Wochen Witwer war, so war ich im Glauben fest davon überzeugt, daß die Schwester Hallbeck für mich nach Grönland gesendet worden sei" "Lebenslauf des verwitweten Bruders Matthäus Warmow, heimgegangen in Kleinwelke am 20. März 1898", *Mitteilungen aus der Brüder-Gemeine* (1898), 329 (HA).

¹⁷⁵² *Nachrichten* (July 1898).

¹⁷⁵³ Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbeck's und Einer aus ihr*, 14-15.

Caroline's service in Germany was perhaps less spectacular than to be sent out into the world, but in God's eyes not less important. As a matter of fact, for God the most important is whether someone will be found faithful in his service.

It is known that a total of 22 direct descendants of Hallbeck served in the worldwide mission work of the Moravians – 12 in South Africa alone. From Hallbeck's daughter Gustava's descendants about ten became Moravian missionaries in South Africa through three generations. The other Moravian mission fields across the world also received missionaries who had Hallbeck as their ancestor.¹⁷⁵⁴

Hallbeck's successor appointed

It was not easy to replace Hallbeck after his sudden death. He became a life wire for the mission in South Africa. He was fluent in four languages (Swedish, German, English, Dutch). His colleague Luttringhausen wrote: *It will be impossible for one man to do all the work, which Brother Hallbeck has done. For our deceased brother was capable of doing so much work as I have never seen or known anybody before.*¹⁷⁵⁵ And Schopmann wrote: *br. Hallbeck could work like Luther, but not all people can manage that.*¹⁷⁵⁶

After Hallbeck had passed on, the Helpers Conference requested Christian Ludwig Teutsch to take over as superintendent in the mean time¹⁷⁵⁷ until the UEC had appointed a new superintendent.¹⁷⁵⁸ Furthermore, it was proposed to appoint someone else to be the head of Genadendal, in order to alleviate Teutsch's task.

Teutsch had arrived in South Africa in 1825 and was ordained as *Diaconus* in 1828.¹⁷⁵⁹ In 1836 he was appointed acting superintendent, while Hallbeck was in Europe. Teutsch had served for two years in Groenekloof and for twelve years in Elim. He enjoyed the confidence of all. But it soon became clear that the work was too challenging for him. He was a joiner by profession. He was

¹⁷⁵⁴ Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbeck's under Einer aus ihr*; Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 107. Anshelm also made use of oral and written communications received from Hallbeck's descendants in Herrnhut.

¹⁷⁵⁵ "Es ist wohl nicht möglich, daß ein Mensch all das allein tun kann, was Br. Hallbeck zu tun gehabt hat. Denn unser seliger Bruder war ein Mann, der soviel Arbeit auf sich nehmen konnte, wie ich nie zuvor jemanden gesehen oder gekannt habe." Letter Luttringhausen, Nov 30th 1840, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 103.

¹⁷⁵⁶ "Br. Hallbeck konnte wie Luther arbeiten, aber das können nicht alle Menschen aushalten." Letter Schopmann, Dec 1st 1840, in Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 103.

¹⁷⁵⁷ *Nachrichten* (1841), 480.

¹⁷⁵⁸ *Protocol HC*, Nov 29th 1840 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1841), 480; *Nachrichten* (1844), 253.

¹⁷⁵⁹ *Nachrichten* (1831), 42, 356.

not able to pay as many visits to the respective stations as Hallbeck did. Reading through the correspondence of Teutsch after Hallbeck's death, it is evident that Teutsch was soon buried in all the work. There was not much time to look back. Teutsch wrote in November 1841: *How fast does the time pass! Yesterday it was already a year ago that the blessed brother Hallbeck went home, and how long it will still be, before people will say the same about us...*¹⁷⁶⁰

The work was not easy for Teutsch. Where Hallbeck was able to set the direction pro-actively, one gets the impression that Teutsch was overwhelmed by all the events. He was also a man of feeble health.¹⁷⁶¹ It must be admitted however, that the 1840's became a very difficult decade for Genadendal. The first signs of this already started to appear in the late thirties. In January 1843 Teutsch complained that together with the rapid growth (end 1842 there were already 2507 inhabitants), the number of deviations were also increasing on the station.¹⁷⁶² It was decided to cancel the choir festivities of the unmarried for the year 1843: *In this year we considered it better not to celebrate the choir festivals of the unmarried brothers and sisters. Most of the members of these choirs regard the festivity as a day to enjoy with eating and drinking and vanity. They dress up themselves as much as they can, and stroll up and down in the streets of our town to show off their new clothing hoping to be seen by all. There are only a few who celebrate this day in the right spirit.*¹⁷⁶³

Six months later the first signs of rebellion against the authority of the missionaries surfaced: *In our congregation many irregularities are happening, making us very much concerned. There are some here, who don't want to be governed by God's Word and the Regulations of the station ...*¹⁷⁶⁴ They even went so far as to approach the governor with their complaints against the *Regulations.*¹⁷⁶⁵ These actions caused a lot of polarisation in Genadendal, with some signing a petition, and others vehemently opposing it.¹⁷⁶⁶ According to Teutsch, the fact that the

¹⁷⁶⁰ "Wie schnell eilt doch die Zeit hin! Gestern war schon ein Jahr vorüber seit dem Heimgang des seligen Bruders Hallbeck, und wie lange wirs noch sein, so sagt man von uns dasselbe" *Nachrichten* (1842), 547.

¹⁷⁶¹ Cf. for example letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹⁷⁶² *Nachrichten* (1843), 611.

¹⁷⁶³ "In diesem Jahr fanden wir für gut, die Chorreste der ledigen Brüder und der ledigen Schwestern nicht zu feiern. Die meisten Mitglieder dieser zwei Chöre sehen ihre Chorresttage an als Tage, an welchen sie sich durch Essen und Trinken einen guten Tag machen und der Eitelkeit fröhnen. Sie putzen sich so sehr sie können, und ziehen in den Gassen unsers Ortes hin und her, um ihren Putz und ihre neuen Kleider zur Schau zu tragen und sich selbst sehen zu lassen. Nur Wenige sind, die diese Tage im rechten Geiste feiern." *Nachrichten* (1846), 47-48.

¹⁷⁶⁴ "In unserer Gemeinde kommen manche Unlauterkeiten vor, welche uns viel Kummer machen. Es sind Einige hier, die sich durch Gottes Wort und unsere Ordnungen nicht wollen regieren lassen, und seit der Gleichstellung vor dem Gesetz ist der Hochmuth solcher gewachsen." *Nachrichten* (1844), 133.

¹⁷⁶⁵ *Nachrichten* (1847), 200.

¹⁷⁶⁶ *Nachrichten* (1847), 201.



*Missionaries at Genadendal. Photo taken in 1859/60.
Only Heinrich Brauer (front row 3rd from left) was at Genadendal whilst Hallbeck was still alive.
Rudolf Kölbing (back row 4th from left) arrived in 1841, and as a learned man took over many tasks of Hallbeck.¹*

¹ HA. Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 143.

Genadendal inhabitants were much more affluent than in the past, did not have a good influence on their spiritual life.¹⁷⁶⁷

It is clear that the task was too heavy for Teutsch alone. Someone was also needed with a higher training and therefore the UEC appointed Carl Rudolph Kölbing. Kölbing had been a teacher at the Moravian High School in Niesky, Germany. He was appointed in the seminary that Hallbeck had established for the training of teachers and pastors. He also received the task of handling the official correspondence with the government. He arrived in South Africa in 1841. Hallbeck's wish to divide his work between two brethren became a reality only after his death.¹⁷⁶⁸ Hallbeck had been superintendent for 23 years. His successor Teutsch was superintendent for 12 years, until he passed away in 1852.

Continuation of the Moravian Mission in South Africa

The last paragraph of the chapter considers the continuation of the ministry. What happened for example in Silo during the following years. And at Hemel en Aarde? And Elim?

After Hallbeck's death, in 1845, the Lepers' Institution was relocated on government orders from Hemel en Aarde to Robben Island.¹⁷⁶⁹ Since the 1820's it hung in the air that the institution would be moved to Robben Island, nearer to Cape Town. Yet at the time the government decided to abandon these plans.¹⁷⁷⁰ According to Hallbeck it was because the colonial authorities were too engaged with the issue of the abolition of slavery: *Our Colonial Government has so much to do, also with the discontented slave owners, that they have neither time nor money to effect changes to Br. Leitner's Institute.*¹⁷⁷¹

On December 1st 1844 orders were received to relocate the institution and by the end of the month Hemel en Aarde was deserted. In the meantime, people were sent from Genadendal to stay at Hemel en Aarde, in order to take care of the remaining properties of the Moravians. However in December 1846, the church went up in flames due to an unknown cause.¹⁷⁷² During

¹⁷⁶⁷ *Nachrichten* (1847), 822.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 209, from Teutsch' curriculum vitae in *Genadendal Diary*, XII, 164-169.

¹⁷⁶⁹ *Nachrichten* (1847), 940.

¹⁷⁷⁰ *Protocol HC*, Jul 27th 1829 (MASA & HA); *Nachrichten* (1826), 244, 248.

¹⁷⁷¹ "Unsere Colonial Regierung hat so viel zu thun, auch mit den unzufriedenen Slaven-besitzern, dass sie weder Zeit noch Geld hat, um mit br. Leitner's Institut eine Veränderung vorzunehmen." Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 12th 1826 (HA).

¹⁷⁷² *Nachrichten* (1847), 665. There are speculations that the surrounding farmers were afraid that the buildings, in which the lepers had lived, caused a health risk.

all the years of Moravian ministry, about 400 people were buried in the God's Acre at the hospital of Hemel en Aarde.¹⁷⁷³

The missionary Lehmann and his wife went along to settle on Robben Island.¹⁷⁷⁴ They did not stay there long, because the English-speaking inhabitants of the island soon started to complain that they could not understand the pastor, since he did not speak English. The Helpers Conference therefore replaced Lehmann with Schopmann.¹⁷⁷⁵

After having ministered on Robben Island for many years, the Moravians handed the work over to the Anglican Church on the request of the government in 1868. Most of the officials and attendants of the institution were Anglicans by then. The last leper who had stayed in Hemel en Aarde, died on Robben Island in 1868. The formation of a Moravian congregation among the patients had also become unlikely.¹⁷⁷⁶

Was the half-century of Moravian ministry among the Cape lepers in vain? An independent and self-supporting congregation was never established, neither in Hemel en Aarde nor on Robben Island. Most of the converts died not long after becoming members. Nevertheless – and that was the main reason for this leper mission – the souls of many were won for Jesus, to inherit eternal life. For Hallbeck and his colleagues this was the most essential thing.¹⁷⁷⁷ And looking back, one can only marvel at this self-sacrificing and merciful enterprise of the Moravian Mission in South Africa.¹⁷⁷⁸

The missionary Bonatz led the mission at Silo. On July 1st 1839 he married sr Rudolph.¹⁷⁷⁹ But she, just as his first wife, passed away after the birth of her first-born in November 1841.¹⁷⁸⁰ Bonatz called this the heaviest trial the faithful Saviour had put on his shoulders: *It pleased the Lord, to move me again into the stand of widower... Dark and incomprehensible are the ways of the Lord!*¹⁷⁸¹ In 1842 Bonatz declined to marry Hallbeck's daughter Gustava, because the lot had

¹⁷⁷³ *Nachrichten* (1847), 942.

¹⁷⁷⁴ *Nachrichten* (1846), 996-997.

¹⁷⁷⁵ *Nachrichten* (1847), 329.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 273, from *Protocol HC*, Jul 25th & Nov 26th 1867.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Oct 21st 1840 (HA).

¹⁷⁷⁸ In the Genadendal Archive there is still a treasure of information on the Leper Institution, e.g. extensive correspondence between Peterleitner and Hallbeck.

¹⁷⁷⁹ *Nachrichten* (1840), 337; *Nachrichten* (1841), 699; *Protocol HC*, Jan 26th 1839 (MASA & HA).

¹⁷⁸⁰ *Nachrichten* (1842), 749-750.

¹⁷⁸¹ "Es hat nämlich dem Herrn gefallen, mich abermals in den Witwerstand zu versetzen ... Dunkel und unerforschlich sind die Wege des Herrn!" *Nachrichten* (1842), 930.



Rudolf Kölbing (1810-1860) with his wife Bertha Gregor (1821-1886) and children Rudolf (1855-1926) and Lydia (1857-1860). Photo probably taken in 1859.¹

¹ HA. Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 144.

decided against it on the first occasion.¹⁷⁸² In January 1844 he married his third wife, Elise Curie, in Genadendal.¹⁷⁸³ They received their first child in August 1845, and how thankful was he that this time the mother and child did not die.¹⁷⁸⁴ What happened to Bonatz was not exceptional. The cemeteries of the mission stations, all over the world, are populated with many young mothers along with their first-borns. It also often happened the other way round, especially in the tropics, where sisters had to bury two or three husbands because of malaria, before returning as widows to Europe.

In July 1839 the Silo missionaries saw to their dismay that the Thembu chiefs launched a joint attack on the Sutus, robbing and murdering them. Some Silo inhabitants (although not baptised yet) also partook in the atrocities.¹⁷⁸⁵ The eastern Cape remained during all these years a politically unstable area, and nobody was safe. In 1845 a new missionary of the Berlin Missionary Society, Scholz, was murdered by a black on the way to his working place. The Moravian missionaries noted about this tragedy: *He had a long and dangerous journey behind him [over the ocean], and arrived in the country with a heart full of gratitude, where he wanted to come and preach Jesus the Saviour of sinners to the yet pagan Bantu; but he could not even start with this calling, when he was murdered by one of those, to whom he wanted to bring the Good News.*¹⁷⁸⁶

The work in Silo had to carry on. The missionaries awaited the turn of the tide: *It seems, as if the right hour for the repentance of the Thembu has not arrived yet, for among the 400, who stay here, there are only a few, who endeavour to walk on the road to life. Their oxen, cows and calves are their idols; they cling to them with all their heart.*¹⁷⁸⁷ Bonatz complained that too many blacks were living on the station without sincere intentions to become church members, making the pastoral care very difficult: *if we only had a quarter of them, we would have seen perhaps more fruit on our labours; now they are almost ungovernable. Pagan atrocities, dancing, fornication, circumcision of the young men, selling of the young women, witchcraft and the more happen here*

¹⁷⁸² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 209, from *Protocol HC*, Aug 31st 1842.

¹⁷⁸³ *Nachrichten* (1844), 475, 793; *Nachrichten* (1847), 191.

¹⁷⁸⁴ *Nachrichten* (1847), 896.

¹⁷⁸⁵ *Nachrichten* (1841), 700.

¹⁷⁸⁶ "Er hatte eine lange und gefährvolle Reise glücklich zurückgelegt, und gewiß mit dankerfülltem Herzen das Land betreten, wo er Jesum den Heiland der Sünder den noch heidnischen Kaffern verkündigen sollte; aber diesen Auftrag hatte er noch nicht ausführen können, als er von einem derjenigen, welchen er Gutes erzeigen wollte, ermordet wurde." *Nachrichten* (1847), 703-704.

¹⁷⁸⁷ "Es scheint fast, als ob die rechte Stunde zur Bekehrung der Tambukis noch nicht geschlagen hätte, denn unter den 400, die hier wohnen, sind nur wenige, welche auf dem Weg des Lebens zu wandeln suchen. Ihre Ochsen, Kühe und Kälber sind ihre Abgötter, an denen ihr ganzes Herz hängt." *Nachrichten* (1842), 933.

*both in secret and in public: The government is pagan, and so the nation, and we have no sword, but God's Word, and we can only preach, pray and believe.*¹⁷⁸⁸

The missionaries started to appreciate the miracle of repentance again: *An even greater miracle of Divine grace it is, when there are true believers among them, finding their daily nurture for their souls in the Saviour with his Word. Their number is yet small, and they are, as everywhere in the world also specifically here, despised by their own people.*¹⁷⁸⁹ They also experienced the antithesis between the preaching of the Gospel and the forces of evil. Their main opponents were the rainmakers and witchdoctors, who were standing in the service of Satan.¹⁷⁹⁰ Mapasa's rainmaker for example blamed a church going Thembu for the on-going draught.¹⁷⁹¹

In 1846 tensions were building up between the black nations and the colony, however, Silo again was not evacuated.¹⁷⁹² A significant number of colonial forces were stationed in the neighbourhood of Silo.¹⁷⁹³ Missionaries of other stations in the area fled to find refuge at Silo,¹⁷⁹⁴ for example those of the Berlin Missionary Society. Since their stations were destroyed, they departed from Silo in the direction of Colesberg to start anew.¹⁷⁹⁵ The outcome of this period of conflict was that the British government extended the colonial border, calling the occupied area *British Caffraria*. The government called on the Moravians to start mission work in that area as well.¹⁷⁹⁶

Conclusion

In the last year of Hallbeck's life – 1840 – there was no doubt that South Africa and Genadendal in particular, had become Hallbeck's new Heimat. For 23 years he served the Moravian Mission in particular, and the South African society in general, with much devotion. In the last letter he wrote to Herrnhut, dated October 21st 1840, we read: *Since my last letter my wife and I have*

¹⁷⁸⁸ "Denn wenn wir nur den vierten Theil hätten, so würden wir vielleicht mehr Frucht unsrer Arbeit sehen: nun aber sind sie beinahe unregierbar. Heidnische Gräuel, Tänzerien, Unzucht, Beschneiden der Jünglinge, Verkaufen der Mädchen, Zaubereien und dergleichen sind im Geheimen und auch offen hier zu Hause: die Regierung ist heidnisch, so auch das Volk, und wir haben kein Schwert, als das Wort Gottes, und können nur predigen, beten und glauben." *Nachrichten* (1846), 322.

¹⁷⁸⁹ "Ein desto größeres Wunder der göttlichen Gnade ist es daher, daß es doch einige wahrhaft Gläubige unter ihnen gibt, denen der Heiland mit Seinem Wort die tägliche Weide und Nahrung für ihre Seele ist. Ihre Anzahl ist aber klein, und sie sind, wie überall in der Welt, so auch besonders hier unter ihrem Volk verachtet." *Nachrichten* (1845), 978.

¹⁷⁹⁰ *Nachrichten* (1847), 885-886.

¹⁷⁹¹ *Nachrichten* (1847), 894-895.

¹⁷⁹² *Nachrichten* (1847), 332.

¹⁷⁹³ *Nachrichten* (1847), 327.

¹⁷⁹⁴ *Nachrichten* (1846), 1018.

¹⁷⁹⁵ *Nachrichten* (1847), 335.

¹⁷⁹⁶ *Nachrichten* (1847), 664.



Robben-Island Leper-Station, by Daniel Suhl (missionary in South Africa from 1845-1858). Lepers clearly visible on the detail (see opposite page).¹

¹ Noted below the painting: "Robben-Island. Aussätzigen-Station gemalt von Daniel Suhl, Missionar in Südafrika." (HA).



Detail of Robben Island with lepers.

*spoken personally to all the choirs of our large congregation, and we have seen with joy and gratitude how much the heart of many of those entrusted to us are longing for the grace of God in Jesus Christ, so that we can truthfully say, that the attainment of salvation is the goal of the vast majority of our congregants, and that also those, who sometimes lose sight of this goal, do come to their senses soon again and find no rest, before they have found back the right track.*¹⁷⁹⁷

After his death it proved almost impossible to replace him. The burden on the shoulders of his successor, Ludwig Teutsch, was just too burdensome. Herrnhut consequently sent an academically trained missionary, Kölbing, to take over Hallbeck's task with regard to the seminary, and the correspondence with the government.

After Hallbeck's death the mission work on the respective stations continued in the direction that he had set out. The self-sacrificing ministry among the lepers of the colony was relocated from Hemel en Aarde to Robben Island. In Silo, in the eastern border regions of the colony, the mission work proved to be the most difficult. Yet the very talented missionary Bonatz led it.

As for Hallbeck's family, his wife – very much against her personal preference – remained in South Africa. She preferred to repatriate to be with her children in Germany. Yet the lot decided differently and she was remarried to the widower missionary Fritsch a few years after Hallbeck's death. Hallbeck's daughter Gustava was married to a South African missionary.

In South Africa there are no descendants of Hallbeck anymore bearing his surname (although there are in the USA). Yet via his daughter Gustava, who was married to the missionary Schärf, Hallbeck still has descendants in South Africa. Spiritual descendants of Hallbeck, however, are still found in abundance in this country, not only in Genadendal and the other mission stations, and not only inside the Moravian Church of South Africa.

This concludes our study of Hans Peter Hallbeck, a remarkable Moravian missionary, superintendent and bishop during a time that can be described as the cradle of missions in South Africa. Our ultimate chapter is devoted to an assessment of the significance of his life and work, both in South Africa and beyond.

¹⁷⁹⁷ "Seit meinem letzten habe ich mit meiner I. Frau alle Classen unsrer zahlreichen Gemeine einzeln gesprochen, u. wir haben mit Freude und dankbarkeit gesehen, wie sehr die Herzen von gar vielen unserer Pflegbefohlenen nach der Gnade Gottes in Christo Jesu verlangen, so daß man wohl mit Wahrheit sagen kann, daß Seligwerden das grosse Ziel des Strebens ist bei einer überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Gemeine, u. daß selbst diejenigen, die dann u. Wann das Ziel aus d. Auge verlieren, bald wieder zur besinnung kommen, u. Keine Ruhe haben bis sie die rechte Spur wieder gefunden haben." Letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Oct 21st 1840 (HA).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CONCLUSION: HALLBECK IN PERSPECTIVE

In terms of the intention of our research, a well-defined profile of Hans Peter Hallbeck and the cradle of missions in South Africa should by now be delineated. This theologian, educator, writer, bishop, administrator, father and companion (to mention but a few of his roles at random), played in many respects a pivotal role in establishing the missions in South Africa. Genadendal, where he was seated, became the cradle of missions in South Africa. This was not only because it was the oldest mission station, but to a large extent due to Hallbeck's able leadership during a time in which most of the other missionary societies fluxed into South Africa. Concluding our study, a perspective on Hallbeck is offered.

Versatile ministry

The versatile ministry of Hans Peter Hallbeck forms a portal to all the activities of the Moravian Mission in the first half of the 19th century in South Africa. He stood at the forefront of many developments and initiatives, often having too many things to attend to. Writing pages and pages of letters and reports, travelling from the one corner of the colony to the other on horseback, ministering to the Khoikhoi in their houses, standing behind the lathe in the carpenter's workshop – it was all part of the job. Studying the vast corpus of material produced by Hallbeck proved to be a goldmine of primary sources as of yet untouched. These sources provided an adequate basis of information to answer the central question of the research. As superintendent Hallbeck was responsible for:

- Keeping of the Diary of Genadendal, in total about one thousand large pages written in the period from 1818-1840. Hallbeck wrote many of these pages. Later other missionaries assisted him in this task, like Nauhaus and Luttring.¹⁷⁹⁸ The Diary had to be written in threefold: one copy was sent to Germany, one remained at Genadendal, and one was circulated among the other stations for reading.¹⁷⁹⁹ It is a pity that the diaries of

¹⁷⁹⁸ Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 31st 1825 & Jan 2nd 1830 (HA).

¹⁷⁹⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Febr 10th 1820 (HA); letter Hallbeck Schneider, Aug 12th 1824 (HA); *Protocol HC*, Dec 28th 1817 (MASA).

the Hallbeck era haven't been published yet, as has happened already to earlier periods of Genadendal's history.¹⁸⁰⁰

- Writing the Protocols of the Helpers Conference, Missions Conference and House Conference, as well as producing copies.¹⁸⁰¹
- Writing and updating the Rules and Regulations of the mission stations.
- Writing contributions for the *Nachrichten* that was published every second month in Herrnhut. These contributions were also published in other magazines, like the Moravian *Periodical Accounts* in England and Ireland, the *Berigten uit de heidenwereld* (News from the heathen world) in Holland, etc. Through the years of his ministry Hallbeck wrote an astonishing number of more than 800 pages for the *Nachrichten* only. This comprised the annual reports of the Genadendal mission station, general reports regarding the South African mission, journals and letters.
- Keeping up to date the church registers.
- Maintaining the financial books of the mission.
- Providing an innumerable number of lists, statistics, etc., required by government with regard to order and policing of the station.¹⁸⁰²
- All correspondence.

On his departure to South Africa in 1817, the UEC emphasized that Hallbeck could write to them as often as he wished. A large number of letters in the Herrnhut Archive testify that he indeed adhered to the invitation. The UEC assigned a special person to handle the correspondence with Hallbeck and his colleagues in South Africa. Initially Hüffel, then Cunow,¹⁸⁰³ then Schneider, who became a close friend of Hallbeck. Breutel was his last correspondent until 1840. The number of letters written by Hallbeck during his lifetime is amazing. In the *Nachrichten* they are often introduced as *Letter from Brother Hans Peter Hallbeck at the Mountains of Good Hope*.¹⁸⁰⁴ Hallbeck wrote mostly in German (e.g. the Diaries and contributions for the *Nachrichten*). He used the old German script or handwriting in use at the time. In addition many of his letters are written in English. A number of the treatises, pamphlets and regulations were written in Dutch.

