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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG
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STRUCTURE AND EXPERIENCE IN THE MAKING OF APARTHEID

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BOUNDARIES - TYPOLOGIES AND TOPOLOGIES.
THE HISTORY OF ENTOMBE MISSION

The area which I have chosen as a focus is a rather a-typical example of the conflict- and crisis-ridden social relations in South Africa's rural areas. Its anomalous character (if the periodisation of the capitalist transformation of the countryside renders any nomotheticalities) arises from various conditions which militate against any attempt to place it in an unequivocal way: Historically it was an area of intersecting and crossecting spheres of interest, jurisdiction, and sovereignty (the Zulu kings; the chiefs appointed by the Natal colonial administration; the missionaries; the landlords; the Volksraad; and colonial Natal). Co-inciding with these spheres of interest were conflicting claims to property rights, legitimised on different grounds (loyalty, sale and purchase, central state authority, and in the case of the inhabitants, length of residence and the sovereignty of the Zulu kings). The missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission Society who set up the mission station at the Entombe River, defied the Tranvaal government's property claims by refusing to enter into a lease agreement, and to pay rent or taxes. Because of its unclear status, the mission settlement at Entombe was only marginally affected by central state laws. Like other mission stations, it was exempted from the 1913 Land Act (under certain conditions, including supervision by a white missionary, and strict mission regulations). Under those conditions, a rent-paying tenantry (of a special type) could survive there, with relatively minor labour requirements on the part of the resident missionary. 'Betterment' or 'rehabilitation' scheme regulations, which were instituted in other South African rural areas during the 1930's and 1940's, were imposed on Entombe residents at a much later date, and then in a different form. Consequently, the form of resistance to these regulations took a different form than that documented for many other areas.

In the case of Entombe Mission, the layers of criss-crossing border and boundary lines historically acquired an economic, political, and cultural significance in so far as they have engendered diffent sign regimes - which differentiate this area from many South African rural areas, but also increasingly differentiate the conditions internally with a minimum degree of 'extra-economic' coercion. It is this process that this paper will investigate in more detail.

To see the conflictual development of demarcations of land within this area, it needs to situated within the historical lines drawn around and through it.2)

Being situated on a tributary of the Pongola River (Natal's Northern boundary), the Entombe area provides access to sweet, mixed and sour grazing, and was therefore visited by Transvaal Boer herders crossing into Zululand in search for winter grazing.

HWS 220

When the missionaries arrived in 1860, the area was formally under King Mpande's rule. Even the Landdros and Veldcornet of of the nearby Transvaal town of Wakkerstroom recognised the Zulu kings' sovereignty; they remitted heads of cattle paid by Christian converts of the neighbouring mission station Ekombela (on orders of the resident missionary) to the Transvaal Republic in taxes, to the delgates of Cetshwayo (Hasselhorn, 1988: 38).

The agreement by which missionaries came to occupy the area along the Entombe River, likewise acknowledges King Mpande's sovereignty. The orally contracted agreement is recorded as stating that Mpande gave the plot to the missionaries for missionary purposes, without any property rights. A short while later, the Volksraad voiced its claims over the area. In the face of these conflicting sovereignty and jurisdiction claims, the mission society approached the Volksraad for property rights, which were however refused. Instead, the resident missionary attempted to seize this jurisdiction for the mission in setting himself up as local authority by proclaiming regulations binding on all mission station inhabitants (compulsory attendance at morning and evening devotion; school-attendance for children; prohibition of polygyny and beer-drinking; curfew from 21h; jurisdiction by a council appointed by the missionary) (Hasselhorn, 1988: 38). The missionary was in a strong position to introduce these regulations at this particular time, as drought, and crop failure through hail, and the resulting famine, drove many inhabitants of surrounding areas to the mission station (HMB 8, 1869: 204).

The Volksraad, to whose attention the competing claims had come, had the mission station ground surveyed and the area of 1 200 acres entered in the Deeds Office as property of the Transvaal government. Mpande, reacting to this arrogation, demanded absolute and exclusive loyalty from his subjects in the area by imposing fines on anyone bowing to labour tenancy agreements with Boer farmers and paying taxes to the Boer Republic (Chronik der Station Entombe, p. 11). At this stage, the resident missionary notes that the inhabitants of the mission station do not recognise any leaders, attempting to evade the authority of the Boers and serving the Zulu king in order to be spared the yoke of the Europeans (HMB 9, 1870: 177).

Under Mpande's successor, Cetshwayo, the population of the Northern Zulu kingdom came under increasing pressure from the Transvaal Boers. Against Boer encroachment on the kingdom, Cetshwayo sought support from the British colonial government of Natal in the person of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Shepstone, after initially agreeing to set up an alliance to confront the encroaching Boers, viewed the hitherto independent Zulu kingdom as an obstacle to British expansion, and therefore backed the Boers, who had annexed the territory of Northern Zululand (1875). When the British annexed the Transvaal two years later and Shepstone became the Governor General of the Transvaal, he backed the Boers against the Zulu kingdom. At this news, negotiations between Cetshwayo and Shepstone broke down, and rumours of war

were rife. The Zululand-Transvaal boundary dispute served as a pretext for Shepstone's proposed annexation of Zululand. To investigate the border conflict, the Natal administration under Sir Henry Bulwer appointed a Boundary Commission. The publication of the Commission's report was delayed. Even though it supported the Zulu king's claims, its publication was coupled with an ultimatum to the Zulu king: Among other measures, fines were imposed on Zululand inhabitants for alleged border violations (which were not confirmed by the report of the Commission), and the Zulu military system was to be abolished.

