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Die Berliner am Kap: The German missionaries and the African Political Organisation in the South Western Districts, 1902-1914 *

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The Berlin Mission Society (BMS) had been active in the South-Western districts of the Cape Colony since 1838 when Reinhold Gregorowski started work among the people of Zoar, a station of the South African Missionary Society (SAMS). His work at Zoar was only temporary because in 1842 he left the service of the BMS and joined the London Missionary Society (LMS).¹ In 1843 Gregorowski was replaced by Carl Radloff who continued the work and expanded it when he bought the neighbouring farm Elandsfontein, later renamed Amalienstein.² When Radloff left in 1847 Friedrich Prietsch took his place and built a church at Amalienstein. The church, decorated with a cross, became a bone of contention because the SAMS, who still owned the property, thought that the cross did not fit in with their reformed tradition. As a result Amalienstein became the first fully fledged BMS station in the Cape Colony in 1853.³

The BMS quickly branched out. In 1856 a congregation of the BMS was founded in the neighbouring town of La-dismith. Others followed: in 1860 at Haarlem in the Long Kloof (Anhalt-Schmidt), at Riversdale in 1868, at Mossel Bay in 1880, at Herbertsdale in 1881 and in 1885 the congregation at Laingsburg, which also served the railway workers along the line stretching from Hex River station to De Aar. (In the annual mission reports (Jahresberichte) of the BMS it was often stated that this congregation covered an area equivalent to that from Berlin to Königsberg or Berlin to Frankfurt am Main!). In 1907 a congregation was founded in Cape Town to cater for the spiritual needs of those members of the congregations of the interior who flocked into Cape Town in search of work.

At the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, the BMS and other missionary societies were already well established in the South-Western Districts of the Cape Colony and controlled a number of elementary schools which they had founded, literacy being of importance since it enabled church members to practise home worship.

The various missionary societies working in South Africa had of course the same aim: to spread the Christian gospel and to draw converts into the fold of a particular society or church. None of them had any political or other aims in mind.⁴

In 1902 a number of politically conscious coloured people felt the need to become politically organised. This led to the founding of the African Political Organisation (APO) in September 1902.

The APO had the following aims: 1. To establish unity among the coloured people of Southern Africa. 2. To guard the social, political and civil rights of coloured people. 3. To register those coloured people who qualified as voters. 4. To assure the general advancement of coloured people. 5. To ensure better and higher education for coloured children.⁵

The ideas of the APO found popular support among the coloured elite in the cities. When the British-educated dr Abdullah Abdurahman assumed the leadership of the APO in 1904, branches were established in some of the smallest rural villages, including those in the South-Western Cape where BMS congregations existed.

The establishment of branches of the APO affected the BMS congregations in the South-Western Districts

adversely. Mention is made of the new organisation in the annual journal of the BMS, the *Jahresberichte*, of 1909. In the same year the APO established its own newspaper called *The APO* to put forward its views.

The establishment of *The APO* in 1909 was not incidental; because of the unification talks that started between the leaders of the four British colonies, there were some very real fears among the coloured people that they might lose the political rights they held in the Cape Colony. In the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, coloured people were excluded from the franchise and in Natal it was a matter of academic interest only. The APO felt that only through a newspaper could their views be propagated more widely.

The *Jahresberichte* and *The APO* form the documentary basis of this paper. Unfortunately both the series of *Jahresberichte*⁶ kept in the South African Library in Cape Town and that in the University Library in Stellenbosch are incomplete. The following numbers are lacking: 1901, 1902, 1905, 1907, 1911, 1914 and 1915. During 1915 *The APO* also appeared irregularly because of lack of funds until its closure towards the end of 1915.

In spite of the incomplete series in both places, the historian is able to gain insight in the relations between the BMS and the APO by studying the station and branch reports of the two societies with their widely different aims. (The fact that the original reports were not studied, should not be seen as a major setback; the idea of this paper is only to give an overview of the topic. A more comprehensive study will be undertaken in 1993 when original documents will be consulted in various archives).

The *Jahresberichte* for the period 1900 to 1909, when the activities of the APO are mentioned for the first time, deal mainly with simple statistics and the daily problems encountered by the missionaries who drew up the reports. In between there is however, some interesting detail which reflects the social, economic and political life in the Cape Colony during the Boer War, and thereafter the severe droughts and economic depression which affected white and coloured alike.

In 1900 the "railway" congregation of Rev Göldner at Laingsburg had probably suffered more than any other congregation because of the war. Göldner could not utilise his free rail pass because only military personnel were carried on the troop trains. In the past he had held services at seven places along the line. He also complained that the church members who worked on the railways could not attend services at the church in Laingsburg since they had to guard the railway line against attack or sabotage.⁷

The ban on private travel did have a positive result for the church members who had previously left the country districts to find employment in Cape Town. When Rev Carl Gerneke arrived back in Cape Town from Berlin at the end of 1899, he was not allowed to proceed to the Northern Transvaal where he previously worked among the Bavenda. As a result the BMS rented a house and hall in Grey Street to set up a temporary BMS congregation.⁸

In two other congregations, railway construction had a positive effect. From Riversdale Rev. Heese reported that a large number of members of the congregation were employed in the construction of the Cape Town - Port Elizabeth line which had now reached Riversdale. The offerings at church services increased tremendously, as also the takings at the annual church bazaar. The local pastor could now also travel by rail to Cape Town to assist Rev Gerneke.⁹

The construction of the narrow-gauge railway line from Port Elizabeth to Avontuur in the Long Kloof offered employment to the Haarlem community at a time when unemployment was rife. There was, however, also a negative side: food prices rose sharply and a canteen where brandy was sold, was opened in the vicinity of the mission station.¹⁰

From Amalienstein it was reported that drought and famine had ravaged the area. Twenty seven men joined the British armed forces and this was able to bring some badly needed cash to the community.¹¹ The members of the congregation of the small village of Herbertsdale also suffered unemployment and fifty five people moved to Mossel Bay and Riversdale in search of work. The local school, run by miss Markötter, received a "Sehr Gut" report from the school inspector during this year.¹²

The Mossel Bay congregation, too, suffered because of the war. Fish, a staple diet of the coloured people became unavailable in this port and fishing community. All fish were salted or put on ice and shipped to Cape Town for the British war effort.¹³

The Jahresberichte for 1902 continue to mention the effects of the war. People still needed passes to move around, all horses had been confiscated by the government and even donkeys were hard to find or very expensive. Food was still rationed and hard to obtain. Rev. Göldner could not resume his railway work because the military authorities allowed only military staff to travel as passengers. At Mossel Bay the pastor complained about the influx of "unwanted elements" into the harbour town.¹⁴

The official BMS reports for 1906 refer to the alarming rise of Ethiopianism ("Äthiopismus") among the coloured people of the Cape Colony.¹⁵

The spread of the Ethiopian movement was a particularly sensitive point with the BMS. It was the South African born BMS missionary, Johannes Winter, who encouraged his Bapedi congregation to break away from the White controlled BMS and form their own Black controlled Bapedi Lutheran Church. Despite appeals from the BMS not to recognise the breakaway church, the South African Republic officially recognised the church. Other breakaway black churches were founded soon after, especially on the Witwatersrand. All these churches were under indigenous black leadership and sometimes adopted an anti-white or anti-foreign stance.¹⁶

At this stage "Ethiopianism" seems to have become a very loose term used by the missionaries of the BMS. Read in context, it seems as if any resistance to the white missionaries, or any dissatisfaction with the running of the mission stations or schools, was seen as Ethiopianism. It also seems as if any political activity among coloured or black people were labelled in the same way. Although the term originally applied to black, and not coloured people, the activities of the APO were often described as such by BMS missionaries.¹⁷

At the mission station at Haarlem the term "Ethiopianism" was probably partly correctly applied. According to the 1906 report, there was an influx of Fingu and Tembu people from the Eastern districts who could have propagated Ethiopianism which was an essentially black (African) movement. However, the missionary also mentioned the problem of the movement among the coloured people whom he described as indigenous people of mixed Khoikhoi origin who had lost their cultural identity. ("Sie sind mischlings-Hottentotten, kein Volk mehr, aber - den Herrn sei Dank - ein Volk Gottes. Mit dem Verlust der Nationalität büßten sie die Festigkeit des Charakters ein, die immer im Volksbewußtsein die Wurzeln ihrer Kraft hat.").¹⁸

In the other congregation where black members (railway workers) were present, Laingsburg, no mention is made of the threat of Ethiopianism during this year.