¹⁸⁰⁰ H.C. Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh eds. *Das Tagebuch und die Briefe von Georg Schmidt, den ersten Missionar in Südafrika (1737-1744)* (Bellville: Die Wes-Kaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 1981).

H.C. Bredekamp and H.E.F. Plüddemann eds. *The Genadendal Diaries. Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn and J.C. Kühnel. Volume II (1795-1796)* (Bellville: University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1999).

¹⁸⁰¹ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Febr 10th 1820 (HA).

¹⁸⁰² Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 12th 1824 (HA).

¹⁸⁰³ Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, March 25th 1819 (HA).

¹⁸⁰⁴ "Schreiben des Bruders Hans Peter Hallbeck am Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung" , *Nachrichten* (1824), 695.

Writings and publications

The list of Hallbeck's writings and publications (in chronological order) includes the following:

- 1) *Hans Peter Hallbeck's Journey from Great Hennersdorf, Germany, to Gracehill, Ireland, during the Napoleonic War.* Dublin 1814. In Moravian Archives in London.¹⁸⁰⁵
- 2) *Copy of a series of queries received from the Dep. Col. Secretary in Dec. 1819, with the answers, annexed.* Hallbeck compiled this document on request of the colonial governor in connection with the advent of the British settlers. In Genadendal Archive (GA).
- 3) *Narrative of a visit made in 1819 to the New Missionary Settlement of the United Brethren, Enon, on the Witte Revier, in the district Uitenhage, South Africa, by the rev. Hans Peter Hallbeck. With an account of the country and restoration of the settlement after its destruction by the Caffres.* Translated and edited by C.I. Latrobe. 48 pages. London. 1820.¹⁸⁰⁶
- 4) *Tagebuch des Bruders Hans Peter Hallbeck, von seiner Reise aus der Tafel-Bay unweit der Capstadt nach Algoa-Bay, Uitenhagen, Enon, und zurück nach Gnadenthal, im Jahr 1819.* In Moravian Archive South Africa & in Herrnhut Archive (MASA & HA). This is the original text of which nr. 3) above is a translation. Published in the Nachrichten 1820, p. 665-714.
- 5) *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present state of the Mission of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope. Written for His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry. Genadendal 14th Nov. 1823.* HP Hallbeck, 10 pages, (MASA).
- 6) *Die Hottentotten und die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Afrika im Jahre 1823.* This is the same document as nr. 5) above, yet much more elaborated. (HA)¹⁸⁰⁷
- 7) *Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim.* 1824. 12 pages. (GA).
- 8) *Bericht des br. Hallbecks über seinen besuch in Enon, im Jahr 1826.* 15 pages. (HA).
- 9) *Ordeningen des Instituuts te Genadendal (Reviseerd 1827).* 28 pages. (GA & HA).
- 10) *Rules and Regulations of the Institution at Genadendal. Revised in 1827.* 14 pages. (GA).
- 11) *Untersuchungs-Reise in das land der Tambukkis und Kaffern vom 11ten May bis 25sten August 1827.* 52 pages. (HA). Dealing with the start of the Moravian mission work among the Bantu, it contains a lot of historic information about the Bantu of those times and their lifestyle and culture. Of this journey Hallbeck wrote a preliminary report, published

¹⁸⁰⁵ Also available as an e-book on the internet.

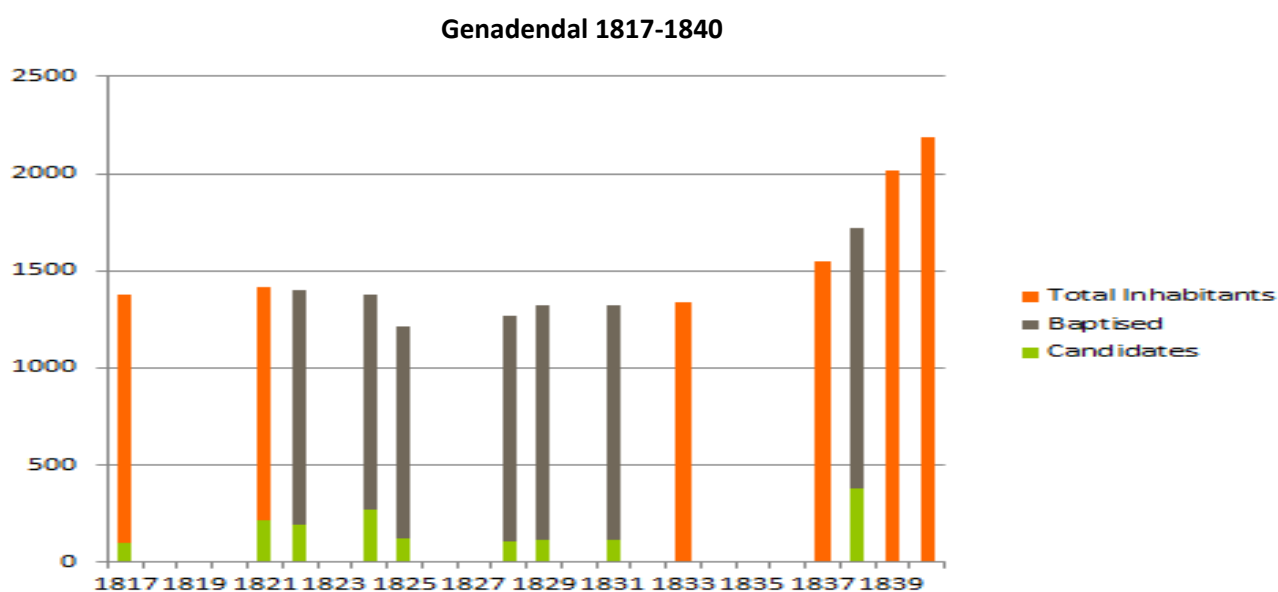
¹⁸⁰⁶ Also available as an e-book on the internet.

¹⁸⁰⁷ In 1927 C. Anshelm gave an elaborate extract from it in his book *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck der erste schwedische Missionar in Afrika* (part 1 p. 81-104).

- in the *Nachrichten* (1828), p. 480-484, and an elaborate journal published also in the *Nachrichten* (1828), p. 698-804.
- 12) *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika*. 1835. 23 pages. Written for the centenary celebrations in 1836. (MASA).
- 13) *Über das Entstehen und den Fortgang der Brüder Mission am Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung*. 1836. 16 pages. Translation of nr. 12) above. (HA).
- 14) *Eingabe an den Synodus 1836 über verschiedene Angelegenheiten der Mission in Südafrika & über die Erziehung der Missionskinder in der Kolonie Südafrika*.
- A. *Über ... Angelegenheiten äussern und innern der Mission in Süd Africa, zur Mittheilung vor die Missions Committee des Synodus 1836, Herrnhut 7 July 1836*
HP Hallbeck
- B. *Erziehung des Misionskinder in Süd Africa*. 34 pages. (HA & MASA).
- 15) *Mission der Evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa. Erster Theil. 1.2.3. Abschnitt, unvolendet*. Aufgesetzt von br. H.P. Hallbeck im Jahr 1836. 48 pages. (HA & MASA).
- 16) *Reise von Gnadenthal nach Enon und Silo, und zurück im J. 1837*. 85 pages. This journal of Hallbeck was published in the *Nachrichten* (1839), p.692-739, 819-877. (HA)
- 17) *Memoranda im bezug auf die gegenwärtige Lage der dinge in Silo*. 1837. (HA).
- 18) *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen*. Zweite durchgesehene und vermehrte Aufgabe. Gnadau 1837. 90 pages. This is the mission textbook as written by August Spangenberg in 1784, and adapted by Hallbeck for the 2nd edition.
- 19) *Bericht an die U.A.C. über die damaligen Verhältnisse in Enon u. Silo*. 1838. 9 pages. (HA).
- 20) *Merkwürdigste Vorkommenheiten bei der Mission in Süd Africa im Jahr 1838*. 18 pages. This essay of Hallbeck was published in the *Nachrichten* (1840), p.47-64. (HA).
- 21) *Tagebuch einer Besuchsreise nach den neuen Missionsort Clarkson in d. Zitzikamma in September und October 1839, 25 Oct 1839*. 44 pages. This journal was published in the *Nachrichten* (1840), p.843-886. (HA).
- 22) *Litanijen en Gezangen, behoorende tot de Liturgie der Evangelische Broedergemeenten*, published in Zeist in 1839.
- 23) *Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein-Kinder-Scholen zamengesteld door Peter Hallbeck, Bisschop der Broeder-Kerk*. 36 pages. This work was first published after Hallbeck's death in 1859, a second edition in 1872 and a third in 1886.

Growth

The following graphics provide an overview of the growth of Genadendal during Hallbeck's ministry. Although Hallbeck wasn't the only missionary at Genadendal, the graphics definitively testify as to his able leadership. After a period of no growth in numbers in the 1820's (especially due to the founding of new stations where a number of Genadendal inhabitants moved to), it depicts a picture of steady annual growth during the 1830's, with an increased growth after the liberation of the slaves in 1838. The vertical line indicates the number of inhabitants.

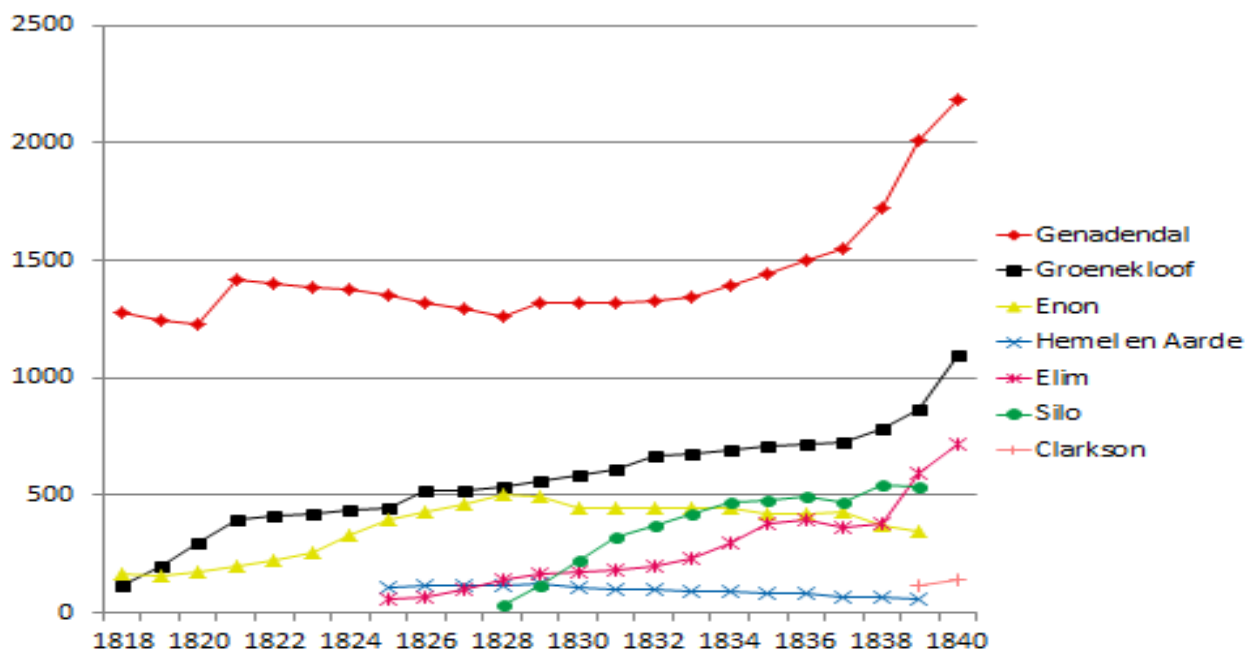


The way Hallbeck reported the statistics to Herrnhut reveals the different classes in the congregation. Take for example the year 1828 in Genadendal:

New inhabitants	79
New inhabitants coming from other stations	9
Moved to other stations	21
Born	37
Candidates for baptism	40
Newly baptised adults	21
Newly baptised children	42
Total baptised adults	703
Total baptised children	389
New members	
Married	9 couples
New to the Lord's Supper	45
Partakers of the Lord's Supper	511
Died (baptised)	49
Died (unbaptised)	
Houses	230 (97 with solid walls)
Total Church members	1092
Total inhabitants	1211

In the next diagram the growth of Genadendal is compared to the other mission stations. The growth on the predominantly Khoikhoi mission stations (Genadendal, Groenekloof, Enon and Elim) reveals more or less a similar pattern of steady growth. But the effect of the scarcity of water in Enon is clearly visible in the statistics. Then there were stations with a unique profile, making it difficult to compare them with the others. This applied to Hemel en Aarde, the Leper Institution with much higher mortality rates. The mission among the blacks in the east, like Silo, also reveals a pattern difficult to compare with the western stations. Again in this diagram the vertical line indicates the number of inhabitants.

Moravian Mission Stations in South Africa 1817-1840



With Hallbeck's death the total number of inhabitants on the respective mission stations was well above five thousand.

Contribution in a key period

Our research presents nothing more than an initial study, scratching the surface of a theme that has been underestimated in South African (church) historiography. To date, very little had been published about the Moravians who were the first to start mission work in South Africa, the first to start a teachers training institution, the first to start training indigenous preachers and the first to receive an ordained bishop. The period of Hallbeck's ministry (1817-1840) was a crucial period

for South African history, during which, to a large extent, the contours of modern-day South Africa were drawn. In this regard the following can be noted:

- With the inception of British rule, the Cape started to view itself as a country, not merely a refreshment post (as was the case during Dutch rule).
- The liberation of the slaves.
- The large-scale migrations that took place. One can think of the British Settlers in the eastern Cape, the migration of the Fingu to the south and of the Dutch-Afrikaner colonists to the north.
- Inception of primary, secondary and tertiary education on a larger scale

The contribution of the Moravian Mission to these events remains to a large extent to be investigated. Their impact was vital in bringing cultures together and working towards cohesion. It stands as an admirable example, and it can also help in giving direction to present-day generations regarding how to deal with all the tensions and challenges that are so typical of South Africa. From a historical viewpoint the Moravian archives provide a new perspective on these crucial happenings.

In the South Africa of today – not to mention the rest of the world – Hans Peter Hallbeck is virtually unknown. Perhaps this is partly due to the fact that the Moravians and their missionaries were not very keen to seek the limelight, contrary to, for example, Hallbeck's colleague and superintendent of the London Mission, Dr John Philip. This could, or should, provide all the more reason to lift him out of obscurity for what he has done for South Africa and its peoples:

- His ministry in Genadendal and beyond had a major impact on the Christianisation of Southern Africa. Under his leadership the first mission stations were established among indigenous black peoples like the Thembu and the Fingu. And, Genadendal became an inspiring model for all the other missionary societies that moved into the country in this era.
- Significant steps were taken in the field of education at Genadendal, including the establishment of a nursery school, and later in the 1830's, a seminary or teachers and pastors training centre, all of these institutions being the very first of their kind in South Africa.¹⁸⁰⁸ The educational initiatives in which Genadendal took the lead, were likewise rolled out on the other Moravian mission stations.

¹⁸⁰⁸ There is still a goldmine of archival material untouched in this regard in the Herrnhut Archive, Genadendal Archive and Archive of the Moravian Church in South Africa.

- During his ministry the first awakening took place on South African soil.¹⁸⁰⁹ The colonist farmers were in general hostile towards the activities of the missionaries, who were perceived as having a detrimental effect on their cheap labour force (the Khoikhoi and the slaves). They were also jealous of what the missionaries did for the Khoikhoi, for example the high standards of education they offered. But around 1830 things changed drastically in the Overberg and Strandveld. Roughly from Genadendal southwards to Cape Agulhas farmers started attending the mission churches in large numbers, worshipping together with the Khoikhoi, and arranging religious gatherings on their farms. Spiritual superficiality was replaced with reading from the Bible and singing from the (Moravian) hymnbook on a daily basis. They even requested the missionaries to allow their children to join the missionary schools, and to arrange lodgings for their children with the Khoikhoi families residing at Genadendal.¹⁸¹⁰ Anyone acquainted with South Africa and its racial sensitivities will realise that this was quite extraordinary – a revival indeed. The colonists realised that these missionaries had come to the country to proclaim the gospel with integrity.
- Hallbeck became the first bishop in the country, years before the Anglican bishop for the Cape of Good Hope was invested.
- The healthy financial position of the Moravian Mission in South Africa during the 1820's and 1830's can be contributed largely to Hallbeck's thoughtful leadership as superintendent. It should be said to Hallbeck's honour that in a time that Moravian stations across the world struggled with growing debts – especially after the abolition of slavery – Genadendal was self-supportive. For the year 1831 Hallbeck, for example, reported a surplus on the budgets of Genadendal and Enon.¹⁸¹¹ In 1838 Genadendal even had a reserve fund.¹⁸¹² In 1838 the HC reported to the UEC in Germany a total surplus for the South African mission as a whole.
- Hallbeck's leadership was increasingly appreciated not only by the Moravians, but also by the government, colonists, as well as the other missionary societies.¹⁸¹³ As

¹⁸⁰⁹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Dec 5th 1832 (HA); Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA). *Nachrichten* (1834), 206-207; *Nachrichten* (1836), 104; *Nachrichten* (1837), 485; Beyers, C.J. ed. *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek* (Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing: 1981), s.v. "Hallbeck, Hans Peter", Part 4, 218. HT Wangemann, *Ein Reise-Jahr in Süd-Afrika. Ausführliches Tagebuch über eine in den Jahren 1866 und 1867 ausgeführte Inspektionsreise durch die Missions-Stationen der Berliner Missions-Gesellschaft von Dr. Wangemann, Missions-Director* (Berlin: Verlag des Missionshauses in Berlin, 1868), 33.

¹⁸¹⁰ Letters Hallbeck to Schneider, Jan 7th 1833 & March 23rd 1833 (HA). *Genadendal Diary*, IX, Jan 9th 1834, Febr 22nd 1834; X March 1st & 2nd 1834. Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 178.

¹⁸¹¹ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Apr 28th 1832 (HA).

¹⁸¹² Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern*, 242 – a reserve fund of "59267 Kapschen Reichsthalern".

¹⁸¹³ A. Petri, in *Die Ausbildung der evangelischen Heidenboten Deutschland: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Berliner Missions-Seminars und einem Anhang über evangelische Missions-Anstalten ausserhalb Deutschlands* (Berlin:

superintendent, responsible for all the stations, he had become a well-known and appreciated man in the colony, from the governor all the way down to the poorest Khoikhoi, traversing the country on horseback from west to east and from north to south. During his ministry he even earned the appreciation of the colonists, formerly so hostile to the mission.

- During Hallbeck's ministry in South Africa a number of new Moravian mission stations were founded:
 - Enon in the eastern Cape in 1818.
 - Hemel en Aarde not far from Genadendal in 1823 (specifically for leprosy patients in cooperation with the colonial government).
 - Elim near Cape Agulhas in 1824.
 - Silo in the eastern Cape in 1828.
 - Clarkson in the Tsitsikamma in 1839.
- Hallbeck was also one of the first historians of South Africa. Already in his time writing the history of the Cape Colony proved to be a polarizing business. Contrary to authors like John Philip on the one hand and Meent Borchers on the other, Hallbeck's historiography is surprisingly balanced.¹⁸¹⁴
- Hallbeck was a respected missiologist in Europe in his days, whose writings were published widely in missionary magazines in Germany, Great Britain, Holland, North America, Denmark, Norway, and also in his motherland Sweden. Several missionary societies turned to him for advice.¹⁸¹⁵ The international Moravian Synod of 1836 asked him to revise the textbook used to train missionaries. A number of experiences on the South African mission field found their way into this textbook, meant to train missionaries for the worldwide mission. It was published in 1837.¹⁸¹⁶
- As the first Swedish missionary to Africa his writings had a considerable influence on the emergence of the free church movement in Sweden, and even the mass emigrations to

Berliner Missionhaus, 1873), 52. Barmer Missionsblatt (1837), via Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 60. Cf. Missionszeitung Stockholm (1837), 6. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA). Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 4th & Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

¹⁸¹⁴ - *Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present state of the Mission of the Un. Brethren in the Colony of Cape of Good Hope. Written for His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry. Genadendal 14th Nov. 1823.* HP Hallbeck (MASA).

- *Mission der Evangelischen Brüder In Süd-Africa. Erster Theil. 1.2.3. Aufgesetzt von br. H.P. Hallbeck im Jahr 1836.* (HA & MASA).

- *Oorsprong en Voortgang der Zending der Broeder Gemeente in Zuid-Afrika* (1835) (MASA).

¹⁸¹⁵ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Jun 30th 1835 (HA); Letters Hallbeck to Breutel, Jul 4th & Sept 9th 1837 (HA).

¹⁸¹⁶ *Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen.* 2nd ed. (Gnadau: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität bei Hans Franz Burkhard, 1837).

the new world during the latter part of the 19th century.¹⁸¹⁷ We will deal with this surprising part of Hallbeck's legacy a bit later in this chapter again.

Furthermore, exploring the Moravian archives, which are mostly inaccessible to the general public due to the German handwriting of the time, offers the spin-off benefit of discovering, for example:

- Descriptions of the culture of the black peoples, as written down by the first missionaries who started to live among them, being often the oldest written sources pertaining to these cultures and worldviews prevalent in southern Africa.¹⁸¹⁸
- Some of the earliest references to the Afrikaans language. Mission stations like Genadendal, Groenekloof (Mamre), Elim and Enon operated like melting pots where different languages came together (e.g. Khoikhoi, Dutch, German, English) and where they merged to become a new language.¹⁸¹⁹
- Information about events that shaped South African history from a refreshing new perspective. One can think of the era of migrations (amongst others the arrival of the British Settlers, Great Trek, the migration of the Fingou), the abolition of slavery, and the like.¹⁸²⁰
- The catalogue of all naturalia of the Niesky Museum is still preserved in the Herrnhut Archive. However – as the story goes – the bombings by the Allied Forces during the Second World War destroyed the artefacts kept in the Niesky Museum. Perusing through the different drafts of this catalogue, Hallbeck's name is found in there as well, for example as the collector of a *felix serval*. Other naturalia from the Cape perhaps also originated from his collector's hand: like a black-back jackal, a falcon and the horns of a rhino. Other collectors mentioned from South Africa were Cl Latrobe (during his South African journey), and the missionaries Stein and Kölbing.

Most striking is however what is written under the heading *Bimana* (two footed), a denotation of the human race, in distinction with the *Quadrumanus* (four footed). In a list

¹⁸¹⁷ Carl Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt I. Hans Barndoms- och Ungdomstid samt Untländska Missionsverksamhet* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1930), 12-13, 63, 72.

Anshelm, Carl. *Peter Fjellstedt II. Hans Verksamhet i Hemlandet för den Yttre Missionen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1935), 14.

Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 2, 59.

David M. Gustafson, *D.L. Moody and Swedes: Shaping Evangelical Identity among Swedish Mission Friends 1867-1899* (Linköping: Department of Culture and Communication Linköping University, 2008).

¹⁸¹⁸ HA, GA, MASA.

¹⁸¹⁹ C.I. Latrobe, *A Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some Account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1821), 419. *Nachrichten* (1836), 839. Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Oct 31st 1825 (HA). Cf. also the Moravian Magazine the *Bode* published at Genadendal from 1859, especially those contributions from the local inhabitants.

¹⁸²⁰ HA, GA, MASA.

of human skulls under the subheading *Ethiopic* we find the skull of a Khoikhoi, collected by the missionary Stein, and the skull of a Bantu, collected by Hallbeck. Furthermore we find the remark that this skull is of a Bantu killed in 1812 at the Witte River at Enon, and that Hallbeck has picked it up himself.¹⁸²¹ These remarks in the catalogue are a bit confusing. As a matter of fact, by 1812 Hallbeck was not yet in South Africa (he only arrived in 1817), nor did Enon exist yet. It is not impossible that the writer of the catalogue made a mistake. Hallbeck had probably informed him that the skull belonged to a person who died during the skirmishes in 1818 which also led to the death of nine Khoikhoi men of the Enon mission station. In the Journal of his extended visit to the Witte River area in 1819 Hallbeck mentions that they found two Xhosa skulls on the spot.¹⁸²² One should bear in mind that, apart from the fact that the deceased were not always buried during times of war, the Bantu didn't have the tradition of burying their dead. They were left in the field for the wild animals.

The skulls of these two South Africans (a Bantu and a Khoikhoi) had their place in the cabinet of naturalia in Niesky together with a collection of other skulls: an Eskimo, a Peruvian, a Kalmuk from Russia, a German from Freiburg and a Swedish soldier. They were classified in the groups: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, and American. Niesky was not exceptional in this regard. It was a widespread scientific custom in Europe during the 19th century to collect the skulls and skeletons of different nations.