In 1879 the British army invaded Zululand, was defeated at Isandhlwana, but emerged victorious at Ulundi a few months later. In the wake of this victory, Cetshwayo was captured and deported, and the Zulu kingdom was divided into 13 chiefdoms whose chiefs were appointed by the British administration. These appointed chiefs did not command the support of the followers of the Zulu royal chiefs, and civil war arose, whose main protagonists were Zibhebhu and Ohamu on the side of the Mandlakazi, and Dinuzulu, Mnyamana, and Ndabuko on the side of the Usuthu. Dinuzulu sought the help of the Boers to oust Zibhebhu, and in return was lured into an agreement with the Boers to cede individual plots of land for farms in the North Western part of Zululand.

By the terms of the Pretoria Convention, the north western border of the Zulu kingdom was redrawn (along the Pongola, Bivane, and Blood Rivers) in favour of the Transvaal. With this demarcation, Entombe Mission was definitely assigned to the Transvaal Republic (even though it had previously been placed under the protection of the Governor of Natal, and was administered by the Hermannsburg Mission Society as part of its Zululand mission circuit). Transvaal government-appointed surveyors re-surveyed the ground of Entombe Mission. Subsequently, the plot was divided into four parts, two of which were given to German settler congregations. The Hermannsburg Mission Society responded by refusing to sign the 25-year lease contract which the Transvaal government proposed, and refused to pay rent; the missionaries did not acknowledge the Transvaal government as the rightful owner, and feared for their claims to property rights if they were to pay rents (H.C. Koch to Froehling, 14.4. 1885 - in IAM). The new border line was not observed, however; Boer farmers continued crossing over into Zulu territory in search for farming land.

By the London Convention of 1884, formal independence was granted to what was now called the South African Republic and the Transvaal/Zululand border was fixed. Zululand missionaries complained of Boer threats to confiscate what the missionaries viewed as mission property (H. Koch to Froehling, 29.1.1885 - in IAM). Southern Transvaal Boers alleged that Usuthu leaders promised them 800 farms in Central Zululand in return for supporting them against the Mandlakazi. Consequently, a total of 2710· 000 acres were surveyed and portioned into farms for white settlers - far in excess of the agreed New Republic territory - , turning thousands of Zululand inhabitants into labour tenants on

their communally-held land. The area, proclaimed 1886 as New Republic, eventually (after several surveys and delimitations) came to span the central area from the upper ranges of the Mhlatuze River in the South to the Pongola River in the North, with Vryheid as the capital. The area bordering this territory on the south east (down to the Thukela River) , the so-called Reserve Territory, was created as a buffer between Natal and Zululand; Cetshwayo was given the central part of Zululand, and Zibhebhu received a territory to the north east. In 1887, the central state authorities saw these territories annexed - the New Republic to the Transvaal, and the whole of Zululand, including the Reserve Territory, and Cetshwayo's and Zibhebhu's territories, to Natal. The whole territry was now subject to white magistrates.

In the South African Republic, the first anti-squatting law came into effect, restricting inhabitants living on white-owned farms to five families per farm. After vociferous opposition to this law from mission stations, mission societies agreed to transfrom their stations into locations. Location boundaries were then determined, and mission land transferred to the Locations Committee.

In Natal, immediately after the annexation of Zululand, the hut tax was doubled from 7sh to 14sh. A heavy tax burden, civil strife, pass laws (introduced in Transvaal in 1896, in Zululand in 1899), the consequent eviction of African tenants, and conditions of drought and Rinderpest, contributed to the decline of peasant production in Zululand from the 1890's onwards, and to the homesteads' reliance on migrant labour remittences. At this stage, also, the missionaries complained of irregular payment of church fees on mission stations (HMB 5, 1891: 95). The Zululand civil war of 1884/85 had disrupted subsistence activities of the inhabitants of Northern Zululand, and many of them fled northwards, only to find themselves forced to become labour tenants on ground now occupied by Transvaal Boers. The Entombe missionary's accounts testify to this in terms of the first converts: individuals whom the missionary had employed as servants, tenants on Boer settler farms, and youths who escaped the grip of their elders (Chronik der Station Entombe, especially the first part written by missionary Meyer).

In the face of large scale dispossession and disruption of social and economic activities, mission station ground, for many Zululand inhabitants, became an attractive alternative at a time when farmers abandoned agreements of rent-tenancy in favour of labour tenancy. Black inhabitants of Northern Natal, in particular, were hard pressed in search for viable arable and grazing lands, due to the small number and area of the 'reserves' allocated to Africans. The scarcity of reserve and Crown land in Northern Natal, which was instituted long before the 1913 Land Act through concessions to Boer farmers and through several imperialist annexations and boundary demarcations, was one of the factors accounting for the large number of missions and churches (21 in the period 1910-1936) holding land in the area. In the

years before the enforcement of the Land Act provisions (which curbed expansion of mission station land and the establishment of new mission stations outside of the released areas), there were such a multitude of mission stations that African were in a position to shop around for the best conditions (Harris, 1984:131). Missionaries complained that the reason for the attraction of mission stations to local inhabitants consisted not in a desire for conversion, but in obtaining access to land. One missionary for instance recommended the following recipe for success to his mission society: "If the mission wants to achieve quick successes, it should buy a great deal of land and establish fewer mission stations" (Kueck, Esihlengeni (Zululand) - in HMB 1, 1882: 193)

In Natal, it did not take officials long to realise the attraction of mission stations to Africans. Mission reserves were placed under a Mission Reserve Trust consisting of missionaries and state officials. From the 1890's, a 10sh land rent was levied from mission reserves, to be collected by the missionary. During 1896/97, surveying, measuring, and fencing of mission stations took place on a large scale (documented for the mission stations Ekombela, Nazareth, Muden).