Rev. Gerneke, who had moved to Ladismith in the meantime, reported that there was a spirit of Ethiopianism among the people of Ladismith. It took the form of distrust of whites and a general absence of Christian love.¹⁹

At Amalienstein it was reported that the Ethiopians caused more damage than the hurricane that struck the church

and school during the year. After the arrest of the four leading figures, relative calm returned to the settlement, especially after the missionary threatened to throw troublemakers off the agricultural settlement.²⁰

From Riversdale it was reported that Ethiopians had little influence because of the strict discipline which was applied and maintained in the congregation.²¹ In Mossel Bay it was however a different matter. Rev. Friedrich Ecker reported a nearly 10% decrease in church attendance, a direct result of the influence of the Ethiopians. He also claimed that the same people were responsible for the stoning of the parsonage at night and that the missionary was the most hated of all white people. He further claimed that the Ethiopians were canvassing for a town where only coloured people would be allowed and that they would rule themselves without any outside interference from white people. ("dort würden sie alle Vorzüge und Freiheiten genießen"). Ecker was happy to report that the "false prophet" ("Lügenprophet") who had caused all the trouble, had left shortly after New Year, leaving a string of debts.²²

In 1908 the Ethiopian movement was again mentioned as an enemy of the BMS. According to the *Jahresberichte*, all the members (fifty nine) left the church at Pniel near Kimberley and joined the "Bopedianer".²³ Good news was that in the South-Western Districts it seemed no longer to hold any danger. Where it still occurred, it was on the wane. Rev. Johann Prozesky reported that there were still Ethiopians active in neighbouring Zoar, but that their support was declining. ("Die Wellen der äthiopischen Bewegung gingen in Zoar noch hoch und schlugen manchmal auch auf Amalienstein über; jedoch ist der Missionar der Meinung, daß der Äthiopismus jetzt hier abgewirtschaftet habe").²⁴

The *Jahresberichte* of 1909 confirms what one had thought all along: the Berlin missionaries working in the South-Western Districts saw very little difference between the black religious Ethiopian movement in the north and the political movement of dr. Abdurahman. Rev. Kottich reported that the leader of the APO had sent his emissaries to Haarlem to campaign for an earthly kingdom and that they hold their meetings on Sundays. ("Die Führer der Political Association of Coloured people, die ihre Emmissäre auch hierher gesandt haben, erhitzten die Gemüter für das Reich dieser Welt, und manch einer lauscht ihren verderblichen Lehren. Diese Leute halten ihre Meetings an den Sonntagen.") He also reported that the "supporters of Ethiopianism" had founded a branch at Haarlem in 1909.²⁵

Rev. Kottich's report is supported by reports in *The APO* of August 28 and September 5, 1909. Under the heading "Branch Reports" it is mentioned that mr Aspeling of Uniondale had established a branch of the APO at Haarlem on the 21st of May 1909. Mr. P. Damons had been elected as chairman and L. Britz as secretary while 73 members had been enrolled.

The 1910 reports of the BMS again mention the disruptive function which the APO had on the work on the mission stations; especially at Mossel Bay. Rev Ecker, who had blamed the Ethiopians during the previous year for stoning the parsonage, now openly blamed the APO for all the wrongs in the congregation and stated that the APO was only a refined version of Ethiopianism. "... soll man glauben, daß die 'African Political Organisation', die wir an mehreren Stellen dieses Jahresberichtes erwähnen, nur eine feinere Ausgabe des Aetihopismus sei, wie es z.B. Ecker in Mossel Bay ansieht?"²⁷

The *Jahresberichte* reported on this matter as follows: "Missionar Ecker hat mancherlei Unruhe durch die APO ... gehabt. Haupt derselben ist der alte Dr. Abdurahman, ein kluger Mann, der in England studiert hat. Nach dem Umtreiben, die B. Ecker erlebt hat, kann man es ihm nicht verdenken, wenn er diese Organisation scharf beurteilt."

Although the mission report from Herbertsdale did not mention anything out of the ordinary, The APO reported

that a Branch member, L. du Preez, who was also a member of the Berlin Lutheran Church, was informed by his pastor that the APO was disloyal towards the Government and that they were misleading the coloured people. If they continued with these activities, they may be charged under martial law.²⁹ (Four years later roles were reversed. The same branch reported in 1914 that a farmer threatened to evict the families of military volunteers from his farm because he was against the government).³⁰

The pastor at Amalienstein, Carl Prozesky, also complained about the APO and stated that. in principle the organisation was against the church. "Er meint, daß sie im Grunde eine Feindin der Kirche sei."³¹

Prozesky also mentioned that, in neighbouring Calitzdorp, an ex-member of the BMS congregation, deacon Daniel Koegelman, had gathered a number of dissatisfied members. "In Calitzdorp wühlt ein Prediger der APO, der, selbst tief gesunken, alle Unzufriedenen an sich lockt. Als 'Präsident' dient dieser Bewegung unser alter abgefallener Diakon Daniel Koegelmann."³²

During 1910 Daniel Koegelman was also mentioned in the branch reports of the APO. In *The APO* of 7.5.1910, it was mentioned that Koegelman had been elected as chairman at an APO meeting held at Zoar on 18.4.1910. Koegelman had complained to the meeting about the low standard of teaching in the school. According to him there were pupils who had completed their schooling but were unable to write their names!³³

At the same meeting mr J. Michels complained that the missionary at Amalienstein had evicted him from his house at Aalienstein and that he threatened to evict all other members of the APO who resided on mission property. At Riversdale there was an exchange of views between the missionary and the APO in 1910. A member of the executive of the APO, Veldsman, visited the local branch of the APO in 1910 and addressed a meeting on the 19th August at which rev Großkopf was also present.

According to *The APO*, Veldsman explained that, in the first place, the APO was a political organisation; it did not want to put the different classes (races) against one another; it did not want to support any particular church and it wanted to remove the class consciousness which existed within the coloured society. He complained about the fact that poor white children at Riversdale attended school without paying any school fees, whereas coloured children had to pay fees. Indirectly the coloured people paid for the schooling of whites.

The report further stated that Rev Großkopf had been glad to hear Veldsman's explanation of the aims of the APO since the APO officials at Amalienstein and Herbertsdale were not of the same mind. The pastor continued and mentioned that the BMS, like the APO, valued education highly and that there were 25 000 coloured pupils in BMS schools. This number could have been higher but the teachers had great difficulty in keeping pupils in the school after they passed standard four.³⁴

The report in the *Jahresberichte* does not differ materially from that which appeared in the APO newspaper. According to Großkopf the aim of the APO to get more children to school and to increase the political rights of the coloured people, might have been a just case. He did however question the leadership of the APO and stated that they lacked the solid base of Christianity. In his opinion the real leaders were to be found in the ranks of church people. Perhaps Großkopf had the leader of the APO, the Muslim dr Abdurahman, in mind. "Es fehlt ihr aber die solide Grundlage des Christentums. Jedenfalls sind die tüchtigsten Farbigen nicht aus der APO, sondern aus der Kirche hervorgegangen."³⁵

The pastor at Ladismith, Carl Gerneke, did not share the negative attitude of Eckert towards the APO. In his report he mentioned that the outstanding member of his church council was Ed Raubenheimer, a new member who

came from Riversdale. Raubenheimer was also the chairman of the APO branch at Ladismith and actively opposed the Ethiopian movement. According to Gerneke, the APO was run on a sound basis in Ladismith and the church had nothing to fear from the movement. He explained: "Man sucht für die Rechte der Farbigen einzutreten, arbeite aber gegen die aethiopische Kirche."³⁶

Reports in *The APO* confirm the cordial relations which existed between the APO and the BMS, as well as between whites and coloureds in this Little Karoo village.

In the issues of 24.5.1909 and 5.6.1909 it was reported that mr W. Jeppe had come over from Riversdale to start a branch in Ladismith. The meeting had been held in the town hall, consisted of a mixed white/coloured audience, and had been chaired by the mayor, mr H.C. Bekker.³⁷

The first meeting of the newly formed branch of the APO took place in the schoolroom of the BMS in the village. At this meeting it was decided to hold future meetings in private houses because of the curfew (9 o'clock bell) which was in force in the town, and which prevented black (African) people from moving around freely at night.