Broader context

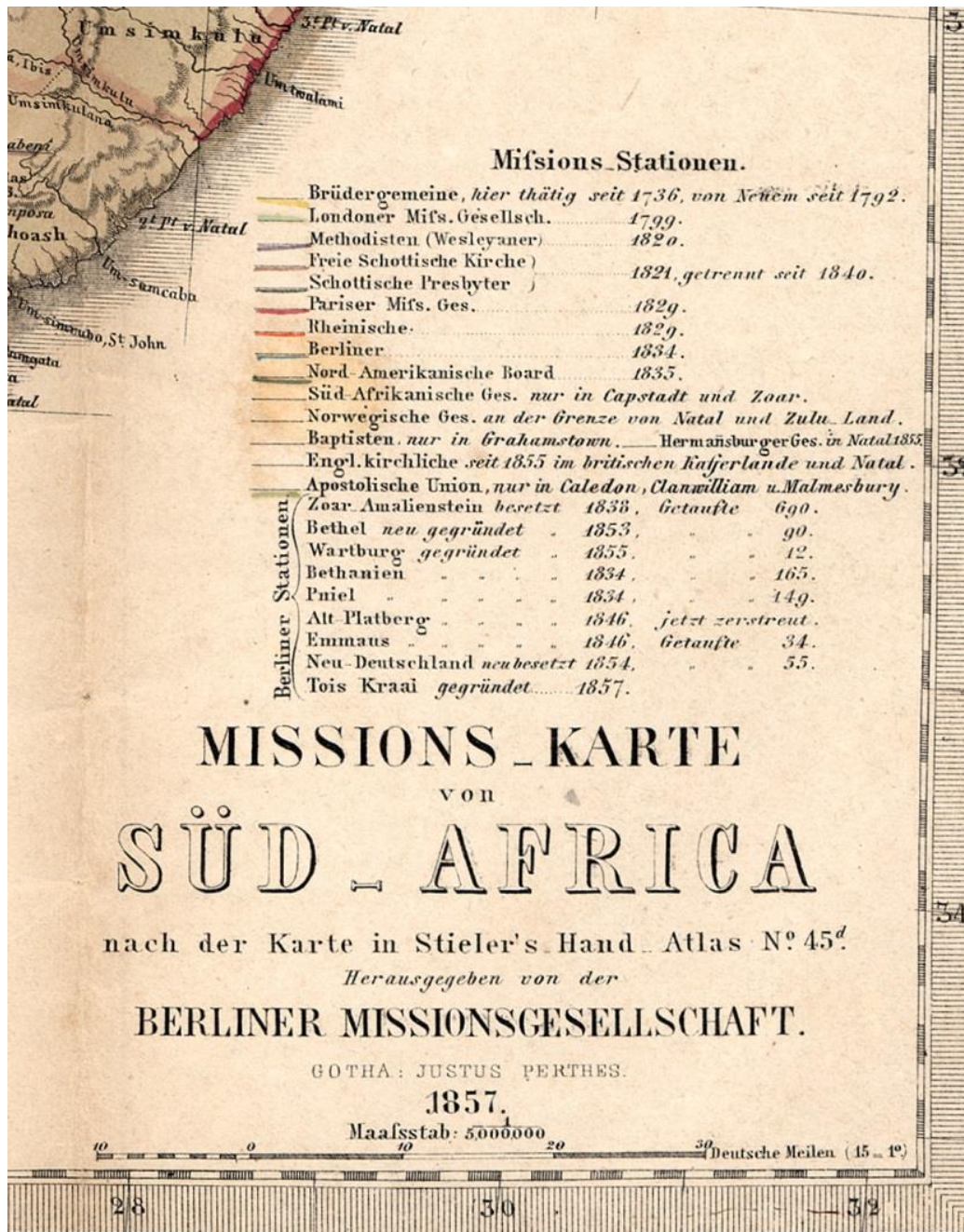
Following the overview and assessment of sources, scholarship and the need for further investigation, the broader context must now be indicated. Krüger writes with regard to Genadendal's influence: "In short, Genadendal served as a power-station and an example for the many missionary activities, which spread across Southern Africa."¹⁸²³ The fact that Genadendal became a model for the other missionary societies in Southern Africa was of course linked to the fact that the worldwide Moravian Mission was also a model for the work of the other missionary societies. There is historic evidence that the Moravian Mission stood at the cradle of the following missionary societies:¹⁸²⁴

¹⁸²¹ Also noted is that Dr Lees had some doubts, probably on whether it was really a Bantu skull, not having enough of a Caucasian likeness according to him. Perhaps it was a Khoikhoi or San skull? Dr Lees visited Germany in 1835. Cf. *Schädel & Skelette des Natur. Cabin. Z. Nisky*. (1856) (HA).

¹⁸²² *Nachrichten* (1820), 665-714.

¹⁸²³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 188.

¹⁸²⁴ Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 94.



Detail of map published by the Berlin Missionary Society in 1857, showing the different missionary societies in South Africa in the first half of the 19th century.¹⁸²⁵

- Baptist Missionary Society (William Carey) in 1792.
- London Missionary Society in 1795.
- Scottish Missionary Society in 1796.
- Church Missionary Society (England) in 1799.
- Basel Missionary Society in 1815.

¹⁸²⁵ "Missions-Karte von Süd-Africa nach der Karte in Stieler's Hand-Atlas No. 45d. Herausgegeben von der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft. Gotha: Justus Perthes. 1857" (HA).

- Berlin Missionary Society in 1824.
- Rhenish Missionary Society in 1828.
- Leipzig Missionary Society in 1836.
- Methodist Missionary Society in 1840.

Although the Moravians were the first to send missionaries to South Africa, later expansion of the Moravian Mission work was slower than that of other societies. This is usually contributed to the fact that the central control of the work was always in the hands of the UEC in Germany. The Anglican and Reformed missions, who had their headquarters in South Africa, could react quicker to opportunities for expansion.¹⁸²⁶ Carlyle, who wrote his influential *South Africa and its Mission Fields* in 1878, when comparing the different missionary societies, concluded that the Moravians were a bit old-fashioned and slow, while other societies produced more talented, educated and far-sighted workers; but that the Moravians excelled in the essential qualities of humbleness, friendliness and faithfulness. Indeed, the old type of Moravian piety and its evangelical witness was still evident among them.¹⁸²⁷

The years of Hallbeck's ministry saw the influx of many new societies into South Africa:

- In 1820 the *Methodist Missionary Society* arrived in South Africa.
- In 1821 the *Scottish Presbyterian Missionary Society*.
- In 1824 the *Glasgow Missionary Society*.
- In 1829 the *Rhenish Missionary Society*.
- In 1829 the *Paris Evangelical Missionary Society*.
- In 1834 the *Berlin Missionary Society*.
- In 1835 the *American Missionary Society*.

By 1837 there were already ten missionary societies active in South Africa.¹⁸²⁸

The Hallbeck era was a period of growth and expansion for the Gospel in South Africa. Three months before his death in 1840 Hallbeck wrote to his daughter in Germany, providing remarkable statistics: *When I came here in the country, we only had one church (building) here in Genadendal. When both church buildings in Koksbosch (Clarkson) and Kopjeskasteel are completed, we will have nine... Within the borders of the colony (the many chapels in Bantuland*

¹⁸²⁶ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 275.

¹⁸²⁷ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 274; James Edward Carlyle, *South Africa and its Mission Fields* (London: J. Nisbet & Company, 1878), 121-123.

¹⁸²⁸ *Nachrichten* (1840), 370.

not included) there are presently 75 church buildings and chapels, of which there were only 8 when I arrived in the country; meaning that 67 have been erected since my arrival in 1817.¹⁸²⁹

Clearly this was the age of missions! It demanded theological and ecclesiological leadership. Hallbeck was the answer to this expectation. Consequently our perspective now shifts to the theology of Hallbeck.

Theologian

As an educated theologian Hallbeck is embedded in the continuation of a trajectory of intellectual and theological thinking that was upheld by outstanding men like Hus, Luther, Comenius, Zinzendorf, Spangenberg and Loretz. During his years as a teacher in Göteborg, Hallbeck became more and more sympathetic towards the Moravians. In these years Hallbeck started to make the typical Moravian piety his own, starting to use similar terminology in his letters.¹⁸³⁰ In 1809 Hallbeck wrote to Herrnhut with the request to be accepted into the clergy of the Moravian Church. The answer he received advised him to first come and get better acquainted with Herrnhut. In 1812 Hallbeck was accepted as an *acolyte*, the first ecclesiastical office in the Moravian Church. Hallbeck served the Moravian Church and Mission for more than thirty-five years until his death.

Hallbeck was not the only person whose path crossed those of the Moravians in those days. Many more theologians were influenced by the Moravians. A well-known example is Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), 16 years older than Hallbeck. He was the son of a Reformed chaplain in the Prussian army. His mother was a very devote Pietist. Furthermore he had an uncle who was a full-blown rationalist with a very licentious lifestyle. Friedrich was only 13 years old when his mother passed away. His father decided to send him, in order to protect him against the influences of his uncle, to the Moravian pedagogical institute in Niesky. Afterwards he attended the Moravian school in Barby.

¹⁸²⁹ "Als ich hier ins Land kam, hatten wir nur die eine Kirche hier in Gnadenthal, u. wenn nun die beiden in Koksbosch u. Kopjeskasteel fertig seyn werden, haben wir ihrer 9; u. bei einer genauen Zählung vor ein Paar Tagen fand ich, daß innerhalb der Gränze der Colonie (die vielen Kapellen in Kafferland nicht mitgezählt) jetzt 75 Kirchen u. Kapellen sind, von denen nur 8 waren als ich ins Land kam, u. daß also 67 seit meiner Ankunft in 1817 geworden sind." Letter Hallbeck to his daughter Carolina, Aug 24th 1840 (HA). Cf. also Hermann Schneider, *Die Sippe der Hallbecks und Einer aus ihr* (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1907), 4. Schneider was mission secretary in Herrnhut and wrote this booklet on the children of Hallbeck. Much of his information he got from Hallbeck's youngest daughter, Emma Renata, who – after serving the mission in Greenland – retired to Herrnhut and passed away in 1897.

¹⁸³⁰ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 17.

Although Friedrich initially appreciated the piety of the Moravians, doubt progressively got hold of him. The fear of the subversive influences of art, science and philosophy he witnessed among some pietistic Moravians, eventually made him turn his back on them. However, the fact that Schleiermacher later founded religion on the subjective feeling and experience of the individual's faith, being an experience of absolute dependence, rather than founding it on dogmatic formulae, philosophy, metaphysical thought, natural science or even morality, can partially be traced back to his Moravian upbringing. He saw with his own eyes that the devotion of the Moravians was real.

He commented that the Moravians convinced him of man's connection with a higher world, and thence he developed the mystic faculty that he also regarded as essential for mankind. However, eventually the end product of his theology was more influenced by the Enlightenment, Rationalism and Romanticism. Religion became confined within the anthropological horizon, as Karl Barth later said about Schleiermacher. According to Schleiermacher all religions were human phenomena, although he – just like his contemporary Hegel¹⁸³¹ – viewed the Christian religion as the highest in morality and spirituality.¹⁸³² Schleiermacher stood at the cradle of liberalism in Germany.

Also Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) admired the Moravians, especially in view of their worldwide mission work. His sympathy however changed when they criticized him because he did not believe in the total depravity of mankind.¹⁸³³

The fact that Hallbeck was drawn towards the Moravians had everything to do with their attractiveness of being living Christians, putting their faith into practise, being concerned about the fate of the unbelievers and underprivileged. In a way the Moravians functioned as leaven within European Protestantism in the 18th century.¹⁸³⁴ Hallbeck took a conscious decision to join the Moravians and to leave the Swedish State Church, permeated by dead orthodoxy and Rationalism. Although Hallbeck criticized the Moravians, especially in later years, he never regretted his decision. On a journey through the African wilderness, isolated from all civilisation,

¹⁸³¹ Schleiermacher became rector of the University of Berlin in 1815, Hegel in 1829.

¹⁸³² A.E. MacGrath, *Modern Christian Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 589.

¹⁸³³ Lober, *Das Verhältnis des Grafen Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf zur Aufklärung*, 145-146.

¹⁸³⁴ R.A. Knox, *Enthusiasm, a Chapter in the History of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), 390, in Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, 61.

he once wrote: *In silence we commemorated the present festive day of the United Brethren (May 12th), and we were grateful for sharing in the grace of belonging to this people of God.*¹⁸³⁵

According to Julius Richter, well-known author on mission history, Hallbeck's approach to mission work was typically Moravian. In his book *Geschichte der Evangelischen Mission in Afrika* (1922) he writes that Hallbeck's ministry can be regarded as *the foundational era of the Moravian Mission in South Africa...* This period displayed an *exceptional constancy in progress. It goes on silently and softly. And especially if one takes into account the unrest that characterised that era in the mission history in South Africa, one only reads with astonishment about the planned and deliberate progress of the Moravian mission.*¹⁸³⁶

Nevertheless, Hallbeck's commitment to the Moravians and their mission work did not consist of blind loyalty. From time to time he criticised certain traditions of the Moravians. The fact that Moravian missionaries were in charge of both spiritual and external affairs on the stations, was a point of contention. In 1826 he had already written a letter to the UEC in which he revealed his thoughts on the future planning of the mission work. Hallbeck foresaw problems relating to the fact that the missionaries were both in charge of the spiritual as well as the external matters, such as municipal and financial duties. Hallbeck's proposal was that in the future missionaries should concentrate on spiritual matters only. This could be arranged by purchasing a place big enough for a church, a school and some trades. Only one missionary would live there along with some tradesmen who execute their trade for the sole benefit of the mission, without being involved in the ministry. They would provide job opportunities for the surrounding population. In this sense the place would function in a way comparable to the farms of the colonists that also provided job opportunities for the neighbouring people. All the people surrounding the place (colonists and Khoikhoi) would be able to become members of the church, as well as sending their children to the school. According to Hallbeck this plan would also be much cheaper for the UEC to maintain.

¹⁸³⁵ "In der Stille erinnerten wir uns an den heutigen wichtigen Gedenktag der Brüder-Gemeine, und freuten uns der Gnade zu diesem Volke Gottes zu gehören." Hallbeck, *Tagebuch auf einer Reise in das Land der Tambukis u. Kafferen, im Jahr 1827* (GA). Cf. *Nachrichten* (1828), 701.

¹⁸³⁶ "die grundlegende Zeit in der Brüdermission Südafrikas ... eine wirklich bewundernswerte Stetigkeit der Entwicklung aus. Es geht dabei ganz still und ganz sachte vorwärts. Und grade im Rahmen der unruhigen südafrikanischen Missions-geschichte jener Zeit liest man mit Bewunderung von dem planmäßigen, überlegten und zielbewußten Vorwärtstreben der Brüdermission." Julius Richter, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Mission in Afrika* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1922), 270.

This plan of Hallbeck was well thought through, tailor-made for the specific situation in the Cape Colony. From the perspective of the UEC, however, it broke with a cherished Moravian tradition, namely that of the “Handwerkermissionaren” (*tent maker missionaries*).¹⁸³⁷ The willingness of the missionaries – the 1836 Synod expressed – to also work with their own hands to support themselves, should remain. Missionaries should continue to earn their living just like the apostle Paul did, in order to decrease the annual expenditure of the mission. The synod took this decision, for although the economy of Genadendal flourished during the Hallbeck-period, it had to take the worldwide situation into consideration.

Important threads in Hallbeck’s theology

It has been indicated in this study that Hallbeck was **critical of the Moravian missionaries’ lack of thorough training**. On the 1836 Synod Hallbeck backed the proposal of North American and English delegates to erect a training college for missionaries. But the synod was not in agreement. They felt that special training might deprive the missionaries of their simplicity and humility.¹⁸³⁸

Although the Moravians in the 18th and 19th centuries cannot be equated with Pietism, they did share some fear of academic theological training. In this regard Hallbeck was no Pietist, although he vividly realised the dangers of the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*), with its tendency to erode the Biblical doctrines of Christianity and a pious lifestyle. This rationalist or deistic erosion even occurred in Halle – the cradle of Pietism – in Hallbeck’s days. Latrobe referred to this development in his *Journal*, after having spoken with someone who had been trained in Halle: “He related, that he was educated in the celebrated Paedagogium at Halle, in Saxony, where, contrary to the intention of its founders, he and others were taught to entertain scruples concerning the principal doctrines of Christianity, and to explain away those scriptures, which the Neologen, or Socinians and Deists, found to bear against their favourite opinions. But as he could find no comfort and peace in the new doctrines of self-enlightened men, he began well to consider those, which they had rejected, and, by slow degrees, seemed to obtain more faith in them, and to consider them as the basis of all sound religion.”¹⁸³⁹

¹⁸³⁷ Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Nov 9th 1826 (HA).

¹⁸³⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 184.

¹⁸³⁹ Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 463.

Hallbeck originated from the Lutheran State Church, which had fallen prey to **Rationalism and the Enlightenment worldview**. The Moravians however opened his eyes for the urgent need to preach the Gospel again in Sweden to a nation that had lost personal devotion towards God. And furthermore, that the world – especially the continent of Africa – had to be Christianized. For Hallbeck there was a discrepancy, for he witnessed the European world sliding back in their devotion to God, and therefore forgetting their calling to Christianize the world. The Europeans increasingly colonized the world for their own benefits, but neglected to spread the Gospel.¹⁸⁴⁰

The **missionary societies** that emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries as a rule all originated from people, who reacted against the Enlightenment Rationalist worldview, that had penetrated the European churches and caused a nominal Christianity, that was far removed from an ardent faith in Jesus Christ. In the strict sense of the word the Moravian mission was not a missionary society, but the mission of a church. Yet the Moravians stood at the cradle of most of the missionary societies, and to a large extent worked alongside them during the 19th century.

Hallbeck became part of this awakening, and he decided to devote his life **spreading the Gospel of salvation** among those heathen nations the Europeans encountered in their ever-expanding colonies. He once wrote about the Thembu, a black tribe in South Africa among whom a mission station was established under his leadership: *some of the Thembu children are more advanced in the knowledge of the saving truths than millions of nominal Christians in Europe.*¹⁸⁴¹

For Hallbeck himself this realisation, namely that the saving truth was also meant for him personally, came when he was a young man in Göteborg. After his death his wife wrote the following, taking the words from one of Hallbeck's letters: *one thing still bothered me, I was still an alien to the sweet enjoyment of a child of God... and therefore my life was often covered in darkness...*¹⁸⁴² But it happened during one Sunday service in Göteborg that Hallbeck realised that God did not expect from him a bottomless process of penitence before becoming worthy of the Gospel. The Gospel was already meant for him. He wrote: *that was for me Gospel, and I was*

¹⁸⁴⁰ Mission der Evangelischen Brüder in Süd-Africa. Erster Theil. 1.2.3. Abschnitt, unvolendet. Aufgesetzt von br. H.P. Hallbeck im Jahr 1836. 48 pages. (HA & MASA). Cf. also Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹⁸⁴¹ "von den Tamb. Kindern viele in Erkenntniss der Heils-Wahrheiten weiter sind, als Millionen von Namens-Christen in Europa" Letter Hallbeck to Schneider, Aug 23rd 1833 (HA).

¹⁸⁴² "Ein ding störte noch mein Glück, ich war noch ein Fremdling zu den süßen Genüssen eines Kindes Gottes, ... und darum war ich öfters in dunkel eingehüllt ..." "Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern" (1840) (HA).

*delighted when the sermon was over and I could enjoy the sweet loneliness. My heart felt what words cannot describe: it was the first day in my life, that I could say He is mine and I am His.*¹⁸⁴³

The fact that Hallbeck was **critical about the philanthropy practiced by some in the LMS**, but at the same time also disapproved of some of his colleagues not paying proper attention to societal and political issues, formed an integral part of how he as theologian interpreted the Bible message for his ministry. Hallbeck had joined the Moravians because he shared their criticism on nominal Christianity in Europe, the reality of dead orthodoxy within the European Protestant state churches, and the resulting Rationalism and Aufklärung. The Protestant European countries shared in, and enjoyed, the profits gained in the colonies, yet were not eager to put a halt to the ensuing oppression and enslaving of the colonized nations. In line with Zinzendorf and Spangenberg, Hallbeck's answer to this was bringing the Gospel to the colonies, and applying the Gospel to every inch of everyday life. This however did not make of him a philanthropist. The philanthropist approach, represented by John Philip, appeared to be blind for the sins, shortcomings and wrongs of the oppressed nations.

With Hallbeck's theology outlined, **Genadendal's library**, incepted by Hallbeck and one of the first in South Africa, deserves our attention as well. Often a theologian's library is indicative of his own views. Perusing its catalogue, it can broadly be characterised as follows:

- The backbone of the library consists of books directly published by the Moravians. One can think of the books of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg, furthermore hymnbooks and accounts of the worldwide mission work.¹⁸⁴⁴ One example of the latter is Georg Heinrich Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the Evangelic Brothers among the Indians in North America*.¹⁸⁴⁵ Most of these books are in German, however some are in English or Dutch. There are also Swedish translations of two of Spangenberg's books. Both have Hallbeck's name noted in or on them. Clearly they date back from his days in Sweden, where he first got acquainted with the Moravians.
- A large segment of the library consists of books from a Puritan or Pietist background. This only proves the close ties between the Moravians and the Puritan and Pietist movements in Europe and North America. One can point to the following books:

¹⁸⁴³ "dass war mir Evangelium, und ich war froh als die Predigt aus war und ich die süsse Einsamkeit geniessen konnte. Mein Herz fühlte was Worte nie beschreiben können: es war der erste Tag in meinen Leben, dass ich sagen konnte Er ist mein und ich bin Sein." "Lebenslauf von Hans Peter Hallbeck, verfasst von seinen Kindern" (1840) (HA).

¹⁸⁴⁴ Not only on the Moravian mission. Cf. for example William Brown, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation*, two volumes (Edinburgh, 1814); *Nachrichten* (1831), 55.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Georg Heinrich Loskiel, *Geschichte der Mission der evangelische Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika* (Barby, 1789).

- *Meditations and Discourse on the Glory of Christ* by John Owen¹⁸⁴⁶
- *A call to the unconverted to turn and live, and accept of mercy while mercy may be had, as ever they would find mercy, in the day of their extremity, from the living God* by Richard Baxter
- *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* by Richard Baxter
- *The Christian's Reasonable Service* by Wilhelmus à Brakel¹⁸⁴⁷
- *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan¹⁸⁴⁸
- *The Holy War* by John Bunyan
- *Sermons* by August Hermann Francke¹⁸⁴⁹
- *The History of Redemption* by Jonathan Edwards¹⁸⁵⁰
- *Collection of the Letters of James Hervey*¹⁸⁵¹
- *A Commentary upon the Holy Bible* by Henry and Scott¹⁸⁵²
- *The Family Expositor, a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament* by Philippus Doddridge¹⁸⁵³
- *Life of Martin Boos, Preacher of the Righteousness acceptable to God*¹⁸⁵⁴
- *The Atonement, being Four Discourses* by Charles, Thomas Chalmers, William Archer, Robert Hall¹⁸⁵⁵
- There were also books to assist the missionaries in their preaching. One can think of *Büchner's Concordanz*, as well as *Stückelberger's Predigten*.¹⁸⁵⁶

¹⁸⁴⁶ London: *Religious Tract Society Instituted 1799*.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Wilhelmus à Brakel, *Redelyke Godsdiens*. 2 volumes.

¹⁸⁴⁸ John Bunyan, *Eines Christen Reise nach der sel. Ewigkeit* (Hamburg, 1769); *Eens Christen reise naar de eeuwigheid*.

¹⁸⁴⁹ AH Francken's *Predigten* (Halle, 1729).

¹⁸⁵⁰ President Edwards, *The History of Redemption, comprising a Summary of the History of the Jews up to the destruction of Jerusalem. A.D. 1739*. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1831). [On the first page a sticker: 1834. Presented by the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, to their esteemed friends the Moravian Society's Missionaries at Gnadenthal. To be kept for the permanent use of the Missionary Families who are now, or may hereafter be stationed there.]

¹⁸⁵¹ *Verzameling der Godvrugtige en stigtelyke Brieven, van wylen den eerwaerden Heer Jakobus Hervey, Meester der Konsten en wysbegeerte, Bedienaer des Heiligen Evangeliums, en Bestierder van de Stigting te Weston-Favell, in Northamptonshire. Uit het Engelsch vertaeld. Met een voorafgaend Levensberigt van denzelve. Eerste & Tweede Deel* (Amsterdam 1762) [Note on first page of first part: "H.P. Hallbeck"] [Note in Hallbeck's handwriting on title page of both first and second part: "Bibl Gnadenthal."]

¹⁸⁵² Henry and Scott, *Commentary upon the Holy Bible* (1833-1835). Matthew Henry lived from 1662-1714. Henry's writings had a profound influence on Georg Whitefield for example.