During the South African War (1899-1902), ZAR troops initially occupied the Northern parts of Natal, but by the end of the following year, British troops from Natal had occupied most areas of the Boer Republic. Northern Natal missionaries fled; the mission stations in this area served the British troops as camps. When the Boer commandoes continued their fight in the form of guerilla warfare, the British troops retaliated by destroying all supplies, means of transport, and transport routes, especially along the Natal/Transvaal border. With the capitulation of Boer commandoes in Vereeniging in 1902, Transvaal became a British colony. The British administration restored property relations in the countryside by, among other things, allowing Boers to keep the livestock they had looted from blacks during the war, and restoring to them the cattle looted from them (Krikler, 1986: 12). Zululand was opened up for white settlement, and Zulu-speaking inhabitants assigned to "locations" and "reserves". In the case of mission stations in Natal, the Mission Reserves Act was passed whereby trusteeship over mission reserves in Natal was transferred to the Natal Native Trust, which thereby was granted the right of admission, eviction, and removal of inhabitants of mission stations.

A flurry of measuring, surveying and fencing operations again befell the mission stations during 1905 (documented for the mission stations Esihlengeni, Enyati, Etembeni, Ehlanzeni in Natal; and Hahanaim and other mission stations in the Transvaal). Entombe was declared an inalienable Mission Reserve; the mission society was granted property rights in the form of a Deed of Reserve, which did not, however, include the jurisdfiction over its black inhabitants (1905). Four years later, the resident missionary of Entombe was granted the same rights as a farmer over his tenants (viz. the issue of passes). After much lobbying

in close co-operation with surrounding white farmers, Parliament granted the mission society title deeds over Entombe, giving the missionary the right to evict "undesirable" inhabitants (1937).

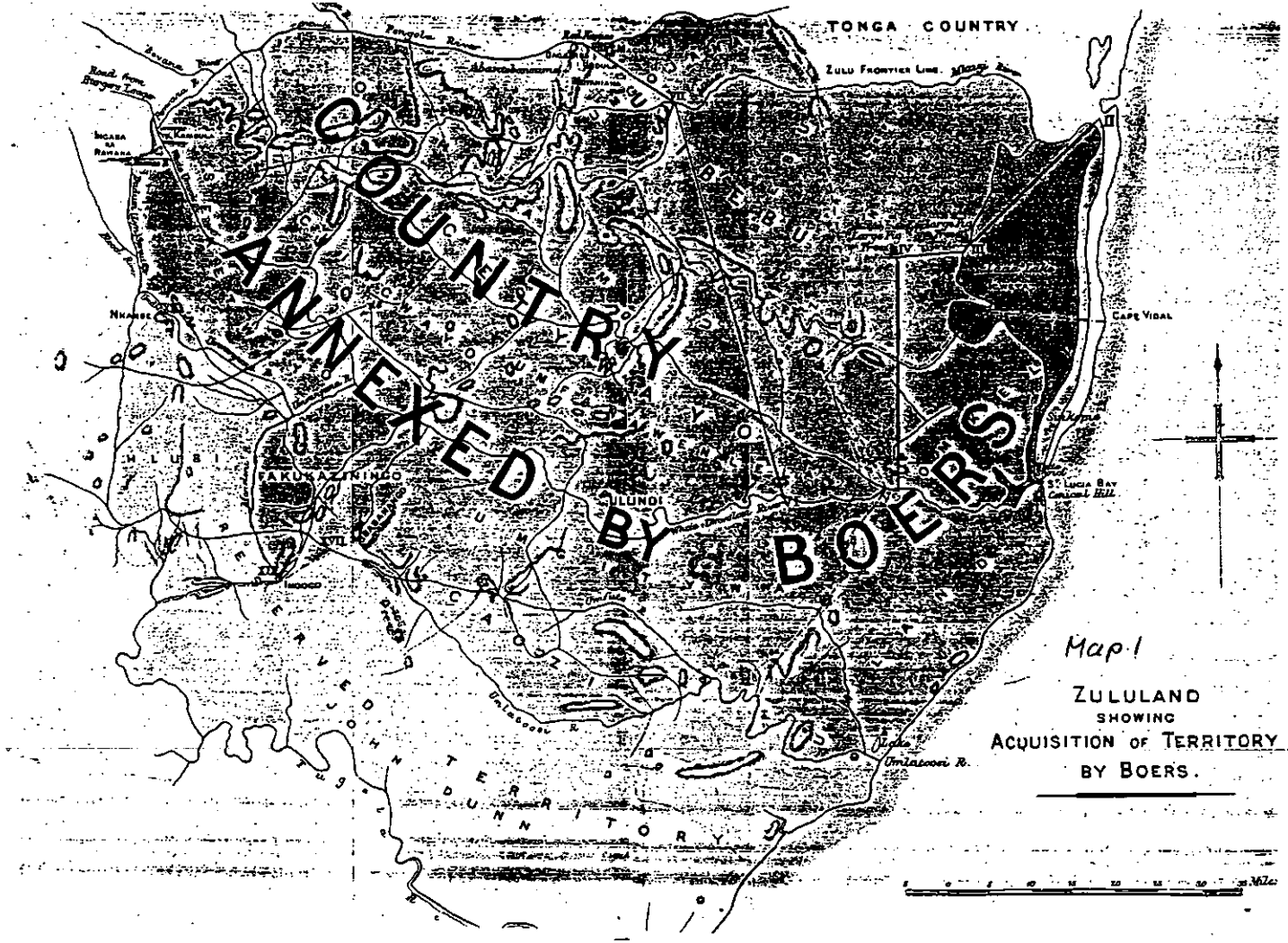
One of the themes emerging from the entangled threads of this history is the arbitration, demarcation, and fixing of claims to territorial rights which, in the process of this "mapping", are loaded with a politically and culturally motivated legitimacy which is at the heart of central state power. I would like to subject one of these mapping processes to closer scrutiny, in order to demonstrate how the demarcation of territories involves particular discourses of science and culture. A mapping process that is particularly well-documented is the protracted process of demarcating the area of Northern Natal/Zululand that was to become known as the "New Republic" in 1884, in the wake of which Entombe mission station, too, was surveyed and partitioned (1885).