The APO appealed successfully to the local authorities to have the curfew temporarily lifted and all future meetings were held in the school buildings of the BMS.³⁸

From further reports in *The APO* it appears that the BMS school was also the centre of coloured social life. Not only did the APO hire the school for bazaars and concerts (cultural evenings) but it also served as the venue for social events of the local coloured football club, the Silver Star Football Club.³⁹

The harmonious relations between the BMS and APO continued to exist at least until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

In spite of the positive report by Gerneke in 1910, the directors of the BMS in Berlin were not quite sure that the APO was as harmless to the church as one would have thought.

In the *Jahresberichte* for 1910 they mention that although one could notice the difference of opinions held by the pastors of Ladismith and Mossel Bay, one could detect the presence of Ethiopian strategy in the working of the APO. "Jedenfalls beweisen die Züge, die Br. Ecker von die APO wiedergibt, deutlich genug, daß die Agitationsweise derselben aus der Schule des Aethiopismus entnommen ist."⁴⁰

The *Jahresberichte* for 1912 mentioned only in passing that the Ethiopian agitator "Pastor" Titus had lost all his support in the village of Calitzdorp.⁴¹ Apparently the Ethiopian movement was not a threat any more and the APO was described as a movement which sought to bring coloured people closer together, just as closer unity between the former colonies had been brought about by unification in 1910.⁴²

However, the new Muslim school which was opened across the street from the BMS school in Cape Town, and called the Abdurahman School by the missionaries, was seen as a possible threat to Christian mission work in the community. On the other hand, the pastor pointed out, Muslim pupils attended the BMS school and took an active part in the Bible class discussions. In that way a threat had become an opportunity to win over Muslim souls.⁴³

The 1912 edition of the *Jahresberichte*, the last one that could be consulted, gave an optimistic view of the missionary and educational work of the BMS in the South-Western Cape. In the eight congregations they

operated 17 schools with 21 teachers and 1450 pupils, as well as 8 night schools with 268 people, mostly adults, attending. They also established temperance, benevolent and women's societies in the various congregations. Services were regularly held at numerous out-stations.⁴⁴

The Ethiopian idea was however not at an end; it surfaced at Mossel Bay at an APO meeting in 1913 and confirmed the fears of the local BMS pastor.

At an APO meeting held at Mossel Bay in May 1913 mr J. Granger-Russouw proposed: 1. "That we, the Coloured Races of British South Africa, feel that we are being opposed in our social and spiritual progress by the white races of this land, 2. This meeting holds that it is the duty of all Coloured persons to unite and form one Coloured National Church, appointing their own ministers and teachers." This resolution was formally passed by the meeting.⁴⁵

The editor of *The APO* replied in a following edition and commented on the resolution adopted by the Mossel Bay branch. According to the editor the APO had already decided at a conference at Somerset East eight years previously that such an idea was not feasible and that the APO was a political, not a religious organisation. The editor also pointed out that, within branches of the APO, there existed differences of opinion because of the fact that members belonged to different churches and held different religious views. It would be impossible to get everybody to agree on one dogma.⁴⁶

Russouw, who had the intention of propagating his views in all the towns between Mossel Bay and Cape Town, was told that he was free to do so but that his ideas should by no means be connected with the APO.⁴⁷

Russouw appears to have heeded the reprimand, for nothing in this regard is reported again. He is only mentioned again in a branch report of 23.8.1913 when it was stated that he read the English text (of the bilingual) *The APO* to the members at a meeting on August 12.⁴⁸

A letter by the rev Charles Phillips of Johannesburg appeared in *The APO* in 1912 which should have allayed the fears of the directors of the BMS. Phillips wrote that the fears (probably from the side of the churches or government) that coloured teachers would identify with the Ethiopian movement were unfounded. He wrote: "It is almost completely a Native movement and leaves Eurafricans practically untouched."⁴⁹

Phillips was, of course, right in his assessment, yet the behaviour of Russouw did cause some alarm among the missionaries in general, including those of the BMS. This was apparent at Herbertsdale when in 1909 the APO branch considered buying land for a school, as well as for a church, something which reminded one of the Ethiopian movement. This was, however, not a serious ideological issue because at the next meeting early in 1910, the members decided that it was more important to have a cooperative store where they could buy more cheaply, and they decided to scrap the idea of buying land for a school or church!⁵⁰

The branch reports published in *The APO* reveal information about incidents in which the BMS missionaries were involved, and which were not published in the *Jahresberichte*.

While the APO strongly opposed the Union Day celebrations on the 31st May 1910 (the coloured people had nothing to be happy about and nothing to celebrate), the missionary at Laingsburg was anxious that the pupils of the mission school should take part in the nationwide celebrations. At an APO meeting on the 25th May, it was decided that parents of school children should see to it that their children were not to take part. Apparently a female Sunday School teacher was organising the children on orders from the missionary.⁵¹

In September of the same year, Veldsman, on a tour to all the branches, visited Laingsburg. On Sunday, the 23rd

he attended the two Rhenish (sic) church services. During one of the services the pastor warned the congregation that they should not believe everything that they were told. He also addressed Veldsman directly and sternly warned him that if he told any lies he would lose his voice!⁵²

The relationship between the BMS and the APO in Ladismith was in strong contrast with the situation at Laingsburg where the APO regularly used the BMS school as a venue for their meetings. In one instance a concert organised by the APO had to be postponed because the missionary, Gerneke, refused to let them use the school hall. The problem was sorted out when Gerneke explained to them that if they charged entry fees, they could not have the hall for free, but had to hire it for the occasion. The concert was eventually held and was well attended by both coloured and white people.⁵³

When the chairman of the branch, Ed Raubenheimer, returned from the annual APO congress in Johannesburg in 1912, Gerneke attended the report-back meeting in the BMS school hall. The APO reported that after Raubenheimer's report "The Rev. Mr. C. Gerneke said that what he heard about the organisation was that it was a good institution. What the chairman said that evening was perfectly true. He was glad to see so many in attendance and hoped that they would all join the organisation and become a united people. A vote of thanks was accorded to the Rev. Mr. Gerneke for his kind words of advice."⁵⁴

The good relationship that existed between the BMS and APO in Ladismith may be explained by the fact that Raubenheimer was a loyal and prominent member of the BMS congregation and that there probably existed a close personal relationship between him and Gerneke. White inhabitants of the village also attended the social functions organised by the APO and there seem to have existed cordial relations between white and coloured people in the town.⁵⁵ Thus it comes as no surprise that the Ladismith branch moved that the 1914 general conference should be held in their town. Unfortunately this did not happen.

In Riversdale the APO regularly met in the "English Church" mission school hall. The Rev mr Anderson regularly attended meetings of the APO and the Independent Benefit Society which had been founded by members of the local APO branch. The Riversdale church group, the "Band of Hope" also performed at the "English Church" to raise funds for the APO branch.⁵⁶

In spite of the good relations between Rev Anderson and the APO branch, he and his churoh came under fire when he advertised for a white headmaster of the mission school at Riversdale. According to a letter to the newspaper, the minister and the church were discriminating against coloured people.⁵⁷

The Riversdale branchs, like the Mossel Bay branch, was once reprimanded by the editor of *The APO* after they had sent in a report in which they stated that a member, again a Russouw, had suggested that a list of people who refused to join the APO, be kept. People who were on the "black list" were not to receive any assistance or aid from the APO. Dr Abdurahman replied in the newspaper that that kind of behaviour was against the rules and spirit of the APO.⁵⁸

The Zoar branch often featured in the reports sent to *The APO*. The very first report mentioned in the issue of 20.11.1907 stated that mrs Charlotte Johannes had been instrumental in founding a branch at the mission station. The editor noted that it was "curious" that a woman should have taken the initiative. At a meeting in February 1910, it was again mentioned that both men and women had taken part in the discussions, as if women normally did not take part in these meetings.⁵⁹

The Berlin missionaries on neighbouring Amalienstein were also strongly criticised by the APO official, Raynard, who had come over from Oudtshoorn. In May 1910 he reported to the Zoar members on the annual congress

held earlier in Port Elizabeth, and then went on to state that the people of Zoar, but especially the people of Amalienstein, were oppressed, exploited and kept in ignorance by the missionaries. Only if the people of Zoar and Amalienstein united, could they win the fight against injustice.⁶⁰

The strong accusations made by Raynard might have met with some approval but did not make him any friends. On his tour of branches, Veldsman was told by the members of the branches at Uniondale, Oudtshoorn, Dysselsdorp, Calitzdorp and Zoar that they would refuse to cooperate with the APO headquarters unless Raynard was relieved of his duties as an APO official. Apparently he charged higher membership fees than was prescribed.⁶¹

Although the Zoar branch of the APO mostly quarreled with the local Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) minister and teachers, the German missionaries at Amalienstein were once again criticised in 1914 that they did nothing for the people of Amalienstein. According to a member, F. Alexander, the missionaries were exploiting the people like a milk cow- "dat hun niets doen om de mensen te hulpen maar dat hun nog de mensen verbruiken als een milch kooi."⁶² (The APO sent its secretary general, Matt Fredericks, to Zoar in 1911 to investigate the numerous complaints of the inhabitants of the village. He reported on his visit in The APO of 6.5.1911 and stated that the inhabitants were largely responsible for their own misfortunes).⁶³

So much for the branch reports of the APO and the annual reports of the individual mission stations of the BMS.