¹⁸⁵³ Philippus Doddridge, *De Huis-Uitlegger des Nieuwen Testaments of Vertaling en Omschrijving van hetzelve, met Oordeelkundige Aenmerkingen en Toepasselyke Gebruiken*, 1^e deel, ... door Philippus Doddridge, Doktor en Professor der H. Godgeleerdheit te Northampton. *Uit het Engelsch in 't Neerlandisch overgezet. Eerste Stuk* (Amsterdam, 1765 and further) [Noted on first page in Hallbeck's handwriting: Bibliothek te Genadendal.] All the different books of the NT: 1765-1783. Doddridge's books had a profound influence on people like Charles Spurgeon and William Wilberforce.

¹⁸⁵⁴ *Lebensgeschichte von Martin Boos, Prediger der Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt* (St. Gallen, 1836). Martin Boos, after having been expelled from Germany for his desire to go back to pure Lutheranism, led a Pietist revival in Austria among Catholics in the early 19th century.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Charles, Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Thomas Chalmers, William Archer, Robert Hall, *The Atonement, being Four Discourses*. Thomas Chalmers was one of the leading figures during the *Disruption* that led to the establishment of the *Free Church of Scotland*.

Some of the books were published by the *Religious Tract Society*, founded in London in 1799. This Society worked closely alongside the missionary societies and (re)published especially books from evangelical (meant in the sense of anti-rationalist and anti-liberal) origin. The book of Jonathan Edwards *The History of Redemption* was republished for example in 1831. It is quite probable that Hallbeck took it along from England on his journey back to South Africa in 1837. A number of these books are still kept in Genadendal.¹⁸⁵⁷

Education

What should be noted about Hallbeck's legacy as educationalist? During his time Hallbeck was the only missionary at Genadendal with a formal university education. Due to the establishment of the seminary, the UEC recognised the importance of sending better trained men to South Africa. This happened after Hallbeck's death, first in the sending of CR Kölbing to assist Teutsch in the task of superintendent, since Teutsch was not a learned man. Kölbing became principal of the seminary and served in South Africa from 1841-1861. Furthermore other learned men were sent: CF Francke, DW Suhl, S Gysin and the physician R Roser. The latter even submitted a doctoral thesis to the University of Tübingen in 1856 on the subject of the flora, fauna and the diseases, which he observed and studied at Genadendal.¹⁸⁵⁸

After Hallbeck's death the Prince Victor von Schönburg-Waldenburg continued to support the seminary. He granted bursaries with the effect that members of the Berlin Missionary Society could study there as well.¹⁸⁵⁹ He also urged the Brethren to prepare more students for ordination, so that they could carry the Gospel into Africa. The HC however cautioned that the training should not expand too quickly.¹⁸⁶⁰

¹⁸⁵⁶ Karl Ulrich Stückelberger, *Predigten über Freygewählte Texte* (Schneider, 1817). Cf. Letter Hallbeck to Cunow, Aug 27th 1822 (HA).

¹⁸⁵⁷ As can be expected, the library also has a number of dictionaries and grammars of different languages. What is also to be expected from a missionary library, is a fair quantity of journals. Apart from the more global ones (like on the journeys of Thomas Cook), one can find especially the journals of those who travelled through Southern Africa (like Barrow, Le Vaillant, Sparrman). The library also has quite a few volumes on geography, creation, and the like. Interesting is a text book on how to collect naturalia, one of the past times of Hallbeck: Theodor Thon, *Handbuch für Naturaliensammler oder gründliche Anweisung die Naturkörper aller drei Reiche zu sammeln, im Naturalienkabinet aufzustellen und aufzubewahren...* von dr. Theodor Thon (Ilmenau, 1827).

¹⁸⁵⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 248.

¹⁸⁵⁹ *Nachrichten* (1844), 789.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 201, from *Protocol HC*, Jan 11th 1843; *Genadendal Diary*, XI, Sept 1st 1843; *Protocol HC*, Aug 24th 1845.



Students from the Teachers Training in Genadendal. Photo taken in 1859. This is the oldest photo (known yet) ever taken of the worldwide Moravian Mission.¹

¹ Moravian Archives Bethlehem (USA). Cf. Kröger, *Bilder aus der Herrnhuter Mission*, 149.

Many of these students became teachers and church workers. From the first group, Carl Jonas started to work in the outstation Houtkloof as a teacher in 1845.¹⁸⁶¹ He was ordained a minister after many years of faithful service.¹⁸⁶² It should be mentioned here that for a long time the government left the burden of the education of the non-whites – the schools for the children as well as the training of teachers – to the mission stations, first completely and later as much as possible.¹⁸⁶³

The seminary at Genadendal thus became an influential educational centre in South Africa. All Moravian teachers and church workers were trained here in the 19th century, also the black students from the eastern Cape. In 1846 three black students started with their studies at Genadendal:

- a Fingu called Magelana from Silo;
- a Sutu called Johannes Nakin from Silo;
- a Fingu called Johannes Swelibansi (Ussilibanzi / Zwelibanzi) from Clarkson.¹⁸⁶⁴



*Johannes Swelibansi, 15 years old (1848), one of the first black students at the seminary*¹⁸⁶⁵

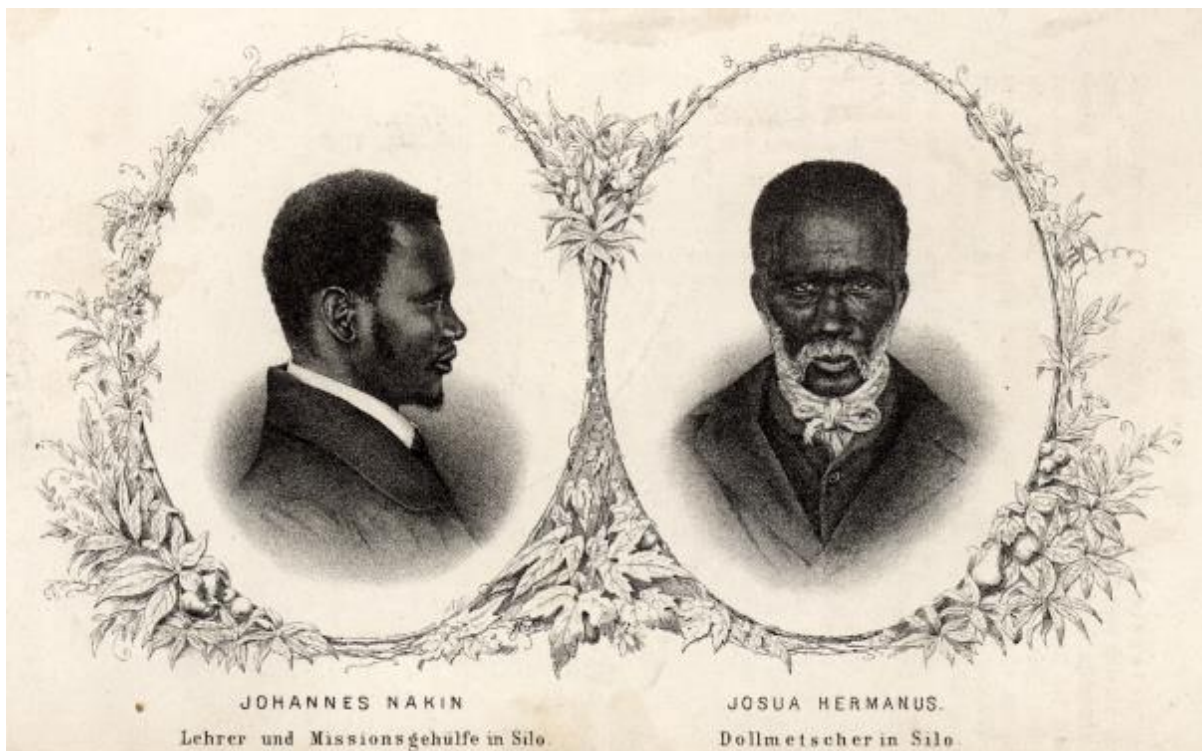
¹⁸⁶¹ *Nachrichten* (1845), 761.

¹⁸⁶² Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 185.

¹⁸⁶³ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 298.

¹⁸⁶⁴ *Nachrichten* (1846), 999.

During the 1840's and 50's many persons from other denominations were trained here as well.¹⁸⁶⁶ This became less after the Anglican Bishop Robert Gray established the Zonnebloem College at Cape Town in the late 1850's. Genadendal however continued to train people from the three main German missionary societies. In 1863-1864 the Superintendent-General of Education of the Cape Colony, Dr Langham Dale, visited the Training School several times. He proposed that it should become a bigger institution for the whole region and that the government would be prepared to offer considerable financial assistance, but on the condition that the language of education would become English (and not Dutch) and that the training personnel would be replaced by white people. The Moravian Church rejected this offer. Three decades later, when Schneider wrote his concise biography on Hallbeck in the 1890's, he reported that the seminary was still *a very blessed institution*.¹⁸⁶⁷



*Johannes Nakin, one of the first black students at the seminary.*¹⁸⁶⁸

However in the 20th century things did change. After the First World War the financial assistance the Training College received from Germany was reduced drastically, making it impossible for the

¹⁸⁶⁵ HA. Noted on the portrait: Johannes Swelibansi Fingu-Knabe von Clarkson, in Seminar zu Gnadenthal, alt 15 Jahr. D.W. Suhl. Jan. 1848.

¹⁸⁶⁶ *Nachrichten* (1846), 56.

¹⁸⁶⁷ "eine sehr gesegnete Einrichtung" Schneider, *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars*. 3rd ed. (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925), 27.

¹⁸⁶⁸ HA.

Moravians to run the College effectively any longer. The state took over the financial responsibilities, and also required the school to be staffed by competent European teachers.¹⁸⁶⁹ In 1924 the Department of Education informed that the three German missionary societies (Rhenish, Berlin and Moravian) would henceforth only be allowed to have one training college. A choice had to be made between Worcester (Rhenish) and Genadendal. In 1925 representatives of the three missionary societies met and Genadendal was chosen. However, the superintendent of education favoured Worcester, and together with the provincial councillor of the brown community in Worcester they changed the decision. The Moravian Church was informed to close their College. This happened on December 31st 1927, after having existed for 90 years and having trained a total of 236 teachers.

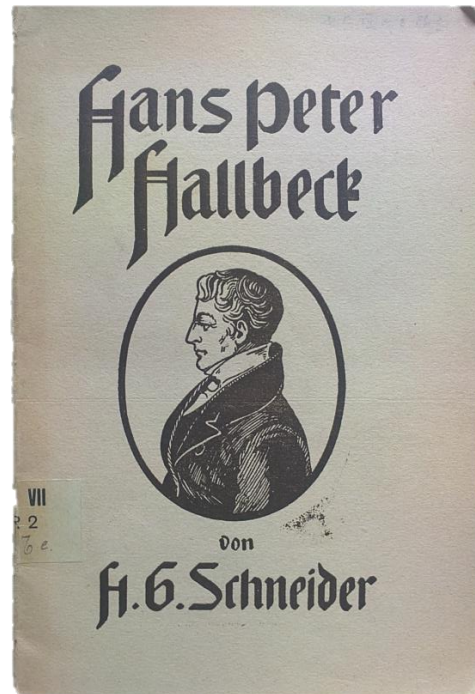
Apart from the teacher's training being the first in the country, this also became the very first **theological seminary** of South Africa. The closing of the Genadendal teachers training, forced by the government in 1927, also had an impact on the theological seminary. To send the indigenous theological students to Fort Hare where Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian students were trained, was not received well. Temporarily the students were taught at Moravian Hill, Cape Town. From 1950 the students were sent to the Lutheran seminary at Oscarsberg. But in 1952 a seminary was opened in Port Elisabeth (Fairview), under responsibility of the Moravian province South Africa–West. Later, in 1971, the training moved back to Moravian Hill, Cape Town. But since this church and school were located in District Six that was earmarked by the Nationalist government to become a white suburb, it had to be relocated once more in 1974. It finally settled down in Heideveld near Cape Town in 1979, where the Moravian Theological Centre was built.

Impact on Sweden

A final note in respect of Hallbeck's legacy should be made. He indeed contributed to the momentum of evangelical theology and missiology during the 19th century. This was even true for his motherland Sweden, something Hallbeck would perhaps have expected the least himself. Contrary to the passive attitude towards mission in the State Church, this son of a cooper from Malmö, who was devoting his life to the conversion of pagans at the other side of the world, contributed significantly to the expansion of the missionary movement in Sweden. It first started

¹⁸⁶⁹ Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal 1738-1988*, 168.

among the Moravians, the free-church sector of society, but in subsequent years it began to penetrate into the low-church as well.



Two adaptations of original miniature portrait of Hallbeck.¹⁸⁷⁰

Hallbeck became one of the best known, experienced and appreciated men with regard to mission work in his time. His name was often mentioned in letters and reports of missionaries belonging to other missionary societies. His reports, journals and letters were widely published in missionary magazines in Germany, England, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and North America. After he had become missionary in South Africa, he never returned to Sweden. Although he planned to do so on his way back from Germany to South Africa in 1836, it did not materialize. Instead of travelling to England via the Baltic Sea – as he initially intended – he took a route much more south via Frankfurt am Main.¹⁸⁷¹ Was he hesitant to meet his siblings again, like

¹⁸⁷⁰ These adaptations were probably made for the publishing of H.G. Schneider's book: *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars* (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925 – 3. Auflage). The adaptation on the left hand side is also used in C. Anshelm's book: *Anshelm, Carl. Biskop Hans Peter Hallbeck den Förste Svenske Missionären i Afrika* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerups Förlag, 1927). This adaptation is also used in the *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon (Dictionary of Swedish National Biography)*.

¹⁸⁷¹ According to Schneider, it was due to time constraints, since Hallbeck was delayed too much in Berlin by a prince who wanted to be informed on the mission. Whether this was really the only reason, I doubt. Why could Hallbeck then travel as far south as Frankfurt am Main, and during the first months of 1837 also to several places in England, Scotland and Ireland, giving presentations on the South African mission everywhere? H.G. Schneider, *Hans Peter Hallbeck. Aus dem Leben eines Missionars*. 3rd ed. (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1925), 5.

his uncle Paul who became a clergyman in the Swedish State Church? His family never really accepted the fact that Hallbeck had joined a – in their eyes – sectarian movement. According to Anshelm, Hallbeck had never received a letter in South Africa from his family in Sweden, not until his 50th year, when his uncle Paul wrote to him. Their stance was representative of the general religious intolerance by the time in Sweden against the free churches. The Lutheran State Church in Sweden held a monopoly on the religious life of the Swedes. However the activities of the Moravians (the so called *Herrnhutare*) started to change things, creeping up northwards from southern cities like Malmö, Karlskrona and Göteborg. Especially the magazines on the world wide mission by the Moravians and the other societies did a lot to awaken the Swedes.

Hallbeck's letters, reports and journals featured prominently in these magazines in the first half of the 19th century. Hallbeck himself perhaps lived with the idea that he has found a new *Heimat* in South Africa, whilst his old fatherland had spit him out, not approving of the religious choice he had made in his life. Yet in a marvellous way history went in such a direction that through his writings Hallbeck became quite influential in his old fatherland. The missionary magazines – translated into Swedish – went from circle to circle and from hand to hand. The mission stations and missionaries in Greenland, South Africa and the West Indies became common knowledge for Swedish readers. An enthusiasm for the mission was awakened. Hallbeck, Fjellsted, Wieselgren and Rahmn became names often mentioned in many Swedish homes and farmsteads.¹⁸⁷² To be the first Swedish missionary in pagan Africa was something that caught the imaginations of his compatriots. They were not only captivated by Hallbeck's encounters with elephants, lions, tigers or snakes, but also and especially by the ardent evangelical Protestant faith he personally professed and preached in the Dark Continent. It was a refreshing experience for the Swedes, captured in a state church that had become a dry orthodox and rationalist institution.

The establishment of the first missionary society in Sweden took place in 1829 in Göteborg.¹⁸⁷³ The central figure in the establishment of this *Swedish Missionary Society* was the Moravian Rev Ephraim Stare, the same person who had such an important influence on the life of Hallbeck. The young Peter Fjellstedt was also involved. Hallbeck – albeit implicitly and from a distance – played a role as well. He became a kind of a 'flagship' figure among missionary minded circles in Sweden. His reports and letters, which were translated from the German *Nachrichten* into Swedish, inspired his compatriots and functioned as a catalyst to awaken more awareness for the mission.

¹⁸⁷² Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt*, Part 1, 12-13, 72.

¹⁸⁷³ Anshelm, *Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck*, Part 1, 15 (footnote 61).

The second *Swedish Missionary Society* was founded in 1835 in Karlskrona, bearing the same name as the first. Until this moment missionary interest in Sweden was largely restricted to the Moravians and the circles connected to them. But the support base of this second society was broader. It consisted of representatives not only of the Swedish Moravians, but also of the Lutheran National Church, as well as Wesleyans. It did not conduct its own mission, but supported other societies, especially the Moravian missions, but also the Basel, London and Wesleyan missions. In the mid 1840's, however, the focus shifted to support a Swedish missionary Theodor Hamberg, sent to China under the Basel Mission. Yet after this attempt proved unsuccessful, they started cooperating with the Leipzig Mission in India.

During this time Lutheran confessionalism gained influence in the Swedish Missionary Society, with a growing number of clergymen of Henrik Schartau's school represented. In 1845 another missionary society was established, the *Lund Missionary Society*. It operated separately from the above-mentioned Swedish Missionary Society. However, after several disappointments, the Lund Society merged with the Swedish Missionary Society in 1856. In the following decade the Schartaunians successfully moved the whole society in a more confessionalist direction, leading, in 1866, to the discontinuation of cooperation with the Basel Missionary Society, which they considered too Reformed. The collaboration with the strictly Lutheran Leipzig mission was continued. In 1876 the Swedish Missionary Society was taken over completely by the State Church, becoming the *Church of Sweden Mission*. After forty years nothing remained of the free- and low-church character of the Swedish Missionary Society, being marginalised completely by the high-church. Meanwhile the free- and low-church movements developed new initiatives, like the *Evangelical Fatherland Association (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen)* in 1861. However, many people from the free- and low-church movements emigrated to the United States.

As noted, Peter Fjellstedt was involved with the establishment of the first *Swedish Missionary Society* in 1829 in Göteborg. He was born in 1802 and arrived in 1823 in Lund for his theological studies. Just as was the case with Hallbeck, it was Prof Anders Hylander, who sympathised with the Moravians,¹⁸⁷⁴ who directed his way to become teacher of the Moravian School in Göteborg. He was appointed, in 1826, to the same position that Hallbeck had fulfilled more than two decades earlier. It was also the same Moravian pastor, Rev Ephraim Stare, who had a deep influence on his life. Just like Hallbeck, Fjellstedt had access to his library. Reading the Swedish translation of the *Nachrichten* shaped Fjellstedt's desire to devote himself fully to the worldwide

¹⁸⁷⁴ Hylander made very generous financial contributions to the Moravian mission. Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt*, Part 1, 12-13.

mission. In these *Nachrichten* his compatriot Hallbeck's reports and letters on the mission in South Africa featured prominently.¹⁸⁷⁵

In 1826 Fjellstedt was accepted into the Moravian Society in Göteborg, just as happened with Hallbeck. Fjellstedt's life however did not become devoted to the ministry in the Moravian Church, as was the case with Hallbeck. He went to Basel to receive his missionary training there, after which, according to an agreement between the Basel Mission and English Church Mission Society, he visited London for further preparations. In 1830 he was sent from London to southern India as a teacher, serving the old Danish-Halle mission. Unfortunately his health could not endure the climate and he had to return to Europe in 1835. In 1836 he received a new mission to Smyrna in the Ottoman Empire, but again his health failed him and in 1840 he had to leave. From 1842 until 1843 he served as travelling preacher of the Basel Missionary Society in Switzerland, Germany and France. In 1843 he returned after an absence of fifteen years to Sweden, where he continued to be a travelling preacher.

In a year's time he visited all provinces in Central and Southern Sweden reaching at least a hundred thousand people. He managed to win many for the mission cause, both laity and clergy. In 1847 he started a Mission Institute in Lund with the modest number of two students. After the merger of the Lund and Swedish Missionary Societies, this institute moved to Stockholm. In 1856 the mission institute moved to Uppsala, still only training limited numbers of students, at that stage three. Later he served for a couple of years in Göteborg, but afterwards moved back to Uppsala, where he passed away in 1881.

During the years in Sweden Fjellstedt encountered considerable criticism, especially from the opponents of the revival movements. As a young man Fjellstedt held a very negative impression of the State Church of Sweden. With the exception of a few pastors, he noted, he had not met any true Christian teachers, eager to proclaim the truth that can save souls. Especially the years in Lund were very strenuous, with huge tensions between the high- and low-church adherents. Although Fjellstedt did not devote his life to the Moravian mission as Hallbeck did, he always remained very much indebted to the Moravians.

Fjellstedt also had contacts with the Free Church movement in Scotland and was encouraged by them to work in a similar direction in Sweden. Nevertheless he remained within the State

¹⁸⁷⁵ Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt*, Part 1, 63.

Church.¹⁸⁷⁶ He kept an inclusive approach loyal to the free-church movements but also to the State Church, not succumbing to the high-church pressure. Obviously he was severely criticized by some, but others pointed out that his work rescued a spiritually debilitated State Church. His newsletters reached every corner of the country and had an immense influence, not only as champion for Christian missions both foreign and national (Lapland), but also in bringing back true evangelical spirituality to many Swedes.¹⁸⁷⁷ The Moody revival among Swedish emigrants in the United States that swept back to Sweden, went hand in hand with his work.

Anshelm calls the combination Hallbeck and Fjellstedt the cornerstone of the new awakening around the mission in Sweden. They were prepared to go out to the ends of the earth – from Lapland to the Cape – to spread the Gospel.¹⁸⁷⁸ This missionary movement, with names like Hans Peter Hallbeck and Peter Fjellstedt, taught many Swedes to look across the religious borders of their own country. It awakened in them the realisation that there was a life of more religious freedom outside the borders of their fatherland.

There is certainly a link between the missionary movement in Sweden that started during the first half of the 19th century, and the emigration of hundreds of thousands of Swedes to America starting in the 1840's. The missionary magazines were read predominantly in the so-called pietistic circles, however not exclusively. The pietist groups were located especially among the agricultural populations in provinces like Skåne and Småland. Most of the emigrants to America also came from these layers of society. It was in these rural areas that the absence of religious tolerance often became unbearable, where the Lutheran State clergy had all the powers – both religious and municipal – in their hands. It is well known that these clergymen were also the strongest discouragers of emigration, warning their parishioners not to risk their souls among foreign heretics. Such was the way Hallbeck's family also thought about him and his choice to join the *Herrnhutare*... But frankly, Hallbeck encountered the opposite outside the often suffocating boundaries of the Swedish State Church. He experienced a blossoming spiritual life, as did the thousands of Swedish emigrants to America. Many of them were part of the Moody revival in

¹⁸⁷⁶ David M. Gustafson, *Moody and Swedes: Shaping Evangelical Identity among Swedish Mission Friends 1867–1899* (Linköping: Department of Culture and Communication Linköping University, 2008), 44.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Carl Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt I. Hans Barndoms- och Ungdomstid samt Untländska Missionsverksamhet* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1930).

Carl Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt II. Hans Verksamhet i Hemlandet för den Yttre Missionen* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1935).

Carl Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt III. Hans Verksamhet för Kyrilig Väckelse och Inre Mission 1850-1881* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1937).

Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, s.v. *Peter Fjellstedt*.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Anshelm, *Peter Fjellstedt*, Part 2, 14.

Chicago a few decades later. This revival even swept back to Sweden, leaving an indelible mark on Sweden's religious history.¹⁸⁷⁹

It goes too far to credit or blame (depending on one's viewpoint) Hallbeck for all these events. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that he stood at the cradle of major religious developments in Sweden that took place during the 19th century. These developments changed the religious map of Sweden for good. His writings, published in Swedish mission magazines and widely read, form one important link in this chain of events.

Hallbeck died thousands of kilometers from where he was born in Malmö, Sweden, at the age of 56. The last 23 years of his life he devoted to South Africa, which became his new *Heimat*. A year before his death he wrote, quoting the words of the apostle Paul: *I forgot what is behind me, and press towards what is ahead of me – a very striking description of my heart's sentiment. The amenities of the Heimat and obligations of my office pull me forward with irresistible power... O may I always keep this attitude on the great journey of life through the time towards eternity! How wonderful will it be then in the future, how inexpressibly blessed will be the end!*¹⁸⁸⁰

Genadendal indeed became his *Heimat*. One month before his death he wrote: *Our gardens and orchards are standing in their full splendour, and it is a pure delight to view our beautiful valley from the hill and to stroll through outstretched garden corridors. We are all healthy and well.*¹⁸⁸¹

In the Genadendal old cemetery he was buried, where his grave is until this day, with a flat tombstone according to Moravian tradition, with the inscription:

“Hans Peter Hallbeck Bisschop der Broederkerk Geboren te Malmo in Sweden d 18 Maart 1784 en Ontslapen alhier d 25 Nov 1840”

(Hans Peter Hallbeck Bishop of the Brethren Church Born in Malmo in Sweden d 18 March 1784 and Passed on here d 25 Nov 1840).