The Pretoria Convention of 1881 had redrawn the North Western border line of the Zulu kingdom in favour of the Transvaal. However, this demarcation did not carry the regularising force of an agreement between two centralised states; Boer farmers from the Southern Transvaal continued to cross over into Zululand and demanded 800 farms of 6 000 acres each in return for their support of the Usuthu against Zibhebhu. The dispute over land was referred to 'scientific measurement' as the supreme arbiter, which, by virtue of the recorded and written results, carries greater legal power (that of private property) than orally contracted agreements.3) This presented the Zulu interests with a grave disadvantage.

Sir Henry Bulwer, on 22 July 1884, reports on the accounts he received of Zululand:

> "[Umnyamana] said that before he could agree to this cession he would like to know how far into the country 800 farms would extend. He hoped, he said, the Boers would not wish to take too much of the country, and that they would not make crooked lines in it, but would take a straight line from point to point, as a line with corners or angles was unsatisfactory. In answer, the Boers suggested that the best thing for them to do would be to inspect and mark out the 800 farms, and that in this way the full extent would be shown." (emphasis added)(CZ, October 1884: 16)

The significance of Umnyamana's condition lies in the stipulation of a point-to-point measurement which precludes a large consolidated territory. The stipulation that no crooked lines were to be made on the country indicates Umnyamana's familiarity with maps of the time, which adopt 'natural' demarcations (especially rivers) as boundary lines - which again attests to his preclusion of a consolidated territory between two rivers. One example of such mapping - which is precisely what Umnyamana did not wish to concede to - is a reconstruction of Boer claims contained in the proclamation of the New Republic, reconstructed by Henrique Shepstone [Map 1], submitted 15 December 1885. (CZ,


TONGA COUNTRY
ZULU FRONTIER LINE
COUNTRY ANNEXED BY BOERS
CAPE VIDAL
ST. LUCIA BAY
Conical Hill
FAKUKAZININGO
ULUNDI
INGOGO
Umlatoosi R.
Lake Umlatoosi R.
Map 1
ZULULAND
SHOWING
ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY
BY BOERS.

February 1886) In the absence of surveying technology, the claims are superimposed on existing topographical-cum-ethnographic maps, taking river courses as boundaries. The only "straight lines" are those drawn in respect for British imperial interests (St Lucia, and the concern of the Natal administration to leave part of Zululand intact). And yet, the naming - without assigning demarcated territories - of certain Zulu rulers on this map indicates limited control over the area claimed for Boer settler occupation. The central state authority had not left its mark in terms of selecting and privileging particular networks and destroying competing alliances where these occupy the same territory.

One month later, the rough measurements that define the newly appropriated territory were transferred into the terms of a particular discourse of culture in the Proclamation issued by the government of what was now called the New Republic:

> "it appears that no civilised Government has felt itself called upon to interfere in the affairs of Zululand to put a stop to the bloodshed ot defenceless women and children, and to restore peace and order there. A number of farmers from the various States and Colonies of South Africa deem it a holy duty to accede to the appeals of the Zulu chiefs, in the interests of humanity and civilization, and with a eye to the safety of life and property of the adjoining people." (Natal Mercury, September 2, 1884 - in CZ, October 1884: 84)

Reacting to the Proclamation of the New Republic, and the territorial appropriation, the Natal colonial administration saw its notion of peace (i.e its influence over Zululand territory, since Dinuzulu was aligning himself with the Boers) threatened, and questioned the measured area of land to be ceded to the New Republic. In the interests of 'peace', which was seen to depend upon accurate measurement as the basis for the legitimacy for claims to territorial rights, the British colonial administration of Natal was eager to show that the method of measurement was 'unscientific':

> "it appears that the intention of the Boers is to take a strip of land, about four farms deep, along the whole length of the Reserve Border down to the sea; ... this belt of land will be about 10 miles wide, and ... the Boers intend, when this belt has been laid off, to lay off, if necessary, another similar belt of farms alongside the first, and so on until the full number of 800 farms has been completed." (H. Bulwer to the Earl of Derby, 12.1.1885 - in CZ, August 1885: 15)

The farms were then allocated through lots that were drawn by the claimants at a lottery (F. Cardew to H. Bulwer, 20.1.1885 - in CZ, August 1885: 19).

The 'peace' was seen to be threatened by the foreseeable resistance of the inhabitants of central Zululand to being