The question can be put as to whether a political and a religious organisation can have the same objectives in mind?

The BMS wholeheartedly agreed with two of the five aims of the APO, namely "To ensure the general advancement of coloured people" and "To ensure better and higher education for coloured people." A third aim, "To guard the social, political and civil rights of coloured people", was probably compatible with the policies of the BMS. The other two aims, "To establish unity among the coloured people of Southern Africa" (which included the then Rhodesia and German South West Africa) and "To register those coloured who qualified as voters" were most definitely not seen as a matter for the church. Some missionaries may even have opposed these ideas.

The directors of the BMS stated that the ideas of the APO to promote higher education, political and civil rights for coloured people were not conflicting with the work of the church. They stated that the church already catered for all these needs. The only difference was that the church did not want to let things happen too fast. The BMS obviously chose the path of evolution and wanted to remain in control of political developments.

By stating that the coloured people should "trust and obey like children", is, of course, pure paternalism. This attitude was, of course, shared by all the other missionary societies at that time. The directors stated their attitude towards the APO as follows: "Diese Vereinigung erstrebt für die Farbigen höhere Ausbildung, größere politische Rechte und mehr bürgerliche Freiheit. Das alles verschafft ihnen die Kirche viel sicherer, wenn sie sich derselben kindlich und gehorsam anvertrauen, aber nicht so schnell, wie es die Stürmer unter ihnen wünschen, sondern durch gesunde Erziehung auf dem Wege fortschreitender Entwicklung."⁶⁴

Paternalism may have an undertone of racism, or may be based on the idea that one set of cultural values, which may include religion, is superior to another. Also that it is important or desirable that all other groups with other leanings or beliefs, should adopt the values and beliefs of the "right" group. In leaving their Heimat to bring the Christian gospel to the "heathen" people of the South-Western Districts, the Berlin missionaries were paternalistic and often autocratic in their ways. Because of the religious and cultural values they believed in, they advocated education, a strict Christian morality of virtue, thrift, sobriety and hard work.

Like religious societies, political organisations also try to gain "converts" and use various methods to attain their political goals. These methods may include autocratic behaviour by which a leader, especially a charismatic one, may force his views on others. Thus the leader of the APO, dr Abdurahman, was also accused of "egotism, arrogance and of authoritarianism"⁶⁵, terms usually associated with paternalism. "The Doctor", as he was often referred to by his followers, propagated many of the values which the missionaries in the South-Western Districts tried to instill in their coloured flock.

The German missionaries repeatedly stated that the typical sins of the coloured people were drunkenness and a loose morality.

Abdurahman, and the APO, constantly campaigned for prohibition. Right from the start of *The APO* a campaign was started to have prohibition installed in the Cape Colony because drink retarded the advancement of the coloured people. Dr Abdurahman, as a strict Muslim, would not have been affected by prohibition. It was however difficult to persuade his supporters" who were mostly Christians, that they had to abstain from using alcohol. As late as 1915 it was again stated in an article in *The APO* that the APO supported the idea of prohibition because it was the millstone around the neck of the coloured man.⁶⁶ In a prize essay published in the Christmas Number of *The APO* of 1912, miss Dorothy Maurice wrote on "How to improve the coloured race". She started of by saying that "The Coloured race is one of the best races of the world; and although it has fallen down in the twentieth century, it can work itself up into such a nation that it shall stand as a moral for all."⁶⁷

Miss Maurice suggested that the answer lay in religion, more especially Christianity. The second most important thing was to install prohibition since liquor abuse was one of the biggest problems in the coloured society. She stated that the Muslims, who did not drink, were much more prosperous than the (Christian) coloured people of the Cape. Drunkenness also led to other sins - which she did not specify. Education and active participation in sport was seen as a way of getting the coloured people to the top again.⁶⁸

The "sins" which miss Maurice mentioned in her essay probably referred to the ones the missionaries referred to as "Trunksucht" (alcoholism) and "Unsittlichkeit" (immorality).⁶⁹

It is immaterial whether one views this phenomenon as sin or purely as undesirable behavior; fact is that both immorality and alcoholism had a negative effect on coloured society. As a result the gap between rich and poor, white and black, became even bigger.

Dr Abdurahman realised the importance of the role of the different missionary societies and churches in providing education and combatting these "sins" of his people. Coloured people had to compete with whites who had the unfair advantage of holding political power, as well as the advantage of having received education from a much earlier stage.

Abdurahman and the APO thus did not seek confrontation with the Christian churches except when they acted, in his view, in an unchristian way. He did however attack the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) because of the statutory racial discrimination they introduced in 1910.⁷⁰ Another report in *The APO* stated the unchristian behaviour of a Berlin missionary who evicted some old people from the mission grounds at Bethany in the Orange Free State.⁷¹

Abdurahman did launch a scathing attack on the mission stations and land which the missionaries controlled when he read his presidential address at Oudtshoorn in 1907. He referred to Saron, Genadendal, Mamre and others. ; which probably included the nearby Amalienstein and Zoar. He had the following to say about the mission stations: "These stations had perhaps formerly served the purpose for which they were founded. They

had done good work and had answered their requirements at the time, unenlightened and ignorant as they were. And today they can be a great factor in the civilisation of the coloured people. But instead of that they were a bar and a drag in the path of progress."⁷²

Although dr Abdurahman did not pursue this anti-mission course in more after the newspaper was founded in 1909, he did perhaps sow the seeds which later on led to the anti-missionary feelings which were reported on in the *Jahresberichte*. As stated earlier, he then reprimanded the APO followers who got a little out of hand. A politician who cannot change his views in a diplomatic way, is after all, not a good politician!

Although the APO sometimes accused the missionaries of being racist in their attitudes towards coloured people, some rather racist and paternalistic were sometimes made in *The APO*, mostly in "Piet Uithalder's" regular column "Straatpraatjes". In an issue of 1910, he wrote about a visit to Kimberley where he watched a rugby game which ended in a free-for-all fight, and commented: "Rouwe Kaffirs kan speel soner kwaat te woort, waarom dan nie beskaafde bruine mense ook nie?"⁷³

In another issue it was suggested that The APO should also be published in "Kaffir".⁷⁴ This term was probably not used in a derogative way since it was at this stage the common alternative word for the Xhosa language.

Another "racist" report surfaced in the issue of 28.11.1914 when the editor put in the following extract under the heading "War News": "An Indian newspaper calls the Germans the mad Zulus of Germany".⁷⁵

At this stage one can come to a conclusion.

The reports in the *Jahresberichte* and *The APO* reflect the hostility between the two organisations, with their diverse goals. Yet they also mention the good relationships which could and did exist between individuals, e.g. Gerneke and Raubenheimer, who worked for the welfare of the coloured community.

The scathing attacks on the mission schools during the period 1909-1910 later made way for acknowledgement of the importance of these schools in the rural areas.⁷⁶ The fact that Sol Plaatje, an ex-student of a BMS school, became an esteemed contributor to *The APO*, could have influenced this change in attitude.⁷⁷ Whether this was the case, or not, fact is that when The Great War broke out in 1914, peace has been established between the BMS and the APO in the South-Western Districts.

⁷² Paper presented at the Institute for Historical Research Conference on "People, Power, and Culture: The History of Christianity in South Africa, 1792 - 1992".