¹⁸⁷⁹ Gustafson, *Moody and Swedes: Shaping Evangelical Identity among Swedish Mission Friends 1867–1899*.

¹⁸⁸⁰ “Ich vergesse was dahinten ist, und strecke mich zu dem, was da vorne ist’ – als eine besonders treffende Beschreibung der Stimmung meines Herzens. Die Annehmlichkeiten der Heimath und die Obliegenheiten meines Amtes zogen mich mit unwiderstehlicher Gewalt unablässig vorwärts ... O wer doch immer so gesinnt wäre auf der großen Lebensreise durch diese Zeit der Ewigkeit entgegen! Wie herrlich würde es dann vorwärts gehen, wie unaussprechlich selig das Ende sein!” *Nachrichten* (1840), 886.

¹⁸⁸¹ “Unsere Gärten u. Obstgärten stehen jetzt in ihrer Pracht, u. es ist eine wahre Lust, unser schönes Thal von den Anhöhen zu überschauen, u. zwischen den immer weiter sich ausdehnenden Gartenfluren zu wandeln. Uebrigens sind wir alle gesund u. Wohl” Letter Hallbeck to JC Breutel, Oct 21st 1840 (HA); *Nachrichten* (1841, 312). Cf. also letter Hallbeck to Breutel, Nov 4th 1839 (HA).



(Silberbäume.)
(Blauer Gummbäume)

Großer Berg
Gärten u. Wirtschaftsbauwerke der Mission.

Gärten der Mission.
Begräbnisplatz.

Wohnungen der Missionare.
Ochsen- u. Schafkraal der Mission.

Kirche.
Klein-Kinder-schule.

Schullehrer-Seminar, Gasthof.
Häuten an der Seite Getrockneter
Eichentenne.

Nordöstlicher Teil (Haus) des Dorfs.

Donnersberg

J. W. Stahl, fec. 1854.

GNADENDAL

in der Pfirsich- und Birnbäumblüthe im September.

Genadendal during the blossoming of the peach- and peartrees (1854) (for legenda see opposite side)

In Herrnhut Archive.

Noted below the picture:

“Gnadenthal in der Pfirsich- und Birnbaumblüthe im September.”

“D.W. Suhl fec. 1854.”

“(Silberbäume.) (Blaue Gummibäume.) Grosser Berg. Garten- u. Wirtschaftsgebäude der Mission. Garten der Mission. Begräbnissplatz. Wohnungen der Missionare. Ochsen- u. Schafkraal der Mission. Kirche. Kleinkinderschule. Schullehrer-Seminar. Gasthof. Haufen an der Sonne getrockneter Backsteine. Nordöstlicher Theil (kaum $\frac{1}{3}$) des Dorfs. Donnersberg”

Appendix 1: Correspondence between Hallbeck and the government about the Rusticus-episode, as well as the ensuing update of the Rules & Regulations by Hallbeck¹⁸⁸²

“Copy of a correspondence in the Commerce Advertiser regarding the Institution of Genadendal with same remarks.

1. In the Advertiser of the 12th Aug 1826 appeared a letter in the Dutch language, of which the following is a translation

To the Editor of the South Africa Commercial Advertiser.

Sir. – In the Chronicle of the 11th July I read the following statement: - “A Savings’ bank has been established at Genadendal on a plan, which promises to be of great utility to the Hottentots. In behalf of the fund we understand that Paul Tate Esq. has presented a handsome donation.”

It is fortunate, that some assistance is afforded to the great number of people (Schepsels) at Genadendal, else we should this year hear of great misfortunes in that place. The Hottentots there are extremely poor. A few days ago some Hottentots of Genadendal told me, that they find it impossible to subsist there, for their poverty is unbearable; but their Masters that is, the Missionaries are growing rich. They added: The Hottentots of Genadendal have always escaped the gallows, but this year we fear it will be otherwise.. If the Canteen of wine and brandy kept by one of the Missionaries, shall not be closed, all the presents, which are given to the Hottentots, will not relieve them for the Hottentots are so addicted to drunkenness, that when they possess one schelling they have thirst to the amount of a Rix dollar. The Missionaries must have a handsome profit by their Canteen, for they tap at least 25 a 30 Leaguers of wine, and 4 a 5 Leaguers brandy per year, and all is bought by the Hottentots, and also by travellers; for there is in Genadendal a ... Lodging house / over which one of the Missionaries has the inspection; both for Gentlemen and the lower classes. There is also a public shop in which all foreign goods coarse & fine, large & small are sold. – The poor canteen holders & Shop-Keepers, even the poor widows in the colony are obliged to take out a licence at a high price. But I do not believe, that the Missionaries at Genadendal or New Years river have got one, for I can hardly believe that such people should venture to ask for one. An institution has also been established on the New Years River by Caledon, where there is a watermill, which is very profitable to the Missionaries. A large vineyard has also been planted there from which they will shortly derive great profit, but it is the worst place in the Colony for the Hottentots. – Do we not see an instance at Zuurbraak beyond Zwellendam, where there has also been an Institution. – Mr Seidenfaden lives like a prince on his purchased estate, but the Hottentots are struggling with poverty. – Yet the Missionaries are bold enough to tell their visitors, that the farmer is the cause, that the Hottentots are so poor. – This may suffice for this time perhaps some one may answer me, which will give me an opportunity to give You more information. I have the honor &c. (sign) Rusticus.

¹⁸⁸² Cf. GA I4e12a-f: Briewe aan/van H.P. Hallbeck; van/aan Gouverneur Plasket; Korrespondensie in com. Advertiser. 1826/7.

2. Under the impression that the falsehoods might prove injurious notably to this establishment, but also to the Missionary cause in general, if passed over in silence, the following reply was inserted in the Comm. Advertiser of Sept 2, 1826.

To the Editor of the South African Comm. Advertiser

Sir, Though I am unwilling to introduce myself to the Public, yet I feel it my duty, to correct and contradict the unfounded statements regarding this Institution, contained in a communication signed "Rusticus" in Your paper of Aug 12th.

The poverty of our neighbourhood and consequently also of the Hottentots, after such frequent failures of the crops is notorious; but it is just as well known that none, who will and can work need suffer hunger, or commit crimes, which will bring him to an untimely end. And those who are unable to work are not left destitute here.

It is not true that the Missionaries of Genadendal are growing rich. Though they endeavour to encourage industry & to set the example themselves, none of them can thereby increase his property by one single thing, as everyone will know who is acquainted with the Missions of the Brethren Church.

Nor is the Society getting rich since we are not only furnished with most of the materials and tools which we want for our trades from Europa, but also obliged to draw bills on England to a considerable amount.

There is no Canteen in Genadendal; but according to the same regulation, by which the several Missionary families have but one kitchen and dine at one table for which they will, no doubt, be accused of keeping a public eating house without a licence, they have also but one wine store, out of which they and the people they employ, are served at stated hours of the day.

The greatest quantity consumed in a year is 16 leagues of wine and 2 leagus of brandy, and as there are on an average 40 Adults to be supplied daily, including the Missionaries and the Hottentots employed by them (besides which the Missionaries at Elim & Hemel en Aarde also occasionally fetch their wine here) anyone who will take the trouble to calculate will find, that there is nothing left to supply a Canteen. – Of all the visitors who have seen Genadendal, the informer is, no doubt, the only one who has discovered the Canteen and its concomitant evils – riot and drunkenness.

That there is a lodging-house in Genadendal is well known. But the insinuation, that it is a source of emolument to the Institution is false, for the fact is, that it is a losing concern. But as it is a convenience to ourselves, and we trust, also to the travellers, we readily submit to this sacrifice, and only lament, that we have not the means to render the house more comfortable to those, who honor us with their visits.

There is no other public shop in Genadendal, than that of hardware manufactured on the spot. But care is taken, that the Hottentots can be supplied with the needful articles of clothing at a reasonable price.

However the whole stock of what Rusticus calls all foreign goods, coarse and fine, large and small – is contained in a chest, standing in a small sleeping room of one of the Missionaries.

It is true there is a water mill in Elim, on the New years River, which is an advantage not only to the Missionaries, but also to the Hottentots and to the whole neighbourhood and I am not afraid of telling Rusticus that it is under consideration to improve that mill, as is now done with that of Genadendal. But it

is not true, that a large vineyard is planted at that station, nor is there any intention of ever doing it. There are only a few vines in the middle of the garden of the Missionaries, by which they hope to supply their table with grapes.

As to the fitness of Elim for a Missionary station, that is a matter of opinion, and I can tell Rusticus, that all the farmers, who are acquainted on the spot, with whom I have spoken on the subject, are of opinion, that it is the most eligible spot in the whole district.

From the above statement of facts, which will bear the minutest scrutiny, the Public will know what kind of Informer Rusticus is, and that I am justified in declaring, that no further notice will be taken of whatever he may think proper to advance nor indeed of any similar communications.

Our Missions were flourishing and we had Missionaries as they ought to be at a time, when we were standing alone, objects of scorn & calumny, and strangers to that public applause, which much against our wish, has fallen to our share of late, and which has naturally raised the voice of envy. And we trust, that we are not yet so far degenerated, as not to be able to share in the sufferings of our ancestors with silent, but conquering patience, conscious that our motives are pure & our proceedings disinterested.

I am Sir H.P. Hallbeck

Genadendal

22d. Aug. 1826

3. In no. 71 of the Commercial Advertiser the following would-be reply to the preceding statement was inserted.

Sir, Some time ago a letter appeared in Your paper (in answer to one of mine) signed Hallbeck to which I returned an answer, that has not yet been inserted, and as there exists a notion here, that Mr Hallbeck's letter accuses me of untruth, I beg You will grant me an opportunity of defending my ... and of supporting the assertion made by me relative to the Moravian Missionaries.

First, then Mr. Hallbeck says, that the water mill at Genadendal is for the benefit of the inhabitants (*) this is so far true, when they get the proper measure of their flour back. The poor Hottentots are the worst off for it, because they get for a quarter (scheffel) of what no more than one quarter of flour, the Missionaries therefore gain from these people upon each four quarters or one third of wheat two quarters of flour; each quarter of flour calculated at 3 Rds makes upon each Muid 6 Rsd - a fine profit indeed, which the Pastors of the Hottentots make. Who then is the cause of the poverty of the Hottentots? Is it still the farmer, who has so unjustly been accused? Let the Hottentots themselves speak, and say, to what farmer they have been obliged to do at Genadendal, while not a single load of wheat has been purchased by their Pastors from the farmer for 300 Rsd:

Secondly, let the Hottentots say in what manner the clothes, sent out to them from Europa, have been distributed.

*So it is, but where does Mr. Hallbeck say this either first or last in the preceding letter?

Thirdly, Mr Hallbeck says, there is no Canteen at Genadendal, then perhaps, there is a Taphouse, as any one, during the week as well as on Sundays may drink a dram for a dubbeltje, sold by one of the Missionaries, as was seen by me and other witnesses on Feast days. That Taphouse is very detrimental to the Hottentots.

Fourthly He says there is no public shop, but a small apartment, containing only a chest. That same apartment, I suppose, contains their Medicines, sold by them to the public?

Fifthly, About the New Years River. Mr Hallbeck refers to the farmers. Let him name the person, who says that it is a good spot: everyone will agree with me, that it is the worst place, that could have been chosen for an institution. It is true however that they may have there a good mill and a Canteen. If Mr Latrobe, upon whom Mr H. relies, had taken care of the interests of the Hottentots, for which purpose it was said he was sent out, he would have done much better, than by publishing such falsehoods in his work: he greatly injured several respectable inhabitants who have and still do receive every gentleman hospitably. I had almost forgotten the 16 leaguers of wine. That number I think is made at Genadendal itself; but let Mr. Faure & Mr du Toit say, how many leaguers were purchased from them by the Missionaries.

Sixthly Mr Hallbeck says, that his statement will be a scrutiny, when the public will know what kind of informer "Rusticus" is and that he is justified in declaring, that no further notice will be taken of him. ... language for a man bearing the name of a Missionary, and yet the protector of a Shop, a Mill, an Apothe.ary and a Canteen. Nothing would please me more than that a judicial inquiry made into these circumstances. The public would then be able to judge, who would fall short of the truth, Mr Hallbeck or I, who subscribe my self. Rusticus.

Nov. 14th 1826

Remarks on the above letter.

Though any one, who chooses to compare the above letters will find, that R. instead of defending his character and supporting his assertions is only labouring to repeat refuted falsehoods or to invent new ones, which are in themselves altogether absurd, yet a few remarks may perhaps not be superfluous. The great concourse of customers in the mill of Genadendal, among whom strange to tell, is the famous R. himself, is sufficient proof, that the people are not cheated. It were a strange inforsatuation indeed, if the inhabitants of Caledon where there is a good mill and many farmers at a much greater distance should pass by several mills along their road, as they really do, and subject themselves to the trouble & frequently danger of crossing the river Zonderend for no other purpose, but that they may have the pleasure of being cheated in Genadendal.

But passing strange as would appear this conduct of Rusticus & the farmers, it is infinitely more unaccountable, that the Missionaries should combine to cheat the Hottentots in the manner stated by R; and that the Hott. should submit to such imposition, when they are at liberty to grind their corn wherever they please, and moreover possess two hand mills in the place and may make as many more as they choose. The only way of explaining this difficulty is, that all the inhabitants of this valley – both

Missionaries & Hottentots are running mad – an accusation, which R. may perhaps still have in store for us. It is indeed just as probable, as many of the charges advanced.

But the fact is that the Hottentots pay no more for grinding their corn, than the farmers. It is left to their option to pay in money or in Kind, according to the price of the grain for the time being. When they bring less than a Schepel, such small quantities can of course not be ground separately, but they receive the full value of their grain in flour, subtracting only the usual allowance for grinding. Indeed, in these exchanges of flour for grain frequently nothing whatever is taken for grinding.

That the Hottentots have been obliged to pay 3 Rsd for a bucket (Eimer) of flour is another fabrication by Rusticus. The highest price this year has been Rsd and that at a time, when wheat cost 25 a 26 Rds per mud here. But the Hottentots have hardly purchased any wheaten flour at all, and have been well content, when they could afford to have barley meal.

I had almost forgotten to notice a strange blunder in R's calculation. He says that the Hott. are robbed of 2 Schepels of flour on each mud, & that each bucket or ½ Schepel is sold at 3 Rsd. This would of course make a profit not of 6 Rsd, but of 12 Rsd per mud!!!

What R. or the Hottentots have to say about the distribution of the clothes sent to them from Europe, I am at a loss to guess. But as it is evident, that the base calumination means to insinuate, that some dishonest & underhand dealings have taken place, I will simply state, how the case stands.

Mr Latrobe having seen, that so many of the Hottentots were badly clothed, and that their children were in the habit of going almost naked, prevailed on his friends in England to send presents of clothes to our several Missionary stations. Accordingly Genadendal also received its share, and the first and most considerable present, since my arrival in 1818, arrived here in Aug 1820. Of these articles of clothing part was distributed among the old widows and part laid aside and given, as necessity required to lying – in women. But as it was impossible to distribute the wearing appeared generally without doing more mischief than good, since there was not enough to give to everyone, and those who got nothing, would be dissatisfied, add to which the Poor's Cash was embarrassed, owing partly to the absence of all able men on the Caffre-Commando; it was resolved, to dispose of the clothes by sale, that is, for about ⅓ or less of their value & to put the money in the Poo's box, at the same time noting down the names of those who had in this manner been provided, in order that other might have the first chance on a future occasion. – Thus we were not only able to pay the carriage for these old clothes, but a surplus of a couple of 100 Rsd was thrown into the Poor's box, of which a strict account is kept.

This was not done in any underhand manner but was mentioned both in our Diary and in letters, which have been in print before the world for many a year.

In the Diary of Genadendal (v Periodical Accounts, Vol VIII, pag 17.) it is stated: On the 20th (Aug) we had the joy to receive a valuable present of clothing for the use of our poor Hottentots, the gift of some friends in England. On the 28th part of the contents were distributed gratis, and the remainder sold at a low price with the view of purchasing bread for the most necessitous, with the produce of the sale. With grateful hearts, our Hottentots received the presents bestowed upon them, & entreated us in their names, to

return thanks to their ... benefactors, and to say, that they would often remember their kind friends before the throne of grace.

And I myself wrote to the secretary of the Brethrens society for the furtherance of the gospel d.d. 25 Sept 1820. "You will have heard that the fine cases of new & old clothing which You sent to Enon have arrived safe, and on the 26 of Aug we had the satisfaction to receive the case you sent to us. As our poor people, owing to the scarcity of the two preceding years, were in great want of clothing, we immediately set about the distribution. This pleasing duty was committed to me & my wife. After distributing many articles, gratis, to the poor, the remaining were sold, though for a mere trifle, to such as could afford to pay something, & yet were in want, & the many thus collected put into the poors' box for the purpose of giving bread to the hungry. –

We are very thankful, that by this liberal donation we have been enabled to pay off the arrears of the poors' box and have something in hand, so as not to be under the necessity running into debt for some months to come."

In answer to this letter I received one from the Secretary of the Brethrens society &c. d.d. 15 Dec 1820 wherein it is stated: "The manner, in which You distributed the clothing &c I sent you quite meets with my approbation. It was well, to make those, who could do it, pay a moiety for the goods they received."

Since that time similar presents in smaller quantities have been distributed in a similar manner, but of late only small parcels of clothing have been received, which have been given away as presentia to deserving children in the school, or to lying in – women for their babes.

Instead of a reply to the third repeated accusation of Rusticus it might be sufficient to refer to my preceding letter of Aug. 22d but I will however add in corroboration of my former statement, that our rule is and remains, as was resolved in a meeting of all the Missionaries here of March 11th 1826 the minutes of which are entered in a book kept for the purpose, viz: that no wine or brandy shall be sold to any Hottentots, and that no exceptions are made from this rule, but such as are warranted by the very nature of an institution. – As to the testimony of Rusticus, every honest man after having read his own letters, will know, what value to set on it, without any comment of mine.

Whoever will take the trouble to refer to my letter, will find, that Rusticus in his fourth remark perverts my words. – Regarding the sale of medicines, I can only say, it is a barefaced falsehood. For nearly 9 years the chest of medicines has been under my care, and during this time the Hottentots have always accord. to our rule, been supplied gratis, and instance have also occurred, when assistance has been afforded to a suffering neighbour. But this assistance has always been gratuitous, and I challenge Rusticus & the whole neighbourhood, to mention a single instance, when any money or other remuneration has been given or accepted for medicines.

The time will come, we trust, when we shall be able to make 16 leaguers of wine and more, but hitherto we have been content, whenever vineyards have hielded $\frac{2}{3}$ of that quantity, & what we have fallen short of our yearly consumption has been purchased of Mr Faure & Mr D du Toit.

All the charges of Rusticus are invented to prove, that the proceedings of the Missionaries are dictated by self-interest, and that they are rather the oppressors, than the friends of the Hottentots. It would be very

easy, not only to disprove this bold calumny, but by a host of undeniable facts to establish the very reverse of this accusation. But we do not like to be the trumpeters of our own fame, as long as it can be avoided, and the Colonial Government, nay, I venture to say, the Public generally knows too much of our conduct from the beginning of this Mission to this very day, to be misled by such a writer as Rusticus.

We only regret to perceive, that several of our ... Hottentots, who are unable to judge for themselves, by the mean attempts of Rusticus are filled with suspicion, distrust & even enmity against us whereby they not only render themselves guilty of an instance of ingratitude, to which in the midst of an ungrateful world there is hardly a parallel, but also frustrates our best endeavours for promoting their welfare & Happiness.

Genadendal, Dec. 20th 1826

H.P. Hallbeck

Genadendal, Dec 29th 1826

To The Honorable Sir

R. Plasket.

Sir,

For the information of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor I beg leave to enclose Copy of a certain Correspondence in the South African Commercial Advertiser with remarks thereon by which it will appear that the Missionaries here are shamefully calumniated by an anonymous writer.

As far as they are personally concerned they are inclined to pass over the circumstance in silence, convinced that unmerited calumny will do them no essential harm. But they perceive with regret & sorrow, that these calumnies have a hurtful influence on the weak minds of several of the Hottentots, and threaten to become injurious to the peace & prosperity of the place. Hence they consider it their duty to make known their difficulties to His Honor the Lieut. Governor, humbly requesting His Honor to consider their case and to adopt such measures for their protection, as His Honor shall deem meet.

In making this application it is for the present not my wish, that legal measures should be taken against the Calumniator, but I conceive, that without adopting that course, which I am not at liberty to do without previous communication with our Directors at home, measures may be taken, whereby much harm may be prevented.

I have the honor &c. H.P. Hallbeck

Colonial Office 12 Jan 1827

To: The Rev.d Mr. Hallbeck

Genadendal

Sir

I have submitted to His Honor the Lieut. Governor Your letter of the 29th ultimo requesting that measures may be adopted by this Government to protect the Missionaries at Your Institution from certain imputations which have been cast upon them in the South African Commercial Advertizer.

The Lieut. Governor has desired me to inform You, that the confidence which He places in all the arrangements of the Missionaries at Your Institution is too well founded, to be shaken by the assertions of any anonymous writer, and if the continued kindness, which You exercise towards the Hottentots fails to conciliate their good will and secure their confidence, He does not know, how it can be accomplished. His Honor has further desired me to inform You, that if You will point out, what steps You wish good to take to prevent the evils You complain of, Your suggestion shall be taken into immediate consideration.

I have the honor to be &c

Rich. Plasket

Secretary to Gov.

Colonial Office

17 February 1827

To: The Reverend H.P. Hallbeck

Genadenthal

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th ... submitting for the consideration of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor certain measure which you are desirous of being adopted under the authority of Government, for the better preservation of order and regularity in the Missionary Institution at Genadenthal –

The Lieutenant Governor being sincerely anxious for the success of the Institution under your charge, and having taken into His serious consideration the Statements and suggestions You have offered, He has commanded me to inform You that if you will propose any Rules you may think necessary for the furtherance of the benevolent plans you have in view, and to which You conceive the persons under your Superintendence may be disposed to pay a voluntary obedience – and if such Rules do not supersede the

law of the Colony, he will find no difficulty in approving of them, but the penalty of an infraction of these Rules can be nothing more than the withdrawing from the ... the benefits of the Institution.

If, however, in consequence of so many persons being brought together in one Spot, you are of opinion that any measure of Police, beyond these voluntary obligations, is required, it must be founded upon the known Laws of the Colony, and under the Superintendance of the established order of Magistrates. For this purpose His Honor will have no objection to appoint an additional Field Cornet or a Special Heemrad for Genadenthal and its vicinity, and such person may be taken from the lay members of the Society or from the Colonists as shall be deemed most desirable. – But He does not approve of establishing under the authority of Government any privileges or secular form of Administration for Missionary Institutions. With respect to your supplying the Members of the Institutions with such Articles of food, wine or clothing as they may require His Honor has further desired me to inform you that he does not see any objection thereto. And He will very readily grant the necessary Licences gratis for this purpose to any persons you may name.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your obedient Servant

Rich. Plasket

Secr. To Gov.

Genadental, 9th March, 1827

To: The Honor. Sir R. Plasket

Sec. to Govt.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your letter of the 17th ult. in which His honor the Lieutenant Governor is pleased to allow me to lay before Him such rules, as are considered necessary for the maintenance of order and regularity in this Institution, & to name persons, who may furnished with licences in order to enable them to attend, without molestation, to such outward concerns of the Institution, for which licences are required.

Impressed with a deep sense of gratitude for the kind & patient attention, which His Honor the Lieut. Governor is pleased to bestow on the concerns of this Establishment, I have availed myself of His Honor's kind permission, of proposing for His sanction the needful rules, and I have now the honor to enclose three documents on the subject marked No. 1,2 &3.

Number 1. Contains the Rules of the Institution as they have existed from the beginning of the Establishment & were revised & agreed to in 1816. – But as several points, always acted upon & acknowledged as rules by every inhabitant, are therein omitted, & the rules regarding Church fellowship &

outward affairs are thrown together somewhat irregularly, besides which the present more advanced state of the Hottentots required alteration in the superintendence of the Establishment, it has been considered necessary to draw up the rules anew, which has accordingly been done, as will be seen by No. 2&3, the former containing these rules in the Dutch language, as they were, after mature consideration by the Missionaries & Overseers, read word by word in a general meeting of all adult Men, & unanimously agreed to on the 5th instant, and the latter being, as I flatter myself, a faithful translation of the same in English, both being signed by request & on behalf of the meeting by the 7 Missionaries who were present.