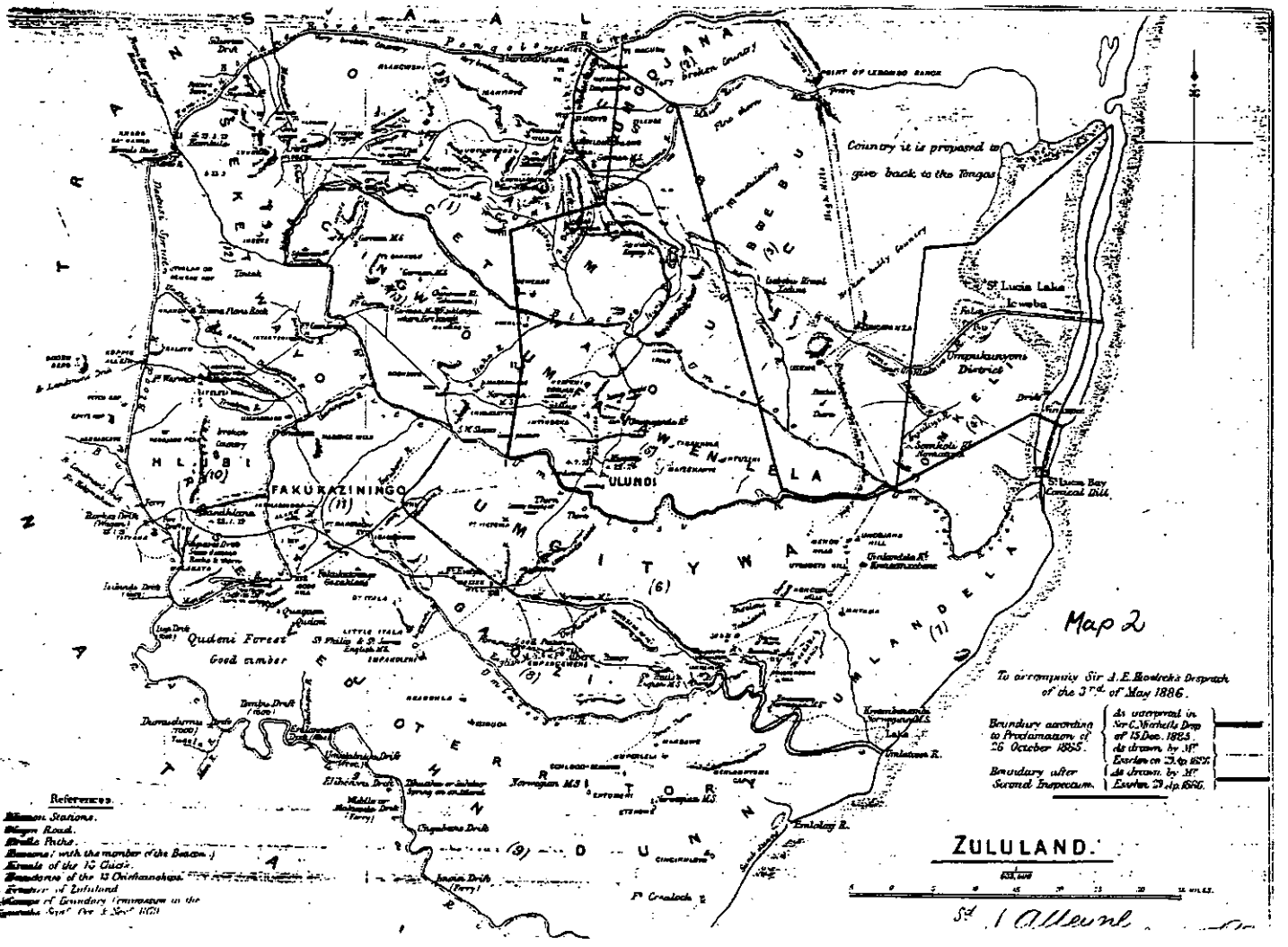
rendered labour tenants on their own land. But what concerned Bulwer more, was the closing off of Zululand as a reservoir for Natal's reserve army of labour. In the interests of keeping the back door open, Bulwer invokes a naturalised discourse of culture and ethnography:

> "the occupation by the Boers of the Zulu country from the Transvaal border to the sea is an act of the most serious importance to this Colony of Natal, because it is an act which will effectually close the outlet hitherto existing between Natal, with its large native population, and the native countries to the North. For 40 years Natal has been the refuge for natives from Zululand, until the native population has become a cause of inconvenience, and threatens to become a source of danger. ... It was always held that these people belonged to the Zulu country, and the Zulu country to them by right of birth and heritage. And it has always been held by those who have recognised the responsibility of the situation that the return of the Zulu people to Zululand - to a well-governed Zululand - is the legitimate solution of the native question in this part of South Africa.
>
> But if the Boers are allowed to take the Zulu country in the way they propose, it will be lost for that purpose. It will be lost to the Zulu.

The response of the Boer settlers to the consternation expressed by the Natal colonial administration, in turn, is again phrased in the interests of 'peace' and 'security': "to separate the natives of central Zululand from the Reserve, so that the boundary of the latter would be properly secure" (H. Bulwer to the Earl of Derby, 23.1.1885 - in CZ, August 1885: 19). To achieve this security, they proposed to simply tell "all the natives living now close to the border to move further up away from the boundary" (R. Wilhelm to M. Osborn, 2.1.1885 - in CZ, August 1885: 20).

At a subsequent meeting between Henry Bulwer and J.D. Esselen, a delegate from the New Republic, Bulwer presented Esselen with a map of Zululand, drawn by the 1879 Boundary Commission after the British invasion of Zululand, complete with boundaries of the 13 chieftainships, chiefs' residences, roads, paths, topographical descriptions, information on soil, vegetation, pasture conditions availability of water, and passability of drifts. Into this map, Esselen is asked to draw the demarcation lines of the revised New Republic territorial claims [Map2] (A.E. Havelock to Earl Granville, 3.5.1886 - in CZ, February 1887: 61).

It is to this rationale of ethnography and post-conquest "pacification" that the Boer settlers responded when they decided to reduce the area of occupation in order to excise "Ulundi and its neighbourhood, a portion of [the Zulus'] country to which, containing as it does the site of the Royal residence and burial place, they attach special value and reverence" (A.E. Havelock to



Map 2
To accompany Sir A. E. Havelock's Despatch of the 3rd of May 1886.
Boundary according to Proclamation of 26 October 1885.
As interpreted in Sir C. Mitchell's Drop of 15 Dec. 1885.
As drawn by Mr Esselen on 23 Ap 1886.
Boundary after Second Inspection.
As drawn by Mr Esselen 29 Ap 1886.
ZULULAND.
Country it is proposed to give back to the Tongas
St Lucia Lake
Iowa
Umpukunyoni District
St Lucia Bay
Conical Hill
FAKUKAZININGO
ULUNDI
Qudeni Forest
Good timber
Emlalay R.
Umlatuzi R.
Fr Crealock
References.
Stations.
Road.
Paths.
Beacons (with the number of the Beacon.)
Kraals of the 13 Chiefs.
Boundaries of the 13 Chiefs
Frontier of Zululand
Camps of Boundary Commission in the

Earl Granville, 3.5.1886 - in CZ, February 1887:61).