Anmerkungen

- ¹ L. Zöllner and J.A. Heese: The Berlin missionaries in South Africa and their descendants (Pretoria 1984), 99-100.
- ² L. Zöllner and J.A. Heese: The Berlin missionaries, 356.
- ³ L. Zöllner and J.A. Heese: The Berlin missionaries, 342-343.
- ⁴ The official title of the (later) Berliner Missionsgesellschaft used to be "Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Missionen unter den Heiden."
- ⁵ N.E. Morris: Die rol van die African Political Organisation in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek, 1902-1924 (Ongepubliseerde M.A.-verhandeling, UWK, 1987), 99-100.
- ⁶ In addition to the Jahresberichte which appeared annually, the BMS also published the quarterly Missionsberichte. Unfortunately there are even fewer copies of these reports available in libraries in the Western Cape.
- ⁷ Jahresberichte 1900, 27-28.
- ⁸ Jahresberichte 1900, 28-29.
- ⁹ Jahresberichte 1900, 22-23.
- ¹⁰ Jahresberichte 1900, 22.
- ¹¹ Jahresherichte 1900, 20.
- ¹² Jahresberichte 1900, 25-26.
- ¹³ Jahresberichte 1900, 26-27.
- ¹⁴ Jahresberichte 1902, 151-154; 191-195; 637.
- ¹⁵ Jahresberichte 1906, 17.
- ¹⁶ B. Sundkler: Bantu Prophets in South Africa (London 1961), 39; 41-43; 58.
- ¹⁷ Jahresberichte 1906, 17.
- ¹⁸ Jahresberichte 1906, 17, 21.
- ¹⁹ Jahresberichte 1906, 20-21.
- ²⁰ Jahresberichte 1906, 20.
- ²¹ Jahresberichte 1906, 19.
- ²² Jahresberichte 1906, 26.
- ²³ Jahresberichte 1908, 12.
- ²⁴ Jahresberichte 1908, 19.
- ²⁵ Jahresberichte 1910, 19
- ²⁶ The APO, 3.7.1909; 28.8.1909.
- ²⁷ Jahresberichte 1910, 14.
- ²⁸ Jahresberichte 1910, 23-24.
- ²⁹ The APO, 4.6.1910.
- ³⁰ The APO, 3.10.1914.
- ³¹ Jahresberichte 1910, 20-21.
- ³² Jahresberichte 1910, 21.
- ³³ The APO, 12.3.1910; 7.5.1910; 28.1.1911.
- ³⁴ The APO, 10.9.1910.
- ³⁵ Jahresberichte 1910, 18.
- ³⁶ Jahresberichte 1910, 20.
- ³⁷ The APO, 24.5.1909; 5.6.1909.
- ³⁸ The APO, 14.8.1909; 27.8.1910; 5.11.1910.
- ³⁹ The APO, 3.6.1911.
- ⁴⁰ Jahresberichte 1910, 14.
- ⁴¹ Jahresberichte 1912, 26-27.
- ⁴² Jahresberichte 1912, 18.
- ⁴³ Jahresberichte 1912, 23-24.
- ⁴⁴ Jahresberichte 1912, 204.
- ⁴⁵ The APO, 14.6.1913.
- ⁴⁶ The APO, 14.6.1913.
- ⁴⁷ The APO, 14.6.1913.
- ⁴⁸ The APO, 23.8.1913.
- ⁴⁹ The APO, 30.11.1912.
- ⁵⁰ The APO, 1.1.1910.
- ⁵¹ The APO, 4.6.1910.
- ⁵² The APO, 8.10.1910.
- ⁵³ The APO, 9.3.1912.
- ⁵⁴ The APO, 24.2.1912.
- ⁵⁵ The APO, 8.11.1913.
- ⁵⁶ The APO, 3.7.1909; 11.9.1909; 10.9.1910; 9.9.1911.
- ⁵⁷ The APO, 9.9.1911.
- ⁵⁸ The APO, 7.10.1911.
- ⁵⁹ The APO, 20.12.1909.
- ⁶⁰ The APO, 18.6.1910.
- ⁶¹ The APO, 28.1.1911.
- ⁶² The APO, 19.9.1914.
- ⁶³ The APO, 6.5.1911; 8.3.1913.
- ⁶⁴ Jahresberichte 1910, 17.
- ⁶⁵ R.E. van der Ross: Say it out Loud. The APO Presidential Addresses and other Major Political Speeches, 1906-1940, of Dr Abdullah Abdurahman (Bellville 1990), 6.
- ⁶⁶ The APO, 6.2.1915.
- ⁶⁷ The APO, Christmas Number, 1912.
- ⁶⁸ The APO, Christmas Number, 1912.
- ⁶⁹ Jahresberichte 1909, 15, 22
- ⁷⁰ The APO, 18.5.1912; 13.11.1915.
- ⁷¹ The APO, 20.11.1909; 29.6.1912.
- ⁷² R. E. van der Ross: Say it out Loud, 3.
- ⁷³ The APO, 13.6.1910.
- ⁷⁴ The APO, 26.3.1910.
- ⁷⁵ The APO, 28.11.1914.
- ⁷⁶ The APO, 12.7.1913.
- ⁷⁷ The APO, 22.8.1914; see also the article of J. Grobler: "Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje", in: Lantern (February, 1992, Pretoria), 87.

Der Einfluß der Afrikaner auf die Friedensverhandlungen zum Abschluß des Südafrikanischen Krieges im Jahre 1902

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Weit verbreitet in der älteren wissenschaftlichen Literatur wie auch in populären Darstellungen und in unzähligen Erinnerungsberichten aus der Zeit um die Jahrhundertwende ist die Behauptung, daß der britisch-burische Konflikt von 1899 bis 1902, der sogenannte Burenkrieg, ausschließlich eine kriegerische Auseinandersetzung zwischen zwei Kolonialherren, in Gestalt der südafrikanischen Republiken Transvaal und Oranje-Freistaat einerseits sowie des britischen Kolonialimperiums andererseits, gewesen sei. Die Afrikaner wären in diesem Krieg lediglich mehr oder weniger willenlose Objekte der einen oder anderen Kolonialmacht gewesen.

Als am 11. Oktober 1899 der Krieg begann, glaubten Vertreter beider Seiten daran, daß bis zum Jahresende die wesentlichsten Kampfhandlungen beendet sein würden und die gegnerische Seite die Kapitulationsbedingungen, über die von Anfang an viel spekuliert wurde, angenommen hätte. Die Burenrepubliken versuchten durch diesen Waffengang als gleichberechtigte Staaten in der internationalen Arena anerkannt zu werden, bei gleichzeitiger Lösung einiger innerer Probleme, und die Briten wollten die ungeliebten Nachbarn im Süden ihres afrikanischen Kolonialreiches ihrem Imperium einverleiben. In der aktuellsten Geschichte Südafrikas von J. Fisch liest sich die folgende Entwicklung so: "Aus dem kurzen vorweihnachtlichen Waffengang war einer der härtesten und blutigsten Kolonialkriege der Geschichte geworden, der aufwendigste, teuerste und verlustreichste, den die Briten jemals (und auch seither) führten, der verheerendste Krieg, der bislang auf südafrikanischem Boden ausgetragen worden ist. Die Briten hatten fast 450 000 Mann mobilisiert, und sie hatten 22 000 Tote zu beklagen. Auf burischer Seite hatten insgesamt etwa 88 000 Mann gekämpft, davon 22 000 bis zum Ende; 7 000 waren gefallen."¹ Die Dimension dieses Krieges für den zukünftigen Verlauf der Geschichte sowie für seine Weiterentwicklung des Marxismus um die Imperialismustheorie erkennend, charakterisierte W. I. Lenin den "Burenkrieg" als einen der "wichtigsten historischen Marksteine der neuen Epoche der Weltgeschichte."²

Die Negierung der Aktivitäten, ja überhaupt die Nichtbeachtung der weitgehenden Involvierung der schwarzen Bevölkerungsmehrheit in den sogenannten Burenkrieg brachte der deutsche Autor H. Jaenecke in einer Schlagzeile für einen Vorabdruck seines in den 70er Jahren vielbeachteten Buches "Die weißen Herren" in einer Illustrierten zum Ausdruck, als er formulierte: "Der 'Burenkrieg' wird zum Entscheidungskampf um die Herrschaft in Südafrika. Die Schwarzen haben daran keinen Anteil. Weiße morden Weiße."³ Der Masse der Afrikaner wurde bis vor einigen Jahren selbst in der Fachliteratur zumeist nur insofern Eigenständigkeit eingeräumt, als daß behauptet wurde, sie hätten den militärischen Erfolgen der Briten größere Sympathien als den Siegen der Buren entgegengebracht.