These proposed rules do not interfere with the affairs of Government, which never can be our wish, they have for their only object to improve the character of the inhabitants of the places & to preserve order & peace with as little restraint & inconvenience to Individuals as possible; they are moreover to all intents & purposes a voluntary Brotherly Agreement, as will be seen by the last paragraph, & hence I confidently hope, that they will meet with the approbation of His Honor the Lieut. Governor.

The two first Chapters contain in substance the same as the old regulations, only differently arranged. In adding a separate Chapter on the Superintendance of the Institutions, by which (instead of the old practice of throwing every little thing on the Missionaries, for the settling of which they were in many instances less qualified than some of the Hottentots) more is entrusted to the Overseers, it has been our object, to diminish the occasions, by which the ill will of the one or the other is so easily, tho undeservedly excited against the Missionaries, to give the people more facility to be thoroughly acquainted with all our proceedings, by which we have no doubt, the mutual attachment & confidence will be strengthened, to endeavour to revise their character, by awakening a spirit of laudable ambition amongst them, & giving an additional stimulus to morality & industry. – This object, I am most happy to say, has in some measure been obtained by the mere communication of the plan, & I have no doubt will be daily more realized, if, as I hope, the rules are sanctioned by Government & properly acted upon.

When this is done, I am of opinion, that we shall, at least for the present & for a long time to come, be able to preserve order without the usual coercive means, & without an additional Field Cornet or Special Heemr. for this place.

I have only to add, that Mr. David Luttring is willing to take upon himself the duty of supplying the members of the Institution, when required with articles of food & clothing, & with wine in as far or much is necessary for the welfare of the Hottentots & the preservation of order. & I therefore humbly pray that the needful licence or licences, which His Honor the Lieut. Governor has been pleased to promise, may be granted to him.

I have the honor &c.

HP Hallbeck

Colonial Office

16th March 1827

To: The Revd Mr Hallbeck

Sir,

I have submitted to the Lieut. Governor your letter of the 9th Instant, with the accompanying Rules & Regulations which you have drawn up for the management of the Institution placed under your charge. His Honor desires me to acquaint you in reply that He can have no hesitation in giving His sanction to Regulations which appear to him to have been drawn up with so much prudence and discretion, and which, without interfering in any way with the Laws of the Colony, seem to be extremely well adapted for the humane & beneficial object of the Institution.

The Lieutenant Governor trusts they will be attended with the happiest results – and that whilst they reflect so much credit on yourself and the other Members of the Institution, they will be equally advantageous to those Natives who have voluntarily submitted to them – and for whose welfare and gradual improvement they have been solely established.

I have the...

Sir Richard Plasket

P.S. the Lieutenant Governor has authorized a License to be made out in the name of Mr David Luttring for the sale of such articles as may be deemed necessary for the wants of the Institution.”

Appendix 2:

Rules and Regulations of Elim (1824)

In Genadendal Archive in Dutch:

“Ordeningen der Gemeente te Elim

Inleiding

In het Jaar 1824 wierd voor reekening van de Zending Diakony der vereenigten Broederen en voor de middelen dezer Diakony de plaatse Vogelstruis Kraal gekocht. Het Oogmerk daarby was, aldaar onder de bestiering der Broeder gemeente eene Zending aantevangen, dat is, door de Missionarissen der gezd. Gemeente het Evangelium te verkondigen, en zulken Zielen (voornaamlyk onder de Hottentotten) die een Verlangen hebben zich te bekeeren en naar het woord Gods en de Ordeningen der Broeder Kerk te leven, eene woonplaats te verschaffen, waar sy ongestoort te zamen leven kunnen.

Terwyl noe tot bereiking van dit Oogmerk bepaalde regelen noodig zyn, zoo zyn de eerste bewoonderen van deze plaats over nastaaende Ordeningen overeenkomstig gewoorden, en hebben zich verbonden, niemand hoegenamd als inwoonder alhier aanteneemen, die zich niet verplicht, daarna te leven.

Deze Ordeningen zyn dus geene Wetten of Voorschriften der Leeraars aan hunner Leerlinge; maar een broederlyk Overeenkomst tuschen alle Inwoonderen van de plaats, welken zy alle, zoo wel Leeraars als Leerlingen, gelek onderworpen zyn, en in de obregthouding waarvan zy gelyk belang hebben. Waarvan dan ook volgt, dat aan wien ook het waken over de waarning dezer Ordeningen aanbehouwd is, niet deze Persoonen, maar de Ordeningen in de Gemeente regeeren; verders dat in deze Inzettingen niets kan verandert of bygevoegd worden buiten de toestemming der Gemeente, en de goedkeuring van de Directie der Broeder Uniteit, onder wiens bestiering te staan wy als een Kostelyk Vorregt oordeelen.

- I. Van den Godsdienst en de Christelyke Plichten in't Algemeen.
 1. De heilige Schrift is de eenigste grondregel en proefsteen onzer Leere en onzes Levens, en wy zyn daarom verplicht, daarover te waken dat het Woord Gods rein en zuiver onder ons geleerd word.
 2. Wy betrachten het als eenen heilige Plicht, alle onder ons tot onderwys en stichting ingestelde Verzamelingen getrouw en met eerbied als voor Gods Oogen te bezoeken, en dat om zoo meer, terweil het grootste gedeelte van de Gemeente uit de zulken bestaat, die eertyts onweetende Heidenen waren, en die daarom dagelyksh Onderwys van nooden hebben.
 3. Voornaamlyk willen wy daarop zien, dat de Zondag onder ons niet ontheiligt, maar als een dag des Heeren tot stichting voor onse zielen behoorlyk gebruikt worde.
 4. Wy willen met alle zorgvuldigheid daarover waken, dat de heilige Doop en het heilige Avondmaal naar de Voorschrift der heilige Schrift onder ons gehouden, en van niemand onwaardiglyk gebruikt worden.
 5. Wy moeten bereid zyn tot verantwoording van de hope, die in ons is; maar in nutteloose twistige zamensprekingen met Menschen van andere Gezindheden willen wy ons niet in laten. Veelmeer

willen wy met alle Menschen, die de Geboorte uit God door den heiligen Geest ondervonden hebben, en welke wy als Kinderen Gods en als Broeders in Christo aanzien, in Liefde en Geestesgemeenschap leven.

6. Daarby zyn wy voor onze nadere Verbinding met de Broedergemeente van harte dankbaar, en willen dezelve als een Kostelyk Kleinood zorgvuldig zoeken te onderhouden; en dierhalven niemand als Leeraar onder ons aanerkennen, die niet door de Dierecktie der Broeder Uniteit daartoe beroepen is.
7. Wy houden het School Onderwys onzer Kinderen van het grootste belang, en willen daarvoor zorgen, dat zy dit Voorregt mogen genieten en zich hetzelfde getrouw ten nutte maken.
8. Het is niet genoeg, dat het woord Gods zuiver en rein onder ons geleerd wordt, maar wy zyn verplicht, heilig als de Kinderen Gods naar hetzelfde te leven, volgens de woorden Petri: Gelyk hy, die U beroepen heeft, heilig is, zoo woord ook Gy zelve heilig in allen Uwen wandel. 1. Petr: 1:15. – Daarom willen wy door Gods Genaden ons reinigen laten van alle besmettingen des Vleesches en des Geestes, voleindigende de heiligmakinge in de Vreeze Gods. 2 Cor. 7.1.
9. Het verdienstlyk Leven, Lyden en Sterven Jesu is de eenigste bron, waar uit alle Kracht tot eenen Gode welbehagelyken wandel voortvloeit; daarom is ons het woord van't kruis zoo groot en gewigtig, terwyl wy in de overdenking van Jesu pyn het Krachtdadigste bewaarmiddel vinden tegen de bedroeg der zonde, en de sterkste dryf-veer tot een heilig leven.
10. Wy verfoeyen niet alleen den openbaren Afgodendienst (die gelukkig onder ons onbekend is), maar ook alle soorten van Bygeloof, die daaruit gesproten zyn, als Tovery en andere heidenische dwaasheden.
11. Niet minder afschuwelyk is ons het misbruik van den heilige Naamen Gods, waarvan het woord Gods zegt: De Heere zal niet onschuldig houden, die zynen naam ydelyk gebruikt 2 Mos: 20:7.; daarom willen wy alles vloeken, zweeren en ligtzinig gebruik van den Naam Gods op het zorgvuldigste vermyden.
12. Daartegen willen wy onder het gevoel van onze menschelyke zwakheid, en in overweging der menigvuldige Gevaren voor ziel en ligchaam, die ons omgeven, den Naam des Heeren in't Gebed geloovig aanroepen naar de woorden des Apostels: Houdt sterk aan in't Gebed, en waakt in 't zelve met dankzegginge. Col. 4:2. Huis aandachten worden allen Inwoonderen dezer plaats ten hoogste aanbevolen.
13. Wy zyn verplicht alle Menschen en voornaamlyk onze Broeders en Zusters in Christo van harte lief te hebben, en wy willen dus geen Menschen aan Ziel of Ligchaam Schade aandoen, maar veelmeer zyne welvaart zoo veel mogelyk zoeken te bevorderen. Daarom willen wy ook over wandel waken, op dat wy niemand ergeren, maar veelmeer onze Medemensen tot stichting zyn.
14. De woorden des Apostels: Niemand zoeke, dat zyer zelfs is, maar een iegelyk zoeke, dat des andern is, 1. Cor. 10:24. moeten onze grondregel zyn en blyven in alle verhandelingen met onze

Even naasten, dat is, wy willen onze Medemenschen niet benadeelen om daardoor voordeel te maken, want de Liefte zoekt haarzelfven niet. 1. Cor. 13:5.

15. Wy houden niet alleen zulke Dingen, welke volgens de Landes wetten strafbaar zyn, als doodslag, dievery, meen eed, bedrog, en diergelyks voor schandelyke Overtreedingen, voor de welke wy ons door de Genade Gods willen laten bewaren; maar wy reekenen ook nyd, bitterheid, toorn, vuyle reden, gevegt, agterklappen, liegen enz. Eph. 4. onder de Werken des Vleesches, van de welke wy ons meer en meer willen laten reinigen.
16. Daartegen willen wy tegen onze Medemenschen dienstvaardig, vreedzaam, weldadig en verzoenlyk zyn, en ons der waarheid der Opregtigheid en der eerlykheid in allen onzen handel en wandel getrouw bevlytigen.
17. Byzonders zyn wy verplicht, allen Vreemdelingen zoo wel in als buten de plaats vriendelyk en beleefd te bejegenen.
18. Wy willen nooit vergeten, dat wy beroepen zyn, om God te verheelyken in onz Ligchaam en in onzen Geest, welke Godes zyn, 1. Cor: 6.20. en dat wy dus onze ziele en ons ligchaam als een eigendom Gods en een tempel des heil: Geestes moeten heilig houden, en daarom alles vlieden, waardoor dezelve ontheilgd en besmet worden, by voorbeeld, hoerery en alle onreinigheid, brassery en dronkenschap, Dacharooken en diergelyks, wel wetende, dat geene hoereerders of ontuchige, noch dronkaards het Koningryk Gods beerven zullen. Gal. 5:21.
19. Wy oordeelen ons zelve verplicht, alles getrouw waarteneemen, wat tot de Gezondheid dient, waartoe voornaamlyk reinlykheid aan ons Ligchaam en in onze wooningen, en ordentlyke Kleeding behooren.
20. Alle Leden onzer Gemeente moeten getrouw en vlytig naar de ordening Gods werken, en zich voor de verderflyke traagheid laten bewaaren. Alle Uuren onzes Levens en alle krachten onzer Ziele en onzes Ligchaams zyn edele gaven Gods, die wy niet misbruiken kunnen, zonder ons eener zware Verantwoordinge bloot te stellen.
21. Wat wy door onze arbeid eerlyk verdiend hebben, willen wy als Gaven Gods aanzien, en dezelve met dankzegging en verstanige matigheid en spaarzaamheid genieten. Van alle Ouders en Huisvaders wordt verwacht, dat zy ten einde deze gevoelens in de gemoederen van hunne kinderen inteprenten, nooit verzuimen, voor en na het eeten te bidden of te zingen.
22. Daarby willen wy zorgvuldig waken, dat wy ons niet in de handelingen des leeftogts inwikkelen en daardoor Schade aan onze ziele leiden, niet vergeten de, dat het woord Gods zegt: Gierigheid is Afgodendienst. Col. 3:5.

II. Van de Overheid.

1. Nademaal de heil. Schrift uitdrukkelyk leert en beveelt: Zyt alle menschelyke Ordeningen onderdanig om des Heeren wille; het zy den Koning, als de opperste Machthebbende; het zy den Stadhouderen, als die van hem gezonden worden, 1. Petr. 2:13; zoo willen wy ons als getrouwe en

gehoorzame Onderdanen aan alle Landes wetten aller willigst onderwerpen, ten zy wy door wettig verkregene Vryheden en Vorregt daarvan ontslagen zyn.

2. In zaken, die voor de resp. Gerechthoven behoren, kunnen en willen wy in onze ordeningen niets voorschryven. Zouden onder ons Overtredingen tegen de Wetten des Landes voorkomen ('t welk God in Genade verhoede!) zoo willen wy zulks niet verbergen, maar aan de resp. Magistraaten daarvan kennis geven.

III. Van den Echtenstaat en de Opvoeding der Kinderen.

1. Den huwelyken Staat willen wy naar het woord Gods als heilig aanzien, en met allen ernst daarop toeleggen, dat alle heidenische en ligtzinige gewoonten en denkbeelden daaromtrent meer en meer uitgeroeyd worden.
2. Van elk eenen Inwoonder dezer plaats, die in den heil. Echten staat treden wil, verwachten wy dat hy deze belangryke schree zeynes levens onder Gebed en als voor de Oogen Gods doe, opdat niemand het ongeluk hebben, naderhand te moeten berouwen, wat hy in ligtzin en uit onzeuivere beweegredenen gedaan heeft.
3. Jonge Menschen kunnen tegen den raad hunner Ouders onder ons niet trouwen.
4. Alle Echtelieden, zy mogen hier getrouwd zyn, of tezamen geleefd hebben, eer zy hier aangenomen wierden, zyn verplicht, zich in hunnen Echtenstaat naar het woord Gods te getragen. Echtbreekers zullen onder ons niet gedulded worden.
5. Het is een hoogst gewigtige Plicht van alle degenen, welke God met kinderen gezegend heeft, of die Kinderen aangenomen hebben, dezelve in de leering en Vermaning des Heeren optevoeden, waartoe behoort, dat zy vroeg met den Heiland bekend gemaakt worden, dat zy aangeleidt worden, de School en de Kerk vlytig te bezoeken, dat zy aan gehoorzaamheid en arbeidzaamheid gewend worden, en dat de Ouders hen niet alleen niet ergeren, maar zoo veel als mogelyk is, oppassen, dat zy niet door anderen geerged worden.
6. Wy houden het voor eene schandelyke ondeugd, wanneer de Jeugd tegen bejaarde Menschen onbescheidenheid en Verachting toonen, daarom willen wy alle moeite doen, dat onze Kinderen en jeugd niet alleen tegen hunne Ouders, maar tegen alle Oude Menschen eerbied en gehoorzaamheid beweyzen.

IV. Byzondere Ordeningen der Gemeente tot Verhoeding van Zielen Schade en tot bevoordering van een God welbehagelyken wandel.

1. Gelyk de gantsche Broeder Uniteit, als een Klein Gedeelte van de Gemeente Christi daartoe beroepen is eene Verzameling van Zielen te zyn, welke leven door het geloof des Zoons Gods, en onder de leiding des heil. Geestes en de Regeering onzes Heilandes Jezu Christi daarna trachten, dit geloof door eenen Gode welbehagelyken wandel en byzonders door eene geheiligde Broederliefde te bewyzen, zoo willen wy ook nooit vergeten, dat alle Inwoonderen van deze plats

dezelve hooge beroeping hebben, en dat het dus onze eerste en wuoigtigste zorg moet wezen, als navolgers Jezu Christi die op't naauwste in liefde verbonden zyn, te leven.

2. Onze Verbinding, als eene Gemeente, grondet zich dus op de woorden Christi: Een is uw Meester, Christus; en Gy zyt alle Broeders. Math. 23:8. – Maar zal deze Verbinding voortduuren, zoo moet ook, zoo veel mogelyk is daar voor gezorgt worden, dat niemand onder ons woonde die dezen zin niet heeft, en dat alles voorgebuigd worde waardoor de Leden der Gemeente van dezen zin afkomen kunnen. Met dit Oogmerk zyn wy over volgende Regelen overeengekomen.
3. Wanneer iemand woenscht hier te komen woonen, zoo worden zyne beweegredenen daartoe grondig onderzoekt, en worden dezelve zuiver bevonden, zoo verzekert hy plegtiglyk voor de verzamelde Leerars, dat hy zich naar het woord Gods en de Ordeningen der Gemeente getragen wil, nadat hem zyne plichten, als Inwoonder alhier duidelyk zyn voor gelegd worden.
4. Daaruit volgt, dat niemand wegens verwantschap met leden der Gemeente of wegens uiterlyke Voordeele voor hem zelve of anderen, enz. onder ons kan worden aangenomen; dus kan ook geen opstal in de plaats aan vreemde Menschen verkocht worden, die noch niet Verlof hebben, om hier te woonen.
5. Wanneer een Inwoonder met iemand buiten de plaats trouwet, zoo kan zyn of haar Echtgenoot uit die rede niet onder ons worden aangenomen, en dus verklaart een ieder door eene zulke schree, dat hy zyn regt tot woonen alhier begeeft.
6. Zouden Menschen die onder bovengemelde Voorwaarde hier aangenomen zyn, zoo ongelukkig worden, van dezen zin aftekomen, zoo kunnen zy slegts zoo lange onder ons gedulded worden, als zy anderen niet tot schade zyn.
7. Dus willen wy ook Kinderen, die onder ons opgroeeyen, met gedult dragen, zoo lange zy zich uiterlyk naar onze Ordeningen gedragen, en geene Verleiders zyn; maar indit geval moeten zy de plaats ruimen.
8. Tot Verhoeding van Verzondiging houden wy het voor hoogst noodig, dat in de Ommegang tusschen Personen van beide Geslachten over de strengste zedelykheid gewaakt worde, byzonders willen wy over onze Kinderen en jeugd op het zorgvuldigste waken, en dezelve zoo weinig als mogelyk zonder opzicht laten.
9. Onnoodige Byeenkomsten van jonge Menschen, vooral 's avonds, kunnen onder geenerley voorwendzel gedulded worden. Ouders en Voormonders moeten daar voor zorg, dat de jeugd die onder hunne berusting is, nooit zonder hunnen voorkennis by anderen overnagten, als waardoor de grootste Onordeningen ontstaan. Wie zulke byeenkomsten in zyn huis duldet en jonge Menschen overnacht opneemt, heeft zulks voor God en de Gemeente te verantwoorden.
10. Evenzoo zal niemand Vreemdelinge in zyn huis mogen opneemen, zonder aan de Leeraars daarvan Kennis te geven.
11. Alle Spelle en Verlostingen, waardoor de onheilige begeerlykheden des harten ontstoken worden, als dansen en diergelyks kunnen onder ons niet geduldet worden.

12. Wanneer jonge Menschen te zamen zyn moeten, als op reizen, by de arbeid, in de oogst, by hout halen enz. zoo moet, zoo veel mogelyk, daarvoor gezorgt worden, dat zy onder opzicht zyn.
13. Wie van andere plaatsen sterken drank herwaards brengt en daardoor Onordeningen in de plaats veroorzaakt, zal als een Verleider aangezien en behandeld worden.
14. Naardien alle Ordeningen, zonder Bestierders nietig zyn, zoo hebben wy het waken over de waareeming van onze Ordeningen en de handhaving onzer Kerktugt aan onze Leeraars aanbetrouwd, en wy willen ons hunne vermaningen en bestraffingen naar het woord Gods en volgens de Regelen onzer Kerktugt willig onderwerpen. Zy zyn dierhalven bevoegt, zulke Leden der Gemeente, die tegen het woord Gods en de Ordeningen handelen van de Private Verzamelingen en het heil. Avondmaal uittesliten of van de plaats weg te sturen, nadat de omstandigheden het een of andere vereischen.
15. Het is weezendlyk noodig tot het welzyn der Gemeente dat de Leeraars, als die beroepen zyn over de zielen te waken, met alle Leden der Gemeente in vertrouwelyke Verbinding staan, en met hunne omstandigheden naauwkeuriglyk bekend zyn. Met dit oogmerk is het Spreken onder ons ingesteld, 't welk zich alle Inwoonderen billig met dankbaarheid ten nutte maken.
16. De onder ons aangestelde Kerkedienaren hebben niet alleen voor ordening en betaamykheid by den uiterlyken Godsdienst te zorgen, maar zyn ook als Helper der Leeraars aantezien, en wy zyn dus verplicht hunne vermaningen en herinneringen in Liefte aanteneemen.
17. Wanneer een Inwonder iets bemerkt, waardoor enkele Leden of de gantsche Gemeente konden Schade lyden, zoo is hy verplicht, den schuldigen te herinneren of anders aan de Kerkedienaren of de Leeraars Kennis daarvan te geven.

V. Overeenkomst der Gemeente omtrent uiterlyke plaatselyke Ordening.

1. De opzicht over uiterlyke Ordening is aan de Leeraars aanbetrouwd, en tot hunne ondersteuning willen wy onder de Leden der Gemeente, zoo dra de omstandigheden zulks toelaten, Opzienders verkiezen, welken wy eerbied en gehoorzaamheid schuldig zyn.
2. Om twist en Onordening voortebuigen houden wy het voor noodig, dat elk eene familie zyne byzondere wooning heeft.
3. Het woord allen Inwoonderen ernstig aanbevolen, duurzame wooningen te bouwen.
4. Het bouwen van huizen staat onder de opzicht van de Leeraars, onder welken een in't byzonder volmagtigd is als Opziender van Gebouwen, wiens' raad de Ingezetene verplicht zyn te volgen, zoo wel by het aan leggen van nieuwe huizen, als wanneer zy hunne wooningen vergrooten willen.
5. Zoo is ook het uitgeven van tuingrond en land aan eenen Leeraar aanbetrouwd, die ook de plicht heeft, daarover te waken, dat de Tuine en het land behoorlyk gebruikt worden. Wie daarom hierin nalatig is, moet herinnerd worden, en indien herinneringen niets baten, moet hy verwagten, dat zyn tuin en land aan andere gegeven worden, terwyl het niet alleen onbetaamyk, maar zelfs voor de aanliggende Buuren schadelyk is, wanneer het land woest ligt.

6. Wie de plaats verlaat, of wegens verzondigingen weggestuurt wordt, heeft vryheid zynen opstal, dat is, zyn huis met al het geen aard en nagel vast is, aan eenen inwonder van de plaats met voorkennis der Leeraars te verkoopen, maar het land kan hy niet als eigendom verkoopen, terwyl hy hetzelfde slegts als vergunning bezit.
7. Zouden Inwoonderen van hier vertrekken, en over hunnen opstal, tuin en land niet disponeerd hebben en zonder kennis van hun verblyf aan de Leeraars te geven, zoo worden tuine en land na verloop van een Jaar aan anderen tot gebruik gegeven, en de Opstal na twee Jaaren, voor hunne reekening verkocht, en het geld, in geval zy geene Erfgenamen hebben, in de Armbus gegeven. – zoude het nagelatene van beduidende waardy zyn, zoo zal niets daarmede gedaan worden, tot dat den afwezigen Eigenaars in het Kaapsche Weekblad kennis daarvan is gegeven worden.
8. Niemand kan huis, tuin of land aan andere Inwoonderen van de plaats verkoopen of verruiten, zonder voorkennis des Leeraars, die daarover opzigt heeft.
9. Het wordt allen Inwoonderen, die Vermogen bezitten, aangeraden, daarover hun Testament te regter tyd te laten maken, opdat geen twist of oneenigheid na hun Afsterven moge ontstaan. Daarby is te bemerken, dat aan Menschen buiten de plaats kunnen geene Aard en nagelvaste Goederen in erfenis gegeven worden.
10. Zoo wel plaatselyke Ordening als de Landes wetten vereischen, dat geen Vreemdeling zonder behoorlyken Pas hier zal mogen overnachten. Daarom is een ieder Huis eigenaar verbonden, niemand in zyn huis opteneemen, tot dat zyn Pas door eenen Leeraar is onderzocht. De Ingezetene moet op den Vreemdeling een waakzaam Oog hebben, opdat door hem geene Onordening in de plaats moge ontstaan.
11. Met Vreemdelinge verstaan wy ook de zulke, die hun voorregt als Inwoonderen alhier, verloren hebben; welke hier niet over nagt blyen kunnen, zonder Verlof van de Leeraars.
12. Het weerzydige bezoeken tusschen onze plaats en Genadenthal, Groenekloof enz, als waardoor de Kostbare tyd verloren gaat en de noodige arbeid by 't huis verzuimd wordt, moet, zoo veel mogelyk is, vorgebuigd worden: Daarom zyn de Leeraars op de verscheidene plaatsen overeenkomstig geworden, zulke bezoekende niet in de plaats te laten overnagten, indien zy niet een schriftelyk Verlof van hunne Leeraars mede brengen.
13. Na de Avond Verzamelingen in de Kerk zal een ieder Inwonder in zyn huis blyven, en niet zonder nood in de plaats rond looben.
14. Wy willen, zoo veel mogelyk is, daarvoor zorgen, dat niemand door nalatigheid, of wel moedwillig Overleg zyner Buuren aan zyn Eigendom Schade lyde, waartoe onder anderen behoort:
 - a., Dat de Tuine wel omheind zyn,
 - b., Dat het Koornland behoorlyk opgepast worde.
 - c., Dat schikkingen gemaakt worden tot oppassen van het Vee, waarby het voordeelagtigste is, eenen algemeenen Beeste wagter te huuren, tot wiens onderhoud, alle die belang daaraan hebben, naar mate van het getal van hun, Vee contribueeren.
 - d., Dat het veld niet in brand gestoken worde, ten zy zulks te voren bekend gemaakt is.