"This alteration", Bulwer concludes, "will require a fresh survey of the farms" (H. Bulwer to the Earl of Derby, 1.6.1885), to which the British lent their imperial scientific expertise. A Demarcation Commission was appointed to survey and demarcate the boundary between Boer and Zulu territories. The Commission consisted of two high-ranking colonial administration officials on the British-Natal side, and three settlers from the Boer side, and an observer, Martin Luthuli, delegated by Dinuzulu. Major McKean, the surveyor, submitted a lengthy report on the day-to-day-, beacon-to -beacon proceedings of the Commission. In his survey, he gave particular attention to the ethnographic significance of the Makosini district incorporating the royal graves, and a topography with special mention of rich agricultural and cattle-keeping areas (one of which is chosen for Boer settler occupation and divided up into 65 farms), and demographic and strategic information (CZ, 1887: 18, 22, 23).

Frequent mention is made of the arrival of delegations of local inhabitants who come to protest against the surveying of the land (CZ, 1887: 11, 14, 15, 20). Osborn's uniform reply makes the demarcation line the commandment of 'peace':

> "Mr Osborn said he never sent anyone to call the ... Chiefs, nor did he ever express a desire to see them in reference to the land or any other question. He explained...that the question is finally decided by Her Majesty's Government and it is not in his power ot re-open it or to discuss it or the decision made thereon. All the Commission has to do is to make the line in accordance with that decision, which he advised all the Chiefs and people to abide by peacefully." (CZ, 1887: 14, see also 15, 20) (emphasis added)

The report of the Commission, which legitimises the demarcation line by its scientificity and peace-guaranteeing accuracy, is received with satisfaction by Sir A.E. Havelock, who is convinced that "the Zulu people ... will peacefully abide by it and accept it" (A.E. Havelock to Mr Stanhope, 9.2.1887 - in CZ, 1887: 25).

The mission of the Demarcation Commission, then, turns out to be not one of safeguarding the Zululand inhabitants' interests against encroaching settlers, but one of the "pacification" of Zululand, an exercise on which British and Boer interests converge. Consequently, the demarcation line at many points is designed to provide for exchange and interchange and passage between the New Republic and colonial Natal, by definfing a principle of passage, by virtue of the fact that it is fixed, at one point, along the most viable waggon road (CZ, 1887: 16).

The making of a similar principle of passage is evident from one of the first official acts of the New Republic three years earlier: sending a deputation to Natal with the aim of "forming friendly relations with the Natal Government, and of conferring

specially on matters relating to postal communication, extradition of criminals, and passage of arms and ammunition" (H. Bulwer to Earl of Derby, 8.12.1884 - in CZ, August 1885: 3).

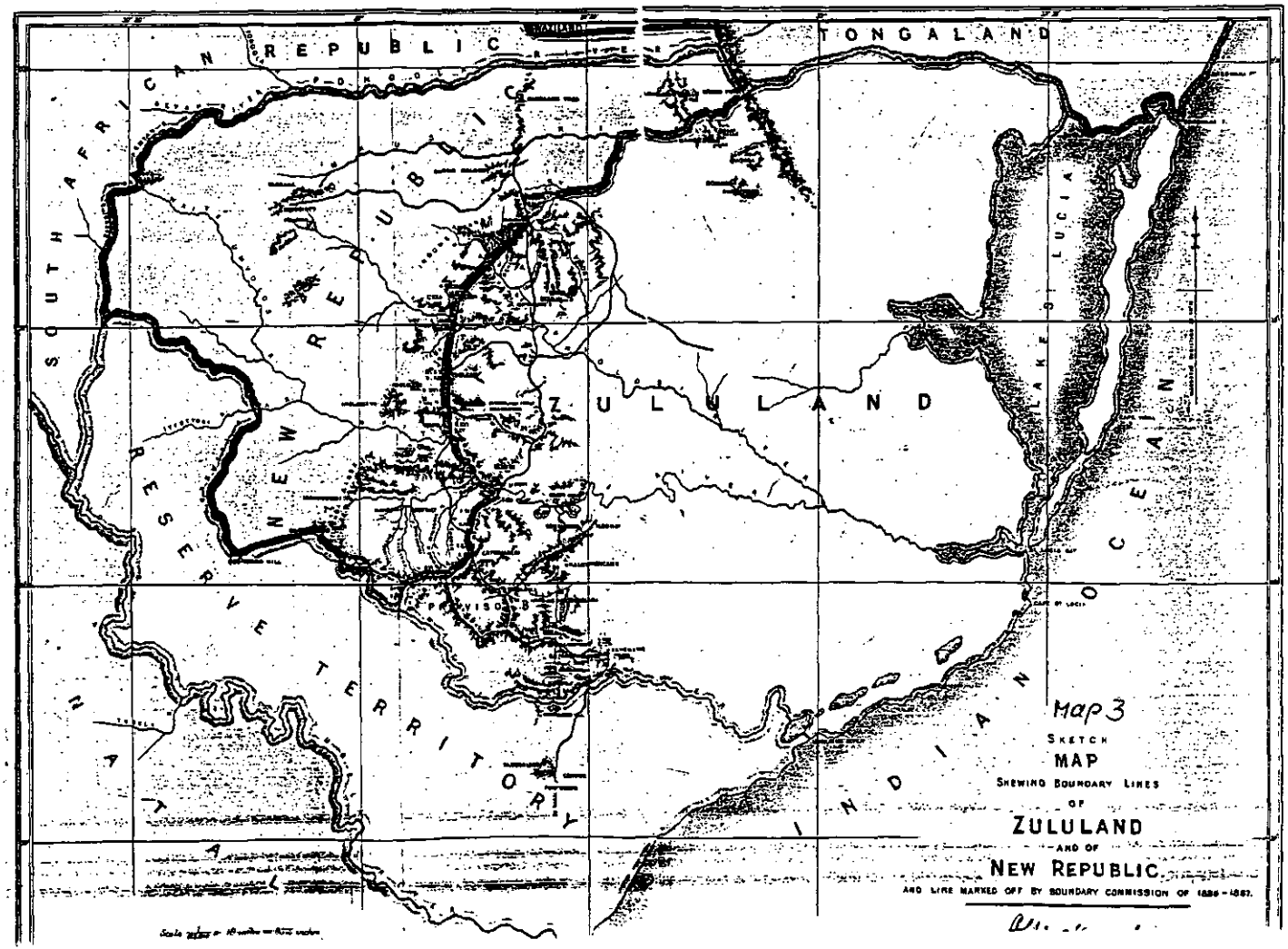
By thus defining a principle of passage, the two diverse spaces are organised within a unified space of knowledge (Noyes, 1989: 57). This factor is what makes scientists and surveyors indispensable companions to any army of colonisation. They provide the skill of drawing boundaries which attain the force of law, while placing the law-enforcing agencies and mechanisms out of reach of protest and resistance. A more recent example of such a strategy is that of so-called homeland incorporation, which in most cases happens without physical removal of the inhabitants concerned. One person affected by this form of removal asked: "How do you fight the drawings of the pen?" The legal answer to that question is that any contestation of this plan is possible only from within its own rationale for its specific type of delimitation, i.e. by applying the apartheid state's own logic of ethnicity (Claassens, 1989:13-14).