Zwar wären sie von beiden Seiten zu militärischen Hilfsdiensten, so zu Schanzarbeiten, als Wagen- und Viehtreiber, Küchenhilfen sowie zur Versorgung der kämpfenden Truppe herangezogen worden, jedoch hätte eine Abmachung zwischen beiden kriegführenden Parteien existiert, die ausschloß, daß Schwarze mit der Waffe in der Hand gegen Weiße kämpfen konnten. Nachgewiesen werden konnte freilich so ein Abkommen nicht. Keine der weißen Kriegsparteien wollte sich mit den von ihnen mißachteten und zugleich aber auch gefürchteten "Schwarzen" verbünden. Aber beide Seiten beschuldigten vehement den Gegner, dies in großem Umfange zu tun. Vornehmlich proburische oder konservative südafrikanische Geschichtsschreiber werfen den Briten immer wieder vor, sie hätten die "Todsünde"⁴ begangen, Afrikaner - in ihrem Sprachgebrauch Kaffern - zu bewaffnen.

Schon im Vorfeld des Kriegsausbruches wurde behauptet, daß "englisches Geld rings um beide Freistaaten wilde afrikanische Stämme angeworben habe, die auf einen Wink Englands gegen jene losbrechen würden."⁵ Doch diese lediglich auf Verdächtigungen beruhenden Behauptungen wollen nicht wahrhaben, daß sich viele Afrikaner nicht als devote Geschöpfe rekrutieren ließen, sondern mit ihrer Teilnahme an den Kampfhandlungen konkrete Absichten verfolgten.

Leider wird selbst in seriösen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten oftmals der Eindruck vermittelt, daß die Afrikaner im "Burenkrieg" keinerlei Bedeutung hatten. So lautet der Untertitel des "Mafeking Diary" von Sol T. Plaatje, welches 1989 bzw. 1990 von dem bekannten Chicagoer Anthropologie-Professor L. Comaroff herausgegeben wurde: "A Black Man's View of a White Man's War". Der Herausgeber wählte diesen Untertitel, wenngleich er im Vorwort zu Recht hervorhebt: "Plaatje explodes the myth, maintained by belligerents, and long perpetuated by both historians and the popular imagination, that this was a white man's affair."⁶ Allerdings gibt es auch neuere Äußerungen, die letztere Auffassung von Comaroff bestätigen: "The South African War (1899 - 1902) is no longer treated as as 'a white man's war' by historians. Black South Africans were drawn into service by both sides, and the war affected the black communities in a variety of complex ways."⁷

Vornehmlich jedoch ist es dem britischen Historiker P. Warwick zu verdanken, daß die Legende vom "Krieg der Weißen" in der Geschichtsschreibung arg zerrüttet wurde.⁸ Er konnte nämlich als erster umfassend nachweisen, daß die Afrikaner während des mit Waffen ausgetragenen, den ersten imperialistischen Kriegen zur Neuaufteilung der kolonialen Welt zuzurechnenden Streits zwischen Buren und Engländern durchaus eigene, wenn auch nicht einheitliche Absichten verfolgten und in die Tat umzusetzen versuchten. Dazu zählt nicht nur die aktive Unterstützung der einen oder anderen Seite der weißen Rivalen; immerhin standen in der in Südafrika eingesetzten britischen Kolonialarmee mindestens 10 000, vielleicht sogar 30 000 Afrikaner unter Waffen und eine noch nicht bekannte Anzahl Afrikaner unterstützten aktiv die burischen Streitkräfte. Kaum beachtet wurde vielmehr, daß viele Afrikaner, zuweilen ganze Gemeinschaften, sich den Anordnungen der weißen Herren zur Ableistung von Hilfsdiensten bzw. der Aufforderung zur Versorgung der Truppen verweigerten.⁹ Weithin unbekannt in der Geschichtsschreibung war auch die Tatsache, daß Afrikaner die Gelegenheit der militärischen Konfrontation zwischen ihren kolonialen Unterdrückern nutzten, um eigene Zielvorstellungen zu verwirklichen. Davon zeugen die Aufstände insbesondere in Transvaal, die sich gegen jegliche weiße Vorherrschaft richteten. Zu den bedeutendsten derartigen Widerstandsbemühungen zählt der Aufstand der Pedi, als es diesem Stamm unter der Führung des Chiefs Sekukuni II. zu Beginn des Jahres 1900 gelang, die weiße Bevölkerung von einem beträchtlichen Teil des Territoriums der Transvaal-Republik zu vertreiben. Dieser Aufstand war zunächst sehr kraftvoll und für die Weißen überraschend ausgebrochen. Er bezog Afrikaner benachbarter Ethnien ein bzw. stimulierte sie zu eigenständigen antikolonialen Aktionen¹⁰, so daß selbst eine relativ starke militärische Einheit der Buren es nicht wagte, das "Aufstandsgebiet" zu durchqueren, obwohl ihnen dies erhebliche Vorteile gegenüber ihren englischen Feinden verschafft hätte.¹¹ Diese antikoloniale Aktion findet in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur Südafrikas kaum Beachtung, was allerdings wenig verwundern dürfte, wenn man die afrikaanssprachigen Arbeiten befragen möchte. Aber auch die revisionistische oder neomarxistische Auffassungen vertretenden, zumeist anglophonen Historiker haben sich diesem interessanten Kapitel der südafrikanischen Geschichte bislang wenig zugewendet. Selbst in den verdienstvollen Arbeiten von P. Warwick¹² mußten die antikolonialen Aufstände verschiedener afrikanischer Ethnien auf Grund der schlechten Quellenbasis nur recht knapp untersucht bleiben. Erst 1991 erschien eine umfassende Regionalstudie aus der Geschichte des "Burenkrieges". B. Nasson¹³ untersuchte die Beteiligung der Afrikaner in der Cape Colony an den Kampfhandlungen sowie deren Motivationen. Zugleich bietet er eine ausgezeichnete Sozialstudie über die Lage der Afrikaner während des Krieges.

Unter der wohl bekanntesten Ethnie Südafrikas, den Zulu, gab es ebenfalls zu jener Zeit antikoloniale bewaffnete Erhebungen, die sich gegen die Kolonialherren beider Nationalitäten richteten. Über die Haltung der an der Pe-

ipherie des Landes lebenden Ethnien, wie Zulu oder Swasi, aber auch der Southern Sotho im heutigen Lesotho, gibt es indes einige aussagekräftige Untersuchungen. Vermutlich deshalb, weil diese mehr oder minder intensiv durch britische Agenten zum Eingreifen in die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen gedrängt wurden. Allzu erfolgreich waren diese Versuche nach bisherigem Wissensstand jedoch nicht.

Die verschiedensten Formen des antikolonialen Widerstandes der Afrikaner im "Burenkrieg" konnten letztlich nicht zum Erfolg, das heißt zur Beseitigung der Kolonialherrschaft, führen. Die Aktionen der schwarzen Bevölkerung beeinflußten jedoch die Friedensverhandlungen, indem sie in hohem Maße zur Bereitschaft der 1902 noch kämpfenden 20 000 Buren beitrugen, ihren Guerillakrieg gegen die inzwischen britische Besetzung der zwei Buren-Republiken einzustellen. Konnten die Buren im März 1901 noch das Angebot von Lord Kitchener, dem Oberbefehlshaber der britischen Truppen in Südafrika - die sogenannten Middelburger Vorschläge - die für sie eigentlich recht günstige Friedensangebote enthielten, ablehnen, so plädierten ein Jahr später die meisten Generäle der Buren für die Einstellung der Kampfhandlungen. Denn wenn auch - nach ihren Aussagen - die Kampfkraft und -moral der burischen Kämpfer recht gut seien, so erwachsen ihnen doch durch die immer häufiger und erfolgreicher werdenden Aktivitäten der bewaffneten Afrikaner ernsthafte Gefahren. In der Frage der militärischen Nachschubversorgung wie auch in der Frage der Aufrechterhaltung der burischen Wirtschaft im Hinterland sowie unter britischer Annexion war man nämlich weitgehend von der schwarzen Bevölkerung abhängig. Des weiteren drohten "größere Aktionen von Schwarzen in den Randgebieten".¹⁴