15. Zoude nogthans Schade gedaan worden, zoo zal dezelve door twee of meer ervarene Mannen getaxeerd worden, en wie schuld daaraan is, het zy de Schade is gedaan door hemzelven, zyne Kinderen en Onderhoorige of door zyn Vee, zal verplicht zyn volgens de Taxatie te vergoeden.
16. Geschiedt Schade aan iets, wat aan de Gemeente in 't algemeen behoort, als heining der begraafplaats, plantingen enz. zoo behoort het geen als Schadeloosheid gegeven wordt, in de Armbus.
17. Zouden Inwoonderen van deze plaats over iets oneens worden, zoo zullen zy zich niet in twist en gekyf inlaten, maar van de zaak aan eenige verstandige Mannen of aan de Leeraars Kennis geven, en zich bemoeien, door hunnen goeden raad tot een broederlyk Verglyk te komen.
18. Alle Ingezetene moeten aan algemeene Werken en Lasten gelyken Aandeel neemen, by voorbeeld; de onderhouding van de begraafplaats, het aanleggen en rein houden van Watersloten, Wege maken, Verlichting van de Kerk, Requisitien door de Overheid enz. enz.
19. Iedereen Inwoonder is verplicht, in den omtrek van zyn huis en tuingrond alles schoon en zindelyk te houden. Alles waardoor het water verontreinigd wordt moet zorgvuldig vermieden worden.
20. Wy houden ons verplicht, zoo veel onze omstandigheden toelaten, voor de Arme en Kranke te zorgen. De middelen daartoe moeten uit de Armkas komen, welke daarom allen Leden der Gemeente op het beste aanbevolen wordt.

Besluit.

Deze Ordeningen zullen van tyd tot tyd den verzamelden Inwoonderen voorgelezen worden, opdat geen punt daarvan in Vergetenheid kome. Daarby verwachten wy, dat alle getrouwe Leden der Gemeente onzen lieven Heiland vlytig aanroepen zullen, dat het oogmerk van ons 't zamen wonen ons altoos heilig moge blyven, en de Geest der broederlyken Liefde in alle harten uitgestoort worden. Dan zullen wy onze schoone Inzettingen meer en meer als een Kostelyk Kleinood leeren waardeeren, en daarby ryklyk ervaren, hoe goed en hoe lieflyk het is, dat broeders te zamen wonen, want aldaar gebiedt de Heer zynen zegen en 't leven tot in der Eewigheid Ps 133:1,3."

Appendix 3:

These Regulations – in Dutch as they were adopted in Genadendal – were also sent to Herrnhut (signed by all seven Genadendal missionaries), and accompanied by a Dutch translation of the letter of approval received from the Colonial Office (HA):

Ordeningen des Instituuts te Genadendal (Reviseerd 1827)

Eerste Hoofdstuk Van de Christelijke Leer, Kerkelyke verbinding en Christelijke pligten in het algemeen.

De heilige Schrift is de eenigste grondregel en proefsteen onzer Leere en onzes Levens, en wij zijn daarom als eene Gemeente verplicht, daarover te waken, dat het woord Gods rein en zuiver onder ons moge geleerd worden, en dat de wandel der Leden onzer gemeente daarmede overeenkomstig zy.

Wy betragten het als eenen heiligen pligt, alle onder ons tot onderwys en stigtig ingerigtete verzamelingen getrouw en met eerbied als voor Gods oogen te bezoeken, en dat om zoo meer, terwyl een groot gedeelte van de Gemeente eertyds onwetende Heidenen waren die dagelysch onderwys van noode hebben.

Voornaamlyk willen wy daarop zien, dat de zondag onder ons niet ontheilgd, maar als een dag des Heeren tot stigtig voor onze harten behoorlyk gebruikt worde.

Wy willen met alle zorgvuldigheid daarover waken dat de heilige bondteekenen des Nieuwen Testaments namelyk, de heilige Doop en het heilig Avondmaal naar de voorschrift der heiligen Schrift onder ons gehouden en nooit misbruikt worden.

Wy moeten bereid zyn tot verantwoording van de hope, di in ons is, 1 Pet. 3:15; maar in nutteloose twistige zamensprekingen met menschen van andere gezindheden willen wy ons niet inlaten.

Wy willen met alle Menschen, die de geboorte uit God door den heilige Geest ondervonden hebben, en welke wy als Broeders and Zusters in Christo aanzien in liefde en Geestes gemeenschap leven. Maar wy zyn daarom niet minder dankbaar tegen God voor onze nadere verbinding met de Broedergemeente, en willen dezelves als een kostelyk kleinood zorgvuldig zoeken te onderhouden, en dierhalven niemand als Leeraar onder ons erkennen, die niet door de Directie der Broeder Uniteit daartoe beroepen is.

Wy verfoeijen niet alleen den openbaren Afgodendienst (die gelukkig onder ons onbekend is) maar ook alle soorten van bygeloof, die daaruit gesproten zyn, als tovery en andere daarmede verbonden heidnische dwaasheden.

Niet minder afschuwelyk is ons alles vloeken, zweren en ligtsinnig gebruik van den naam Gods.

Daartegen houden wy het voor onzen pligt en ons voorregt, onder het gevoel van onze menschelyke zwakheid en in overweging der menigvuldige gevaren naar ziel en ligchaam, die ons omgeven, den Naam des Heeren in het gebet aan te roepen. Huis-aandagten worden daarom allen Inwoonderen dezer plaats ten hoogste aanbevolen.

Nademaal de heilige Schrift uitdrukkelijk beveelt: Zyt alle menschelyke ordeningnen onderdanig om des Heeren wille, hetzy den Koning als de opperste Magthebbende, hetzy den Stadhouderen, als die van hem gezonden worden 1 Pet. 2:13,14. Zoo willen wy ons als getrouwe en gehoorzame onderdanen aan alle Landeswetten allerwilligst onderwerpen.

Onze Ordeningen kunnen daarom tegen de wetten der Volksplanting niet strydig zyn, en wy willen niets voorschryven in zaken, die voor de respectie Gerechtshoven behoren. Zouden overtredingen tegen de Landes wetten onder ons voorkomen ('t welk God in genade verhoede!) zoo houden wy ons verplicht, aan de resp. Magistraten daarvan kennis te geven.

Wy zyn verplicht, alle Menschen, zelfs onze vyanden lief te hebben, daarom willen wy geenen Menschen leed aandoen, maar veeleer de welvaart onzer Medemensen naar ziel en ligchaam zoeken te bevorderen.

Daarom willen wy in woorden en werken alles zoeken te vermyden, waardoor wy onzen Naasten ergeren en verleiden kunnen.

Wy houden niet alleen zulke dingen, welke volgens de Landes wetten straffbaar zyn, als doodslag, dievery, meeneed, bedrog en diergelyks voor schandelyke overtredingen, maar wy reekenen ook nyd, bitterheid, toorn, vuyle reden, gevegt, agterklappen liegen en ander de werken der duisternis voor welke wy ons willen laten bewaren.

In allen onzen handel met onze Medemensen moeten wy ons der waarheid en eerlykheid getrouw bevlytigen; wie zynen Naasten bedriegt en benadeelt, verliest daardoor zyne voorregte, als een lid onzer gemeente.

Wy wenschen, zoo veel in ons is, vrede te houden met alle Menschen; wy willen daarom by alle gelegenheden tegen onzen Naasten diensvaardig zyn, en daarna tragten, om naar de voorschrift van Jezus niemand kwaad voor kwaad te vergelden.

Het wordt verwagt van alle Inwoonderen dezer plaats, alle Menschen vriendelyk en bescheiden te ontmoeten, en alle onbescheidenheid en laagheid in woorden en gebaarden te vermyden. Dat is inzonderheid de pligt van de jeugd tegen meer bejaarde Menschen.

Wy oordeelen ons zelve verplicht, alles wat tot de gezondheid des ligchaams dienlyk is getrouw waarteneemen, by voorbeeld, reinlykheid, behoorlyke kleeding, gezonde wooningen enz.

Alle inwoonderen van de plaats moeten getrouw en vlytig naar de ordening Gods werken, en zich voor traagheid laten bewaren.

Daarby willen wy zorgvuldig waken, dat wy ons in de handelingen des leeftogts niet diervoegen inwikkelen, dat wy de gewigtigere belangen der ziele verzuimen.

Wat wy door onzen arbeid eerlyk hebben verdiend, willen wy als gaven Gods aanzien, en dezelve met dankzegging, matigheid en spaarzaamheid gebruiken.

Wy willen nooit vergeten, dat wy beroepen zyn, om God te verheerlyken in ons Ligchaam en in onze Geest, welke Godes zyn, en dat wy daarom verplicht zyn, alle zonden te vlieden, welke Ligchaam en Ziele verontreinigen en bederven, by voorbeeld, hoerery, echtbreuk, brassery, dronkenschap, Dacha rooken enz.

Wy betragten het Huwelyk als een heilige instelling Gods, van weezendlyk belang tot regelmatigheid in de maatschappy; wy houden ons daarom verplicht, ons hierin naar de voorschrift van het woord Gods en naar het gebruik der Christelyke Kerk te gedragen.

Gedoopte Leden onzer Gemeente worden eerst in tegenvordigheid van Missionarissen en de Ouden verloofd, en moeten hun Huwelyk door het verschynen voor de daartoe bepaalde Commissie van Huwelyke zaken wettig laten maken, eer zy in onze Kerk kunnen worden getrouwd.

Zulkelieden, die reeds tezamen gewoond hebben, beloven als zy hier aangenomen worden, zich in het Huwelyk naar de grondzettingen des Christendoms te gedragen, en worden in geval zy tegen hunne belofte handelen, juist zoo behandeld, als of zy wettig getrouwd waren.

Wanneer ongedoopte Inwoonderen alhier in het Echt treden willen, welke niet in de Kerk kunnen getrouwd worden, nog voor de Commissie van Huwelyke zaken verschynen, zoo worden zy, tot vermyding van ongeregeldheden, in tegenwoordigheid van de Missionarissen en hunne Ouders en verwanten, plegtiglyk tezamen gegeven, en hunne verbinding wordt naderhand bekend gemaakt in eene algemeene Byeenkomst der Gemeente. Hun tezamenleven moet juist zoo stipt naar de instellingen der Christelyke Kerk geregeld worden, als of zy wettig getrouwd waren.

Indien een lid onzer Gemeente iemand buiten de plaats op eene geregelde en wettige wyze trouwt, zoo wordt hy daarom van onze gemeente niet uitgesloten, maar het blyft aan de Voorstanders des Instituuts overlaten te bepalen, of zyn echtgenoot, als een inwoonder alhier kan worden aangenomen.

Wie eenen Man of een Wyf neemt op eene ongerelde wyze, of zich aan Echtbreuk schuldig maakt, kan niet een inwoonder van onze plaats blyven, en wie de regelen van kuischheid overtreedt, is der Kerktugt onderhevig; bestaande, naar de omstandigheden, in private of publieke uitsluiten van het heilig Avondmaal en de voorregten van gedoopte Leeden.

Het is een hoogst gewigtige pligt van alle degenen, welke God met Kinderen gezegend heeft, of die Kinderen aangenomen hebben, dezelve in de Leering en vermaning des Heeren optevoeden, waartoe behoort, dat zy in vroege Jaren met hunnen Schepper en Zaligmaker bekend gemaakt worden, dat zy aangeleid worden, de School en de Kerk vlytig te bezoeken, dat zy aan Gehoorzaamheid en Arbeidzaamheid gewend worden, en dat de Ouders hen niet alleen niet ergeren, maar zoo veel als mogelyk oppassen, dat zy niet door anderen verleid worden enz.

Het wordt van Ouderen en Voormonderen verwagt, dat zy hunne Kinderen, als zy 6 Jaren oud zyn in de School sturen, op dat zy het noodige mogen leeren, eer zy in dien ouderdom zyn, daar zy door arbeid hun brood moeten verdienen.

Tweede Hoofdstuk Van uiterlyke geregeldheid des Instituuts

Om twist en ongeregeldheid voortebuigen houden wy het voor nodig, dat elk eene familie zyn eigen wooning heeft, en dat ongetrouwde lieden bepaalde huisvestingen hebben, die zy niet veranderen kunnen, zonder voorkennis der Missionarissen.

Het wordt allen Inwoonderen ernstig aanbevolen, duurzame huizen te bouwen, waarby alle degenen, die zich naar de regelen des Instituuts gedragen, uit eene fonds, die daartoe bepaald is, zullen worden ondersteund.

Het bouwen van huizen staat onder de opzicht van eenen Missionaris, wiens raad de Ingezetenen verplicht zyn te volgen, zoo wel by het aanleggen van nieuwe huizen, als wanneer zy hunne wooningen willen vergrooten.

Zoo is ook het uitgeven van tuingrond en land aan eenen Missionaris aanbetrouwd, die ook verplicht is, daarover te waken, dat het uitgedeelde land behoorlyk gebruikt wordt. Wie daarom hierin nalatig is moet herinnerd worden, en indien herinneringen niets baten, moet hy verwagten, dat het gebruik van het land aan eenen anderen gegeven wordt, terwyl het niet alleen voor hem nutteloos is, maar ook voor de aanliggende buuren schadelyk, naardien hunne vrugten dikwyls opgefreten worden door muizen en andere schadelyke gedierte, welke in het woeste land zich ophouden.

Alle oneenigheden omtrent vrugtboomen, heiningen, scheidings tusschen tuine, water leiden enz. Moeten eerst den Opzigter van tuine voorgelegd worden.

Niemand kan vrugtboome bezitten in eenes andern tuin, waardoor ligt twist ontstaan kan. Daarom is de gewoonte, vrugtboome aan kinderen en verwanten te geven zeer onbetamelyk, en waar twist ten volge daarvan ontstaan, moet de tuinbezitter de boome koopen, of zy moeten uitgehaald worden.

Vrugtboome moeten ten minste zes voet van de scheiding tusschen de tuine geplant worden. Waar deze regel verzuimd wordt, en twist daardoor ontstaat, moeten de takken van den boom, die over den aangrenzenden tuin hangen afgekapt worden, of waar zulks niet doenlyk is, moet de boom uitgehaald worden.

Iedereen heeft vryheid zynen opstal aan eenen andern Inwoonder van de plaats te verkoopen, waarvan toch aan de Missionarissen kennis moet gegeven worden, maar het land kan niet verkocht worden, terwyl het niet eigendom is.

Niemand kan zynen Opstal aan lieden verkoopen, schenken of in ervenis geven, welke niet als Inwoonderen alhier zyn aangenomen.

Zouden Inwoonderen van hier vertrekken, zonder met voorkennis der Missionarissen van hunnen tuin en land te hebben disponeerd, en langen tyd wegblyven, zonder van hun verblyf kennis te geven, zoo kan het gebruik van het land na twee Jaren aan iemand anders vergund worden.

Om zoo veel als mogelyk daarvoor te zorgen, dat niemand aan zyn eigendom schade leide, zyn volgende schikkingen noodzaaklyk:

dat de Tuine wel omheind zyn.

dat het Koornland behoorlyk opgepast worde.

dat een of meer Beestewagters aangesteld worden.

dat het vee en de Paarde in den nagt vastgemaakt worden.

dat geene varken in de plaats los loopen.

Het is verboden, Paarde en Vee aan de heiningen vasttebinden, waardoor deze bedorven worden, en de Tuine tenvolge daarvan voor den aanloop van vee blootgesteld. Zy moeten in Kraale ingesloten, of aan Stangen vastgebonden zyn.

Alle degenen welke koorn gezaaid hebben neemen gelyken aandeel aan het oppassen van het land, en wie niet zelven oppassen kan, moet eenen andern aan zyne plaats stellen.

De eigenaren van vee contribueeren naar het getal hunner Beesten tot het onderhoud van de veewagteren.

Zoude niettegenstaande deze voorzorg nogthans Schade gedaan worden, zoo wordt het verlies door twee of meer Opzienderen getaxeed, en wie door nalatigheid of op andere wyze schuld daaraan is, moet den Lyder volgens de taxatie vergelden. Zoude hy nogthans dezelve te hoog aanzien, zoo kan hy aan de Missionarissen en alle de Opzienderen appelleeren.

De Opzienderen eisschen geene betaling voor zulke taxatien, wanneer zy in de plaats gedaan worden, maar moeten zy op het koorland gaan, waardoor zy ten minste eenen halven dag verliezen, zoo worden door dien, die hen roepen laat, aan eenen ieder Opziender twee Skellings betaald, welke door dengenen, die aan de schade schuld is, weder betaald worden.

Geschiedt schade aan iets, wat aan de Gemeente in 't algemeen behoort, als plantigen, heining van begraafplaats enz. zoo behoort het geen, als Schade vergoedinge gegeven wordt, in de Armbus.

Tot verhoeding van Schade behoort ook, dat iedereen met het vuur zoo wel in de plaats, als op het veld zorgvuldig omgaat; byzonders moet niemand het veld in brand steken, zoo lang het Koorn nog niet afgeogst is, en ook niet in de nabyheid van boomplantigen, buiten de voorkennis van degenen, die daarover opzicht hebben.

Zouden Inwoonderen van deeze plaats over iets oneens worden, zoo zyn zy verpligt, eerst aan de Missionarissen of aan de Opzienderen van hunne zaak kennis te geven, en zich bemoeyen, door hunnen goeden raad tot een broederlyk vergelyk te komen. Wie zulks niet doen wil, kan niet als een lid onzer Gemeente worden aangezien.

Zoo wel de Landes wetten als plaatselyke ordening vereisschen, dat elk vreemde Hottentot of Slaaf zynen pas voorwyzen moet. Geen Inwoonder kan eenen zulken vreemdeling over nagt herbergen, tot dat zyn pas door den Missionaris, die daartoe aangesteld is, is onderzocht worden; en hy moet op den vreemdeling een waakzaam oog hebben, dat hy zich naar de ordeningen des Instituuts gedragt. Met vreemdelingen verstaan wy ook de zulke, welke hun regt, hier te wonen, verloren hebben.

Na de Avond verzamelingen in de Kerk zal iedereen in zyn huis blyven, en niet in de plaats rond loopen, ten zy hy door ziekte of noodige bezigheden daartoe gedwongen is.

Tot verhoeding van verzondiging is het noodig, dat de ommeegang tusschen beide geslachten stipt naar de grondzettingen van zedelykheid geregeld worde, en dat inzonderheid onze jeugd, zoo veel mogelyk, onder opzicht sta.

Onnoodige byeenkomsten van jonge Menschen, byzonders 's Avonds, kunnen onder geen voorwendzel gedulded worden, en alle onbetamelyke Spele en verlustigingen, waardoor de onheilge begeerlykheden der harten ontstoken worden, moeten verhinderd worden.

Ouders en Voormonders moeten daarvoor zorgen, dat de jeugd onder hunne berusting nooit zonder hunne voorkennis by andern overnagten. Wie zulke jonge Menschen in zyn huis opneemt, is verantwoordelyk voor het kwaad, dat daardoor mogte ontstaan.

Niemand mag wyn en sterken drank van andere plaatsen herwaards brengen, behalven eene kleine quantiteit voor zyn eigen gebruik. Wie tegen deze regel handelt is verantwoordelyk voor de ongeregeldheden, die daardoor ontstaan, en indien hy daarin volhardt, wordt hy als een verleider aangezien en behandeld. Om de gevaarlyke onordeningen van dezen aard voortebuigen, hebben de voorstanders des Instituuts maatregelen genomen, dat de Inwoonderen, in de plaats van den noodigen wyn kunnen worden voorzien.

Alle Inwoonderen moeten aan algemeene werken en lasten gelyken aandeel neemen, by voorbeeld, de onderhouding van de begraafplaats, aanleggen en reinhouding van Watersloten, Wegemaken, verligting van de Kerk, Requisieten door de Overheid en diergelyks.

Iedereen is verpligt in den omtrek van zyn huis en tuingrond alles schoon en zindelyk te houden. Alles waardoor het water verontreinigd wordt, moet zorgvuldig vermieden worden.

Wy houden ons verpligt, zoo veel onze omstandigheden toelaten, voor de Armen en Kranken te zorgen. De middelen daartoe moeten uit de Armkas komen, welke daarom allen Leden der Gemeente op het beste aanbevolen wordt.

Wanneer iemand wenscht, hier te komen wonen, en eenen behoorlyken pas voorwyzen kan, zoo worden zyne beweegredenen, zyn gedrag en zyne uiterlyke omstandigheden zorgvuldig onderzocht, en indien daarby niets te herinneren is, zoo wordt hy met de ordeningen des Instituuts bekend gemaakt, en hy verbind zich op een plegtige wyze, zich naar dezelve en overeenkomstig met het woord Gods te gedragen, waarop hem permissie gegeven wordt, hier te wonen, gewoonlyk voor het eerste, slegts op eene proef.

Wie hier geboren en opgevoedt is, belooft by zyne aanneeming in de Gemeente, zich naar onze Ordeningen te gedragen.

Indien degenen, welke dus zyn aangenomen, naderhand daarover berouwte krygen, zoo hebben zy altoos vryheid het Instituut te verlaten, nadat zy eerst hunne affairen hier in orde gebragt. Maar zy hebben geen regt hier te blyven, indien zy de voorwaarden, onder welke zy zyn aangenomen, niet meer vervullen willen, hoewel zy met geduld zullen gedragen worden, zoo lang zy geene verleiders zyn, en zich in onze uiterlyke ordeningen voegen.

Dus willen wy ook alle geduld bewyzen, in opzicht op degenen, die hier geboren en opgevoedt zyn, zoo lang zy niet moedwillig de regelen des Instituuts trots bieden, in welk geval maatregelen moeten genoemen worden, om zulke Lieden op andere plaatsen te besteeden, totdat zy anders gezind worden.

Derde Hoofdstuk Van de bestiering des Instituuts

De Ordeningen des Instituuts zyn niet wetten, welke door de Missionarissen voorgeschreven zyn, maar eene broederlyke Overeenkomst tusschen alle bewoonderen van de plaats, in de waarneeming waarvan zy

gelyk belang hebben. Daarom verwacht men van eenen ieder Inwoonder, dat hy zich stipt daarna gedraagt, en alle moeite doet, om overtredingen daartegen voortebuigen.

Maar naardien het onmogelyk is, geregeldheid, in eenig maatschappy te onderhouden, hoewel dezelve op vrywillige overeenkomst gegrond is, tenzy eenige leden daarvan zyn bezonders volmagtigd over de waarneming der Ordeningen te waken, zoo hebben de Inwoonderen van Genadendal de opzicht daar over aan de Missionarissen, veertien Kerkedienaren en Agtien Opzienderen aanbetrouwd, welke zy gewillig zyn te eeren en gehoorzaam te zyn.

Deze voorstaanders des Instituuts zyn niet aangesteld om den overige Wetten voorteschryven, en bemoeien zich ook niet met zaken, welke der civiele regeering des Landes toekomen, als in boete slaan, ligchaamlyk straffen enz.

Hunne Pligten zyn volgende:

Over onze Kerktugt te waken.

Door zorgvuldige waakzaamheid alle ongeregelheden en overtredingen tegen de Landeswetten en onze byzondere Ordeningen voortebuigen.

Tusschen de Inwoonderen van de plaats, die oneens zyn geworden, door vriendelyke bemiddeling vrede te stichten.

Nieuwelingen aanteneemen en met hunne pligten bekend te maken, en dengenen, die hun regt tot woonen alhier verliezen, zulks aantekondigen.