On the map which the Demarcation Commission finally produced [Map 3], all territorial claims and demarcations other than the central state ones are erased. It was largely the work of the colonial administration to create a new type of social and political space, constituted by a centralised pattern of territorial control, allowing no overlap in spheres of influence of political control.

With the annexation of Zululand to Natal, the discourse of ethnography is subjected to the discourse of a centralised, linear history and philanthropy. In November 1887, Havelock told the gathered inhabitants of Zululand:

> "Dinuzulu must know, and all the Zulus must know, that the rule of the House of Chaka is a thing of the past. It is dead. It is like water spilt on the ground. The Queen rules now in Zululand and no one else. The Queen who conquered Cetywayo has now taken the government of the country into her own hands. The Governor is sent to represent the Queen, and to maintain her authority in Zululand. Let Dinuzulu and Undabuko and everyone know that the Governor is determined to do this. The Queen has taken the rule of the country out of the kindness for the Zulu nation. The Zulus can no longer stand by themselves. If they were left to themselves they would fight among themselves, and others would come and take the whole country down to the sea.... It is to save the Zulus from the misery that must fall upon them if they were left to themselves that the Queen has assume the Government of the country. (Guy, 1982a: 237-238)

Two sovereign states (further centralised through the Act of Union, 1910) emerged in the process of the unification of disparate spaces through the definition of principles of passage which constitute demarcation lines. The unity is held intact by


SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
TONGALAND
NEW REPUBLIC
ZULULAND
LAKE ST LUCIA
INDIAN OCEAN
NATAL
RESERVE TERRITORY
Map 3
SKETCH
MAP
SHEWING BOUNDARY LINES
OF
ZULULAND
AND OF
NEW REPUBLIC.
AND LINE MARKED OFF BY BOUNDARY COMMISSION OF 1886-1887.

the transgressing of the boundary/law which bisects the territory of these two states. Paradoxically, therefore, it is in the transgression and thereby affirmation of the law that they find their common cause. Thus, it is not by accident that the demarcation of the boundary between Natal (including the territory of Zululand annexed in 1887) and Transvaal (including the New Republic icorporated into Transváal in 1887) was one of the preconditions for the development of a common legal, juridical, and penal code. The late 1880's in the Transvaal and Natal ushered in an era of a whole barrage of legislation (increased rents, taxes, fees; pass laws; stock and field limitation for labour tenants) increasingly synchronised between the two states.

Even though the emerging approximation was upset during the South African War, the demarcation line remained permeable in terms of a congruence of ruling class interests in both states: It was in the British imperial interests to allow the post-war administration of the Transvaal to refound a world of capsised class relations by restoring livestock, land, and labour power to Boer landowners, and to disarm the rural working people (Krikler, 1986: 12).

The concurrence of class interests cutting across the demarcation line of the two states after the South African War is evident particularly in the legislation on land ownership restrictions from 1903 onwards. Even though mission stations' land holdings were equally affected by this legislation (1905-1910: Prohibition of land sales to Africans; 1888 - ZAR: Mission land transferred to Locations Committee; 1903 - Natal: Mission Reserves Act: Trusteeship over Mission Reserves transferred from the missionary to the Natal Native Trust), they were exempted, under certain conditions, from the 1913 Land Act and its amendments. This exemption, along with (in the case of Entombe) the exemption from pass restrictions until 1908, the missionaries' refusal to pay rent, and the relatively late (1890) imposition of church fees meant that black peasants could live <u>relatively</u> independently, a factor which contributed to the increasing rural stratification, giving rise to a small group of mission-educated peasants with an anomalous legal status and a distance from their traditional social relations.4)

However, this increased stratification led, in the course of the last few decades, not to the delineation and emergence of a new independent class or classes, but to a further stratification and delineation in terms of a regulation and regularisation of the productive forces. Thus, many of the exempted land holdings which are presently being geared and tailored towards compatibility with monopoly capitalist interests, have under the new management by a Company appointed by the office bearers of the black mission churches, turned into testing grounds for the limited development of a small peasantry under a limited degree of 'extra-economic' coercion, held in check by existing class relations. This development falls into the ambit of the concepts mooted by the lobby for the abolition of the Land Act

(carried mainly by the Private Sector Council on Urbanisation, the Urban Foundation, and the Development Bank) over the last few years. The underlying assumption , among others, is that unfettered by 'extra-economic' coercion, all 'rational' small-scale producers will make utilitarian choices and calculations and this will make them viable (Neocosmos and Levin on the "liberal approach" - 1987: 62).