Auf die Möglichkeit der Ausnutzung des Krieges durch die Afrikaner und deren Beeinflussung der Kampfhandlungen und somit auf die um die Mitte des Jahres 1901 ins Auge gefaßten Friedensverhandlungen verwiesen selbst europäische Presseorgane. So wußte beispielsweise die "Tägliche Rundschau" von einer "immer weiter um sich greifenden kriegerischen Bewegung unter verschiedenen der mächtigsten und gefährlichsten Eingeborenenstämme" zu berichten.¹⁵

Als sich am 15. Mai 1902 die Mitglieder der beiden Burenregierungen sowie 60 gewählte Vertreter, zumeist militärische Führer, in einem Zeltlager in Vereeniging am Vaal River zusammenfanden, um über ein Friedensabkommen mit Großbritannien zu beraten, wurde das Problem der Haltung der Afrikaner zu einem der zentralen, den Verlauf und das Ergebnis der Beratungen beeinflussenden Gegenstände. Es sei nur auf einige Zitate aus den vorgelegten Berichten und vorgetragenen Reden hingewiesen:

Der Generalkommandant Botha führte in seinem Bericht aus: "Die Kaffernfrage nimmt von Tag zu Tag eine ernstere Gestalt an. In Vrijheid steht ein Kaffernkommando, welches bereits verschiedene Ausfälle auf uns gemacht hat, und die Haltung der Kaffern hat einen schlimmen Einfluß auf den Geist unter unseren Bürgern." Kommandant Uys bestätigte, daß in der Mehrheit die Afrikaner den Buren in seinem Kampfabschnitt "feindlich gesinnt" seien. Der burische Abgeordnete Birkenstock berichtete: "Auch droht stets Gefahr von den Kaffern, die uns entschieden feindlich gegenüberstehen... Ein Kaffernkommando hat kürzlich... ein Burenkommando überfallen, und von 70 Mann wurden 56 getötet". Landdrost Bosman aus Wakkerstroom sagte in der Diskussion: "In allem, Fleisch ausgenommen, ist man von den Kaffern abhängig ... "¹⁶ Und in dem Bericht des Generals de la Rey heißt es: "In meinen Distrikten sind die Stämme von Mantsua und Mosheth auch unter den Waffen gegen uns."¹⁷ Es dürfte sich jedoch um eine Fehlannahme handeln, wenn man davon ausgeht, daß nach den ersten "Aufständen" der Afrikaner zu Beginn des Jahres 1900 erst wieder zum Ende des Krieges im Jahre 1902 ernstzunehmende antikoloniale Aktionen stattfanden, als die burischen Kommandos quasi schon als so gut wie geschlagen betrachtet werden konnten. Vielmehr gab es um den gesamten Zeitraum des Krieges mehr oder minder bedeutende Abwehrreaktionen, passiven oder aktiven Widerstand. Freilich kam es zu keiner nennenswerten Koordinierung oder zu Absprachen über die Aktivitäten. Immer wieder mußten Korrespondenten, Diplomaten oder andere Zeitzeugen über kämpferische Aktivitäten der Afrikaner aus wohl fast allen Regionen der heutigen Republik Südafrika berichten. So heißt es zum Beispiel in einer deutschen Korrespondenz aus

London: "Einem Telegramm der Abendblätter aus Pretoria zufolge nehmen Eingeborene an dem jüngsten Gefecht in Ost-Griqualand teil, in dem Kapitän Elliot, als er die Buren zurücktrieb, fiel. Die Buren flüchteten in die Berge. Die Eingeborenen hatten sich zu ihrer Selbstverteidigung bewaffnet, da sie einen Überfall fürchten, weil die Burenkommandanten seit einiger Zeit den reichen Eingeborenen-Bezirk von Ost-Griqualand bedrohten. Als Elliot die Buren angriff, verbanden sich die Eingeborenen mit den Engländern und leisteten ihnen wesentliche Hilfe."¹⁸

Nicht zuletzt - dies sollte bei der Beurteilung der sich über Jahre hinziehenden Widerstandsaktion der Afrikaner immer entsprechend berücksichtigt werden - erklärten sich die Beauftragten der beiden Burenrepubliken mit einem Friedensabkommen mit Großbritannien gerade wegen der immer intensiver werdenden bewaffneten Verteidigungskämpfe der afrikanischen Bevölkerung in der letzten Phase des "Burenkrieges" schließlich einverstanden und unterzeichneten am 31. Mai 1902 den Friedensvertrag von Vereeniging.

Schon auf Grund der vielfältigen Verstrickungen und zum großen Teil aktiven Teilnahme der Afrikaner am Kriegsgeschehen scheint es gerechtfertigt zu sein, nicht nur die Bezeichnung "Burenkrieg" als unzutreffende Charakterisierung der militärischen Auseinandersetzung im Süden Afrikas um die Jahrhundertwende abzulehnen, sondern auch die vor allem im englischen Sprachgebrauch häufige Bezeichnung "Anglo-Boer War" bzw. in deutscher Übersetzung "Englisch-burischer Krieg."¹⁹

Ist es nicht vielmehr angesichts der Tatsache, daß die Afrikaner nicht nur aktive Teilnehmer an den Kämpfen waren und bewußt auf der einen oder anderen Seite der Kolonialrivalen stritten sowie selbst unabhängig von diesen in das Kriegsgeschehen eingriffen, angebracht, vom "Südafrikanischen Krieg" zu sprechen? Dies dürfte auch in Anbetracht der großen Opfer und der Belastung der schwarzen Zivilbevölkerung durch den Krieg und seine Folgen berechtigt sein. Über die Anzahl der toten und verwundeten Afrikaner gibt es freilich keine offiziellen Angaben. Geschätzt wird, daß etwa 14.000 Afrikaner allein in den britischen Konzentrationslagern starben²⁰, wovon die internationale Öffentlichkeit im Gegensatz zu den 26.370 dort umgekommenen burischen Frauen und Kindern²¹ sowie den 20.000 gefallenen britischen Soldaten und dem finanziellen Verlust von 200 Millionen Pfund Sterling keine Notiz nahm. Der von einigen afrikanischen Historikern erhobene Vorwurf, daß "kein Afrikaner ... zu diesem Vertrag um seine Meinung befragt" wurde²², trifft zwar in dieser Formulierung pauschal zu. Indes waren die Haltung der Afrikaner während des Krieges und die von Großbritannien gegenüber den Buren gemachten Zugeständnisse nach deren relativ überraschend signalisierten Bereitschaft zum Frieden für den Abschluß des Friedensvertrages von Vereeniging ausschlaggebend. In der am 31. Mai 1902 abgeschlossenen Vereinbarung zur Beendigung des Krieges wurde auch der koloniale Status der beiden ehemals selbständigen Burenrepubliken festgelegt. Im Vertragstext heißt es jedoch auch, daß es zu einem späteren, noch festzulegenden Zeitpunkt eine "selbstverantwortliche Regierungsform" geben sollte. Von größter Bedeutung hingegen war der Artikel des Friedensvertrages, der festlegte, daß die Frage des Wahlrechts für Afrikaner erst nach Wiedereinführung der burischen Selbstregierung in den ehemaligen Burenrepubliken geregelt werden sollte. "Selbstregierung" bedeutete in diesem Fall die Herrschaft der weißen Bevölkerungsminderheit.

Im Dezember 1906 stimmte das britische Parlament dann auch einer Verfassung für Transvaal zu, in der ein auf die weißen Männer beschränktes Wahlrecht verankert war. Eine ähnliche Verfassung wurde ein halbes Jahr später für die vormalige Republik Oranje-Freistaat angenommen. Nicht unwesentlich wurde dieser mit rassistischen Argumenten begründete Ausschluß der überwiegenden Mehrheit einer Bevölkerung an die Lenkung eines Staates durch die Gründung der Südafrikanischen Union aus Transvaal und Oranje-Freistaat sowie den britischen Kolonialgebieten Kapprovinz und Natal im Jahre 1910 und deren Aufnahme in den Commonwealth festgeschrieben.