De handhaving van onze kerktugt is aan de Missionarissen alleen aanbetrouwd. Dezelve bestaat in vriendelyke bestraffingen onder vier oogen, of voor de verzamelde Missionarissen, in uitsluiten van het heilig Avondmaal of van alle voorregten, als een gedoopt lid der Gemeente, het welk in zulke gevallen daar openbare aanstoot is gegeven worden, aan de Gemeente wordt bekend gemaakt.

Eer iemand uitgesloten wordt, wordt aan hem gelegenheid gegeven, indien hy zulks verkiest, zich voor de verzamelde Missionarissen te verantwoorden.

Wie uitgesloten is wordt weder aangenomen, als hy berouwte blyken laat, en men grond heeft te hopen, dat hy zich verbeteren wil.

Als iemand geduuriglyk in dezelve afwykingen leeft, en zich niet verbeteren wil, zoo worden hem ook de uiterlyke voorregten der Inwoonderen des Instituuts onttrokken, als ondersteuning by het bouwen, voorschieten van zaad koorn enz. en de laatste stap is, dat hy de plaats moet verlaten.

Terwyl de geregeldheid van de plaats hoofdzaaklyk daarvan afhangt, dat wy het kwaad mogen kunnen voorbuigen, 't welk meer waakzaamheid vereischt, dan den Missionarissen alleen mogelyk is, zoo hebben zy Opzienderen, tot welke ook de Kerkedienaren amptshalve behoren, aangesteld, met welke de Missionarissen ten minste eenmaal in de maand tezaamenkomen, om vertrouwlyk over de belangen des Instituuts te spreken, gebreken in de plaatselyke ordeningen aantekenen, verbeteringen te proponeeren enz.

Het komt volgens de Regel den Opzienderen toe, oneenigheid byteleggen en vrede te stichten; maar daar zy niet by elk eene gelegenheid kunnen tezamen komen, zoo worden de dagelyksche voorkomheden van dien aard door den eersten Missionaris, of wanneer het noodig is, door de verzamelde Missionarissen

waargenomen, welke in deze opzicht, als gecommiteerde der Opzienderen aantezien zyn, en daarom in de volgende byeenkomst der Opzienderen van alles, wat van belang is voorgekomen verslag doen. Zaken van gewigtigheid worden niet beslist, tot dat men met de verzamelde opzienderen raad gepleegt.

Wanneer iemand als inwoonder wordt aangenomen, of de plaats moet ruimen, zoo wordt hem dezes in eene byeenkomst van de Opzienderen aangekondigd, of indien zulks niet altoos doenlyk is, eerst nadat de Opzienderen daarover zyn gevraagd en hunne toestemming gegeven hebben.

De Kerkedienaren zyn aangesteld, om over reinlykheid, geregeldheid en welvoeglykheid in de Kerk te waken, en zyn buitendien verpligt, de Kranken te bezoeken, en twee van hen, die door de anderen verkozen worden, bezorgen met eenen Missionaris de Armenbus.

De Kerkedienaren worden door de Missionarissen bepaald; de overige Opzienderen worden door de Avondmaals genoten der Gemeente, welke huis en tuin bezitten door de meerheid van stemmen verkozen. De verzamelde Missionarissen en Opzienderen hebben het regt, van drie, die de meest stemmen hebben, eenen te verkiezen, het welk ook door meerheid van stemmen geschiedt.

Niemand als een Avondmaals genote in de Gemeente, die een Muurhuis en eene bebouwdn tuin bezit, kan tot Opziender verkozen worden.

Wanneer een Kerkedienaar of Opziender zich aan zulke afwykingen schuldig maakt, dat hy moet openbaarlyk uitgesloten worden, zoo wordt hy ook van zyn ampt afgedankt, toch kan hy by eene andere gelegenheid weder verkozen worden, indien hy zich veranderd, en tot zyne voorregten als een lid der gemeente is weder aangenomen worden.

Bovenstaande Ordeningen werden gelezen in eene algemeene vergadering van alle volwassene Mannen welke huizen of tuinen bezitten, en eenstemmiglyk goed gekeurd op den vyfden Maart Een Duizen, Agt Honderd Zeven en Twintig, en zeven Missionarissen, die aanwezig waren, werden verzocht dezelve in den naam van de vergadering te onderteekenen, en zy werden ten volge daarvan ondergeteekend door ons

H.P. Hallbeck

Joh. Lemmerz

C. Thomsen

Joh. Stein

D. Luttring

H.N. Voigt

J.G. Schulz"

“Translaat:

Colonial Office den 16 Maart 1827

Myn Heer,

Ik heb zyner Edelheid den Heer Lieut. Gouverneur Uwe letteren van den 9den dezer voorgelegd, benevens de ingeslotene Ordeningen, welke UE voor het Instituut onder UE's opzicht opgesteld hebt.

Zyne Edelheid heeft my gelast, UE in antwoord te melden, dat de voorgeslagenen Ordeningen met zoo veel voorzigt en verstand opgesteld te zyn blyken, en, zonder tegen de wetten der volkplanting strydig te zyn, zoo ongemeen toepasselyk te zyn schynen voor het menschlievend en weldadig oogmerk des Instituuts, dat hy dezelve met genoeg hiermede goedkeurt en bevestigt.

De Heer Gouverneur vertrouwt, dat deze Ordeningen de gewenschte gevolgen zullen te wege brengen, en gelyk zy UE en uwe Medearbeiders tot eere strekken, zy den Hottentotten, die dezelve aangenomen, en voor wiers welzyn en vordering zy opgesteld zyn, regt nuttig zullen worden.

Ik heb de Eer te zyn

Myn Heer

UE D.W. Dienaar

(onderget.) Richard Plasket

Gouvts Secretaris

Aan den Weleerw:

Heer Hallbeck

Genadendaal.”

Appendix 4: Changes and additions to Genadendal's Rules and Regulations in 1857

The following changes were made to Genadendal's *Rules and Regulations* in 1857:

Hallbeck text 1827

1.24 Gedoopte Leden onzer Gemeente worden eerst in tegenwoordigheid van Missionarissen en de Ouden verloofd, en moeten hun Huwelyk door het verschynen voor de daartoe bepaalde Commissie van Huwelyke zaken wettig laten maken, eer zy in onze Kerk kunnen worden getrouwd.

1.25 Zulkelieden, die reeds tezamen gewoond hebben, beloven als zy hier aangenomen worden, zich in het Huwelyk naar de grondzettingen des Christendoms te gedragen, en worden in geval zy tegen hunne belofte handelen, juist zoo behandeld, als of zy wettig getrouwd waren.

1.26 Wanneer ongedoopte Inwoonderen alhier in het Echt treden willen, welke niet in de Kerk kunnen getrouwd worden, nog voor de Commissie van Huwelyke zaken verschynen, zoo worden zy, tot vermyding van ongeregeldheden, in tegenwoordigheid van de Missionarissen en hunne Ouders en verwanten, plegtiglyk tezamen gegeven, en hunne verbinding wordt naderhand bekend gemaakt in eene algemeene Byeenkomst der Gemeente. Hun tezamenleven moet juist zoo stipt naar de instellingen der Christelyke Kerk geregeld worden, als of zy wettig getrouwd waren.

1.30 Het wordt van Ouderen en Voormonderen verwagt, dat zy hunne Kinderen, als zy 6 Jaren oud zyn in de School sturen, op dat zy het noodige mogen leeren, eer zy in dien ouderdom zyn, daar zy door arbeid hun brood moeten verdienen.

Revised text 1857

1.24 Leden van het instituut, hetzy gedoopt of anderzins, die wenschen te trouwen, na verloofd te zyn geworden in de tegenwoordigheid van hunne ouders en de zendelingen, moeten hunne huwelyke laten afkondigen en in de kerk getrouwd worden.

1.25 De zoodanige, die vroeger met elkander hebben geleefd, beloven, wanneer zy tot het Instituut worden toegelaten, om zich in hunnen gehuwden staat te gedragen, volgens de beginsels van het christendom, en behooren aanzoek te doen om by de eerste gelegenheid wettiglyk getrouwd te worden; ingeval zy hunne belofte verbreken, worden zy op dezelfde wyze behandeld, als of zy wettiglyk waren getrouwd geweest.

1.26 *Ommitted in 1857*

1.30 Men verwacht van de ouders en voogden, dat zy hunne kinderen naar de school zenden op den ouderdom van vier jaren, opdat zy in de gelegenheid mogen zyn om onderwezen te worden, alvorens zy geroepen worden om hun brood met dagelykschen arbeid te verdienen.

2.4 Zoo is ook het uitgeven van tuingrond en land aan eenen Missionaris aanbetrouwd, die ook verpligt is, daarover te waken, dat het uitgedeelde land behoorlyk gebruikt wordt. Wie daarom hierin nalatig is moet herinnerd worden, en indien herinneringen niets baten, moet hy verwagten, dat het gebruik van het land aan eenen anderen gegeven wordt, terwyl het niet alleen voor hem nutteloos is, maar ook voor de aanliggende buuren schadelyk, naardien hunne vrugten dikwyls opgefretten worden door muizen en andere schadelyke gedierte, welke in het woeste land zich ophouden.

2.8 Iedereen heeft vryheid zynen opstal aan eenen andern Inwoonder van de plaats te verkoopen, waarvan toch aan de Missionarissen kennis moet gegeven worden, maar het land kan niet verkocht worden, terwyl het niet eigendom is.

2.9 Niemand kan zynen Opstal aan lieden verkoopen, schenken of in ervenis geven, welke niet als Inwoonderen alhier zyn aangenomen.

2.11c. dat een of meer Beestewagters aangesteld worden.

2.14 De eigenaren van vee contribueeren naar het getal hunner Beesten tot het onderhoud van de veewagteren.

2.15 Zoude niettegenstaande deze voorzorg nogthans Schade gedaan worden, zoo wordt het verlies door twee of meer Opzienderen getaxeerd, en wie door nalatigheid of op andere wyze schuld daaraan is, moet den Lyder volgens de taxatie vergelden. Zoude hy nogthans dezelve te hoog aanzien, zoo kan hy aan de Missionarissen en alle

2.4 Opzigtters worden ook benoemd om tuingrond en ploegland uit te deelen, en het is tevens hun pligt te waken, dat van het land aldus uitgedeeld, behoorlyk gebruik worde gemaakt. Een ieder dus die nalatig is om zyn grond te bebouwen, moet aan zyn pligt herinnerd worden, en wanneer hy in zyne nalatigheid voortgaat, moet hy verwachten, dat het gebruik van het land aan een ander zal gegeven worden, daar hetzelfde niet alleen onnuttig voor hem is, maar ook nadeelig voor de aangrenzende tuinen, wordende hunne gezaaiden dikwyls door muizen en andere schadelyke dieren vernield, die zich op de onbebouwde plaatsen schuilen.

2.8 Een ieder heeft de vryheid om zyn huis of het bezitregt van zyn tuin aan eenig ingezeten van de plaats te verkoopen, waarvan, echter, behoorlyke kennis moet gegeven worden aan hen, die het opzigt over het Instituut hebben, maar het land kan niet worden verkocht, omdat het slechts bezeten wordt als individueel eigendom, onder de reglementen van het Instituut.

2.9 Niemand kan zyn huis of tuin of eenig gedeelte daarvan alhier verkoopen, of geven, of verhuuren, of vermaken aan menschen, die niet toegelaten zyn als inwoners van de plaats.

2.11c. *Ommitted in 1857*

2.14 *Ommitted in 1857*

2.15 Een of meer private schutplaatsen zyn daargesteld in het Instituut voor het vee van inwoners, op de tuinen of koorlanden van andere inwoners overtredende: de kosten te worden bepaald door eene byeenkomst van opzigtters, maar in geen geval de kosten te bovengaande, welke betaald worden in de publieke schutplaatsen van het distrikt.

de Opzienderen appelleeren.

2.25 Niemand mag wyn en sterken drank van andere plaatsen herwaards brengen, behalven eene kleine quantiteit voor zyn eigen gebruik. Wie tegen deze regel handelt is verantwoordelyk voor de ongeregeldheden, die daardoor ontstaan, en indien hy daarin volhardt, wordt hy als een verleider aangezien en behandeld. Om de gevaarlyke onordeningen van dezen aard voortebuigen, hebben de voorstanders des Instituuts maatregelen genomen, dat de Inwoonderen, in de plaats van den noodigen wyn kunnen worden voorzien.

2.31 Dus willen wy ook alle geduld bewyzen, in opzicht op degenen, die hier geboren en opgevoedt zyn, zoo lang zy niet moedwillig de regelen des Instituuts trots bieden, in welk geval maatregelen moeten genoemen worden, om zulke Lieden op andere plaatzen te besteeden, totdat zy anders gezind worden.

3.2 Maar naardien het onmogelyk is, geregeldheid, in eenig maatschappy te onderhouden, hoewel dezelve op vrywillige overeenkomst gegrond is, tenzy eenige leden daarvan zyn besonders volmagtigd over de waarneming der Ordeningen te waken, zoo hebben de Inwoonderen van Genadendal de opzicht daar over aan de Missionarissen, veertien Kerkedienaren en Agtien Opzienderen aanbetrouwd, welke zy gewillig zyn te eeren en gehoorzaam te zyn.

2.25 Niemand mag wyn en sterke dranken in het etablissement brengen, behalve eene matige hoeveelheid voor eigen onmiddelyk gebruik, of eene licentie bekomen ter verkoop van wyn en sterke dranken. Die deze regel overtreedt, is verantwoordelyk voor de onlusten daardoor veroorzaakt; en wanneer hy in dat gebruik volhardt, moet hy beschouwd en behandeld worden als een verleider en dienvolgens uitgezet worden.

2.26a *Added in 1857*: Ouders, die kinderen hebben, geschikt om naar school te gaan, behooren hen naar de school te zenden, en de school ongelden te betalen.

2.31 Op dezelfde wyze zullen wy geduld uitoefenen jegens hen, die hier opgevoed zyn, zoo lang zy niet de reglementen van het instituut trotseeren, in welk geval maatregelen moeten genomen worden om hen te doen verhuizen of te verdryven, tot dat zy berouw betoonen over hun gedrag.

3.2 Maar daar het onmogelyk is, om in eenige zamenleving orde te bewaren, alhoewel gegrond op reglementen vrywillig aangenomen, tenzy byzondere personen belast worden om te waken voor de naarkoming van zulke reglementen, zoo hebben de leden van dit instituut het oppertoezicht daarvan opgedragen aan de zendelingen, achtien kerkelyke ambtenaren en vyf-en-twintig opzienders, die zy gewillig zyn te eeren en te gehoorzamen.

The following **additions** were made to Genadendal's *Rules and Regulations* in 1857:

“HOOFDSTUK IV

Nadere Regulatien bygevoegd in 1857

De zendelingen en opzienders zullen wanneer gevorderd, aan den civilen commissaris van de afdeeling, lysten opmaken en verzenden van inwoners te Genadendal, en van de bevolking.

Geen inwoner te Genadendal, die niet een huis en bebouwen tuin van de jaarlyksche waarde van £ 5 bezit, zal het regt hebben te stemmen over eenig vraagstuk betrekkelyk de tydelyke aangelegenheden van het instituut. De stemgeregtigde zullen op de lysten gemerkt worden.

Geen inwoner te Genadendal zal zyn regt als inwoner verliezen, uithoofde van de afwezigheid van het instituut, zoo lang hy zich fatsoenlyk en vlytig gedraagt, mits dat niets daartegen bekend is, en mits ook dat de een of ander inwoner of inwoners de zorg zal of zullen hebben van het erf van den afwezigen, indien eenige, en bekend is by den superintendent als zoodanige toezigt hebbende: hy kan te eeniger tyd weder toelating vorderen.

Wanneer een inwoner te Genadendal iemand trouwt, die niet tot dat instituut behoort, kan hy of zy toegelaten worden om aldaar te verblyven.

De zendelingen maar byzonder de opzieners, zullen, zoo veel mogelyk, het verblyf van vreemdelingen en uitgezette inwoners op de landen van het instituut ten nadeele van de vlytige inwoners, beletten.

Een inwoner kan uitgesloten worden van kerkelyke voorregten, zonder daarby zyne tydelyke regten als een inwoner te verbeuren; maar hy zal al zulke laatstgemelde regten verbeuren, op verzoek van eenige der zendelingen of opzieners, wanneer het, ten genoegen van den magistraat van dit distrikt bewezen wordt, dat hy, na redelyke waarschuwing, volhardt in het minachten van de tydelyke reglementen van het instituut, en dat zyn gedrag en voorbeeld strekken to zedenbederf der inwoners.

De voorgaande reglementen kunnen van tyd tot tyd door het Gouvernement verbeterd worden, op aanzoek der zendelingen, benevens vier-vyfde van de inwoners, geregtigd om over tydelyke aangelegenheden te stemmen, die tegenwoordig zullen zyn in eene byeenkomst speciaal tot dat einde belegd, na voorafgaande behoorlyke kennisgeving van het doel van zoodanige byeenkomst, gedurende een tydperk van ten minsten drie maanden.

Het regt om vee te schutten, hetwelk op de weilanden overtredende gevonden wordt, berust by de toezienden zendeling, of by een of meer personen behoorlyk door hem gemagtigd; maar elke inwoner mag vee naar de schut brengen, dat in zyn tuin of koorlanden overtreedt.

Goedgekeurd,

Op last van Zyne Excellentie den Gouverneur,

(Geteekend) Rawson W. Rawson, Koloniale Secretaris."

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SUMMARY

Hans Peter Hallbeck (1784-1840) was born in Sweden and studied theology in Lund. After his studies he however joined the Moravian Church, a very unusual step in a country where the Moravians were regarded as a dangerous sect by the Lutheran State Church. After having been involved in the Moravian education in Göteborg (Sweden), Germany, Ireland and England, he was called to become superintendent of all Moravian Missions in South Africa. In the Cape Colony he settled in Genadendal, the oldest mission station of the country.

This study illustrates, by using the primary sources, that Genadendal can be regarded as the cradle of all missions in South Africa. This was not only because of the fact that it was the oldest mission station, but also because of Hallbeck's able ministry. In the Hallbeck era (1817-1840) Genadendal became a model, not only for the Moravian missions (Hallbeck established a number of new mission stations), but also for other missionary societies and their missionaries. In fact, most other missionary societies started their enterprises in South Africa in the Hallbeck era. New and unexperienced missionaries found in Genadendal a thriving and effective mission station, managed on the basis of Rules and Regulations that stood in the Moravian tradition (Spangenberg, Loretz), but that were also adapted by Hallbeck to the South African context. They took along not only their impression of Genadendal, but also copies of important documents like the Rules and Regulations, when venturing into the interiors of Africa to establish new mission stations. In this sense the Genadendal of the Hallbeck era became the cradle of missions in South Africa.

This study deals with the historical trajectories of Moravian theology. It also pays attention to the positioning of the Moravian Mission in the South African societal context, their relationship with the government, as well as with other missionary societies. Special attention is given to the relationship between Hallbeck and his colleague superintendent of the London Missionary Society, Dr John Philip.

During the Hallbeck era major developments took place on the South African scene. All of them had an impact on the mission. One can think of:

- The arrival of the British Settlers (1820)
- The frontier wars in the eastern Cape
- The abolition of slavery (1834 de jure and 1838 de facto)

- The emigration of settlers out of the Cape Colony (1836-1838 – the Great Trek)
- The immigration of the Fingu nation into the Cape Colony

During his ministry Hallbeck wrote thousands of pages (reports, diaries, letters, etc.), in which the above mentioned events are dealt with from a surprising perspective. As a matter of fact, the Moravian archives (both in South Africa and Europe) prove to be a goldmine of primary sources yet untouched, shedding new light on major happenings in South African history.

In conclusion the question is also asked as to the legacy of Hans Peter Hallbeck. His impact on Cape Colonial society during the first half of the 19th century is explicated. He became the first bishop South Africa ever received. He established in Genadendal the first seminary (for the training of teachers and pastors) in South Africa. He played a significant role in the christianisation and upliftment of the nations of South Africa. He was one of the first historiographers of South Africa. And last but not least, his influence was also felt outside South Africa. His reports were widely published in missionary magazines across Europe and in North America. He was involved in publishing a missionary textbook in Germany. Even in his fatherland Sweden he left an indelible mark on the religious developments during the 19th century.

Key terms: Hans Peter Hallbeck; Genadendal; Cape Colony; South Africa; Sweden; Moravian Church; Mission; Education; Slavery; Abolition of slavery; Bishop; 19th century; Colonial history; Church history; Historiography.

SAMEVATTING

Hans Peter Hallbeck (1784-1840) is in Swede gebore en het teologie in Lund gestudeer. Na sy studie het hy aangesluit by die Morawiese Kerk, 'n baie ongebruiklike stap in 'n land waar die Herrnhutters as 'n gevaarlike sekte deur die Lutherse Staatskerk beskou is. Nadat hy betrokke was by die Morawiese onderwys in Göteborg (Swede), Duitsland, Ierland en Engeland, is hy beroep as superintendent van al die Morawiese sending in Suid-Afrika. In die Kaapkolonie het hy gaan woon in Genadendal, die oudste sendingstasie van die land.

Hierdie studie illustreer, deur van die primêre bronne gebruik te maak, dat Genadendal beskou kan word as die wieg van alle sending in Suid-Afrika. Dit is nie net vanweë die feit dat dit die oudste sendingstasie is nie, maar ook deur Hallbeck se bekwame bediening. In die Hallbeck era (1817-1840) het Genadendal 'n model geword, nie net vir die Morawiese sending nie (Hallbeck het 'n aantal nuwe sendingstasies gestig), maar ook vir ander sendinggenootskappe en hulle sendelinge. Dit was in hierdie era wat die meeste ander sendinggenootskappe met hulle aktiwiteite in Suid-Afrika begin het. Nuwe en onervare sendelinge het in Genadendal 'n bloeiende en effektiewe sendingstasie gevind, bestuur op die basis van Reëls en Regulasies wat in die Morawiese tradisie gestaan het (Spangenberg, Loretz), maar wat ook aan die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks aangepas is. Hulle het nie net hulle indrukke van Genadendal saamgevat nie, maar ook kopieë van belangrike dokumente soos die Reëls en Regulasies, wanneer hulle verder Afrika ingetrek het om nuwe sendingstasies op te rig. In hierdie sin het die Genadendal van die Hallbeck era die wieg van die sending in Suid-Afrika geword.

Hierdie studie skenk aandag aan die historiese trajekte van die Morawiese teologie. Dit skenk ook aandag aan die posisionering van die Morawiese sending in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing, hulle verhouding met die regering, asook met ander sendinggenootskappe. Spesiale aandag word geskenk aan die verhouding tussen Hallbeck en sy kollega superintendent van die Londense Sendingsgenootskap, Dr John Philip.

Gedurende die Hallbeck era het daar noemenswaardige gebeurtenisse plaasgevind op die Suid-Afrikaanse toneel, wat elkeen 'n impak op die sending gehad het. Mens kan dink aan:

- Die aankoms van die Britse Setlaars (1820)
- Die grensoorloë in die ooste van die Kaapkolonie

- Die afskaffing van slawerny (1834 de jure en 1838 de facto)
- Die emigrasie van koloniste uit die Kaapkolonie (1836-1838 – die Groot Trek)
- Die immigrasie van die Fingu nasie in die Kaapkolonie in

Hallbeck het tydens sy bediening duisende bladsye volgeskryf (verslae, dagboeke, briewe, ens.), waarin bogenoemde gebeurtenisse belang word vanuit 'n verrassende perspektief. Die Morawiese argiewe (sowel in Suid-Afrika as in Europa) blyk 'n goudmyn te wees van onaangeraakte primêre bronne, wat nuwe lig werp op belangwekkende gebeurtenisse in Suid-Afrika se geskiedenis.

Afsluitend word daar gepoog om die nalatenskap van Hans Peter Hallbeck te beskryf. Hy was die heel eerste biskop van Suid-Afrika. Hy het in Genadendal die eerste kweekskool (vir die opleiding van onderwysers en predikers) van Suid-Afrika opgerig. Hy het 'n beduidende rol gespeel in die kerstening en opheffing van die volke van Suid-Afrika. Hy was een van die eerste geskiedskrywers van Suid-Afrika. Sy invloed het selfs buite die grense van Suid-Afrika gestrek. Sy verslae is wyd gepubliseer in sendingstydskrifte in sowel Europa as Noord-Amerika. Hy was betrokke by die publikasie van 'n sendingshandboek in Duitsland. Selfs in sy vaderland het hy 'n onuitwisbare merk gelaat op die godsdienstige ontwikkeling van Swede in die 19e eeu.

Sleutelsterme: Hans Peter Hallbeck; Genadendal; Kaapkolonie; Suid-Afrika; Swede; Morawiese Kerk; Sending; Opvoeding; Slawerny; Afskaffing van slawerny; Biskop; 19e eeu; Koloniale geskiedenis; Kerkgeskiedenis; Geskiedskrywing.