Auf eine in der Historiographie bislang so gut wie nicht beachtete Folge der Beteiligung der Afrikaner am Süd-

afrikanischen Krieg muß im Interesse einer objektiven Bewertung hingewiesen werden. Der Anlaß, die Waffe in die Hände zu nehmen und entweder auf der einen oder anderen Seite der Kriegsparteien mitzukämpfen bzw. sich gegen beide Methoden der Kolonialmacht bewaffnet zur Wehr zu setzen, aber auch das passive Verweigern von Kriegs- und Hilfsdiensten, mag oft genug unmittelbare Bedrohung oder Zwang gewesen sein. Jedoch scheint in breiten Teilen der afrikanischen Bevölkerung die Motivation tieferliegend gewesen zu sein. Seit 1890 ist es in Transvaal, wo die stärksten und nachhaltigsten antikolonialen Aktionen während des Südafrikanischen Krieges stattfanden, zur Gründung von Vorformen der heutigen Unabhängigen Kirchen gekommen. Gerade hier unter den mächtigsten und bevölkerungsstärksten Ethnie Transvaals, den Pedi,²³ entstand zu jener Zeit die älteste, heute noch existierende sogenannte Separatistenkirche Südafrikas, die in der Literatur auch als Bapedi-Nationalkirche bezeichnet wird. Maurice Leenhardt, der erste Historiker des Äthiopismus, bezeichnete diese als eine der drei Vorfürer der "äthiopischen Kirche" in Südafrika.²⁴ Die schon nach kurzer Zeit über 5000 Anhänger unter den Pedi besitzende Bewegung²⁵ ist "wesentlich als Ausdruck des Widerstandes des Pedi-Stammes gegen die weiße Vorherrschaft im politischen und kirchlich-religiösen Bereich zu begreifen". Dieser richtete "sich gegen den Paternalismus und die Vormachtstellung der weißen Missionare".²⁶ Aber schon bald richtete sich die Bewegung, selbst wenn in tribalen Begrenzungen verhaftet, nicht nur mehr gegen die europäischen Missionare. Auf dem Boden der unabhängigen religiösen Bestrebungen entwickelten sich Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts die ersten politischen Bewegungen in Südafrika, deren Anhänger sich nicht scheuten, im Südafrikanischen Krieg zu versuchen, das Kolonialjoch abzuschütteln. Wenn dies Ziel auch nicht erreicht werden konnte, so waren dies doch wesentliche Erfahrungen und eine Stärkung des Selbstbewußtseins der inzwischen ja vollständig unterworfenen afrikanischen Stammesgesellschaften auf dem Territorium der heutigen Republik Südafrika. Sie konnten die Erfahrungen aus den Niederlagen der antikolonialen Abwehrkämpfe der vorangegangenen Jahrhunderte²⁷, die vornehmlich in der Einsicht bestanden, gemeinsam dem kolonialen Feind - und nicht nur mit militärischen Mitteln - zu begegnen, wie auch aus dem erst einige Jahre zurückliegenden Südafrikanischen Krieg bei der Gründung der Befreiungsorganisation African National Congress im Jahre 1912 einbringen.²⁸

Anmerkungen

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- ³H. Jaenecke, Die Buren, in: Der Stern, Nr. 41/1976, 128
- ⁴O. Hintrager, Geschichte von Südafrika (München 1952), 384
- ⁵Hamburger Nachrichten (Hamburg), 20. 7. 1899.
- ⁶S.T. Plaatje, Mafeking Diary. A Black Man's View of a White Man's War, ed. by J. Comaroff (Cambridge / London / Athens 1990), 1.
- ⁷B. Nasson, Abraham Esau's War. A Black South African War in the Cape, 1899-1902 (Cambridge / New York 1991), II.
- ⁸P. Warwick, Black People and the War, in: The South African War. The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902, ed. by P. Warwick and S.B. Spies (London 1980); P. Warwick, Black People and the South African War 1899-1902, Cambridge u.a. 1983.
- ⁹Vgl. Transvaal-Archiv Pretoria, Dr. W.J. Leyds-Archief, Oorlogsargie, Nr. 781: Rapport van Kapt. Ram en Luit. Thompson in Sake Anglo-Boereoorlog. Dele VII-IX. 1899-1900, 22ff.
- ¹⁰Vgl. H.A. Junod, The Life of a South African Tribe, Bd. 1, 512 ff.
- ¹¹Vgl. B. Viljoen, Die Transvaaler im Krieg mit England. Kriegserinnerungen (München 1902), 232.
- ¹²Vgl. Anmerkung 8.
- ¹³B. Nasson, a.a.O.
- ¹⁴J. Fisch, a.a.O.
- ¹⁵Tägliche Rundschau (Berlin), 23.8. 1901.
- ¹⁶Chr. R. de Wet, Der Kampf zwischen Bur und Brite. Der dreißigjährige Krieg (Kattowitz/Leipzig o.J.), 335;339;340 f.
- ¹⁷Amtlicher Bericht des General J.H.de la Rey über den Südafrikanischen Krieg (München 1902), 23.
- Bundesarchiv (BRD), Abteilung Potsdam: 59.3., Nr. 4514.
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- ¹⁹P. Maylam, A History of the African People of South Africa. From the early Iron Age to the 1970s (London / Johannesburg 1986), 137.
- ²⁰O. Hintrager, a.a.O., 394.
- ²¹A. Lerumo, Fünfzig Jahre Kampf der Südafrikanischen Kommunistischen Partei 1921-1971 (Berlin/DDR 1973), 56.
- H.O. Mönnig, Volkekunde Kultur en Spel (Johannesburg 1969) 8.
- ²²M. Leenhardt, Le Mouvement Ethiopien au sud de l'Afrique de 1896 a 1899 (Cahors 1902), 17.
- ²³J. Richter, Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika (Gütersloh 1922), 426.
- ²⁴E. Kamphausen, Anfänge der kirchlichen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung in Südafrika. Geschichte und Theologie der Äthiopischen Bewegung, 1872-1912 (Bern/Frankfurt am Main 1976) 84 und 88.
- ²⁵Vgl. U. van der Heyden, Das Streben nach Einheit - wichtigste Lehre aus den antikolonialen Abwehrkämpfen in der Traditionspflege des ANC, in: 75 Jahre Afrikanischer Nationalkongress von Südafrika - 75 Jahre Kampf gegen Kolonialismus und Rassismus (Berlin/DDR 1987), 42 ff.
- ²⁶Vgl. F. Meli, South Africa belongs to Us. A History of the ANC (Harare / Bloomington / Indianapolis / London 1988), 7 ff.

Neuerscheinungen zum Südlichen Afrika

Im 8. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung ARCHIV 1992 veröffentlicht der Wiener Historiker *Markus Cerman* einen ausführlichen Beitrag zum Thema "*Der Industrialisierungsverlauf und die Entstehung der Arbeiterklasse im südlichen Afrika: eine unvollständige Proletarisierung?*" (S. 8-34). Cerman stellt aufgrund einer breiten Literaturbasis das Industrialisierungsmuster Südafrikas "als Erklärung des Entstehungsprozesses der afrikanischen Arbeiterklasse in Südafrika als auch der Vorstufen und Entwicklung des Apartheidsystems" dar.

In derselben Ausgabe des Jahrbuchs findet sich auch ein Aufsatz der Wiener Ethnologin *Elfriede Höckner* mit dem Titel "*Ein Missionar im Kreuzfeuer verschiedener Produktions- und Lebensweisen. Aspekte des Proletarisierungsprozesses der afrikanischen Bevölkerung Nordtransvaals.*" (S. 35-53). Als Grundlage für den Beitrag dient das interessante Tagebuch des norddeutschen Missionars Friedrich Reuter (Nachkomme einer Salzburger Emigrantenfamilie). Höckner illustriert anhand dieser Quelle anschaulich die Lebensbedingungen der afrikanischen Bergarbeiter und die Veränderung der traditionellen Lebensweise in der Burenrepublik Transvaal.

Das renommierte *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik* widmet Heft 1/1993 zur Gänze dem Südlichen Afrika. Während der Linzer Entwicklungsoziologe *Heinz Holley* die entwicklungspolitischen Herausforderungen eines Post-Apartheid-Südafrika darstellt, beschäftigt sich der Wiener Historiker *Walter Sauer* mit der bisherigen österreichischen Entwicklungspolitik in Südafrika. Weitere Beiträge befassen sich mit der Southern African Development Community (*Francis Matambala*), Namibia (*Manfred Hinz*), Malawi (*Bernhard Bouzek*) sowie den Beziehungen zwischen Malawi und Österreich (*Walter Sauer, Maria Gerbel-Wimberger*). Franz Breitwieser stellte die vorhandenen statistischen Daten über die österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit mit den Ländern der SADC 1980-1991 zusammen und präsentierte somit eine wertvolle Quelle für die Analyse des Themas.