I would like to investigate this (im)possibility by analysing, through the history of Entombe Mission, the process implied in the translation of "coercion" into "rationality".

The 1913 Land Act curbed the expansion of mission station land. Existing mission stations were allowed to lease land to African tenants if they obtained special permission; they had to seek state approval for existing tenancy relationships. In the case of Entombe, the exemption from the Land Act and its amendments instituted other regularising and regulating mechanisms internally. In order to obtain exemption from the Land Act, mission stations had to submit detailed application forms to the Native Affairs Department, giving detailed information on mission rules, tenancy arrangements, numbers of tenants, and educational activities. The aim was to enlist information on whether or not mission work was vigorously pursued, administration was efficient, tenants were closely supervised, and whether or not there was 'overcrowding'.5) This information passed through the hierarchy of state officials:

> "These aspects were always pursued in the correspondence between the Chief Native Commissioner and the resident magistrate, which accompanied the submission of an application by a mission station. The Magistrate was required to corroborate the Station's statement, and was invariably requested to confirm that a white missionary was resident on the station " [or that otherwise the station was closely supervised by a white missionary]. (Harris, 1984: 135)

Local magistrates were often overburdened, so that the monitoring of the exempted mission stations was restricted to an investigation of complaints relating to 'transgressions' such as beer brewing, prostitution, trespass of farm boundaries, absenteeism or late arrival for work on the part of mission station residents working on neighbouring farms. The nature of such complaints reinforced the mission station regulations imposed on the inhabitants by the missionary. Thus, it was not by accident that the impression arose among mission station residents that the missionaries were used by the government to implement the Land Act (Interview with Mr Zulu, by B Mfenyana, 22 January 1982). This was acknowledged by a one-time missionary at Entombe himself: "[African Christians] would like to make use of the missionary to free themselves from [the yoke of the state], and because he cannot, is not allowed to, and does not want to do this, they very easily come to regard him as an ally of their oppressor" (HMB62, 1915: 110).

In the wake of the commercialisation of agriculture and the consequent general squeeze on rent and labour tenants, the Hermannsburg Mission Society levied higher rents and church fees from mission station tenants, and attempted to introduce written contracts. This led to conflicts between missionaries and tenants. In a 1922 mission conference resolution, the missionaries decided to give greater consideration to the influence of German settler farmers, and increased weight to economic and financial considerations in dealing with mission property. (Hasselhorn, 1988: 117, 157). It was the alliance which the missionary of Entombe forged with local farmers (persuaded by the missionary that his lack of authority over the mission station inhabitants was detrimental to the farmers' interests) which led to the issue of title deeds to the Hermannsburg Mission. (Hasselhorn, 1988: 191) The common cause made by local farmers and missionaries was a source of bitter resentment ot the inhabitants of Entombe Mission who feared being turned into labour tenants. This emerges out of a history of the area told by a man whose family home is the mission station:

> "[The resident missionary during the 1950's] was fully committed, dedicated to the propaganda spearheaded by the German farmers to this region. People were shocked in the congregation to hear such words from the pulpit pronounced by a Minister under the guise of religion. Indeed he was a serpent. The question of eviction of that area remained hanging and unanswered. ... [After 1958] a white farmer came... On his arrival [this farmer] reversed all the rules and procedures such as the residents will work in the fields of the minister as their father, whom they gave assistance to of their own free will, but most particularly as brethren to him. [The missionary and the farmer] forced residents to labour... ...as from the departure of [the missionary], all the white farmers who succeeded him in occupying that region were not ministers of religion. They were just ordinary farmers who came to exploit that region for their own benefit." (Mr Zulu, interviewed by B. Mfenyana, 22 January 1982)

During the 1930's, with tightened control over labour tenants on white owned farms generally (in terms of restrictions on livestock and land, low cash wages, and labour demands), the population density on mission stations increased. With increasing population pressure, fence-breaking was not unlikely to occur. (Complaints to that effect were brought by two farmers to the Vryheid magistrate in respect of the Hermannsburg Mission station Ekuhlugeni in 1933 - Harris, 1984:139). During the 1930's, therefore, the mission stations, too, tightened up their control over tenants, mainly in terms of livestock and land. Regulations to that effect were included in the code of conduct, thereby extending a sense of morality to agriculture and cattle-keeping, turning ecological 'transgressions' into moral and religious 'transgressions'.6) In 1939 the missionary of Entombe followed government regulations in listing and reporting names of

Entombe residents, in order to provide the administrative conditions for "population control", perceived by many residents as a prelude to forced removal (expressed by a resident at a meeting held between a representative of Entombe and two ELCSA officials, 17 October 1983) (H. Filter: List of Natives 31.7.1939 - in Hasselhorn, 1988: 201)

The mechanisms controlling the affairs of Entombe Mission are enshrined in a legally binding code called Common Farm Community Scheme, introduced in 1979 and administered by a Property Management Company. This Company was established in 1968 to administer the property of former mission societies who had since withdrawn (1960) and handed over their functions to the black Lutheran mission churches (who in 1975 merged into a body called Evangelical Lutheran Churches of South Africa - ELCSA).7) The ELCSA Church Council appoints the members of the Property Management Company which, with its present office-bearers, combines international legal-financial and commercial farming interests. These interests are reconciled with those of the church hierarchy in virtue of the fact that the rights over all properties and assets are vested with the Bishop, or his Deputy and the General Secretary, or the Treasurer and a witness (Para 26.4 of the Constitution - in ELCSA Handbook, 1984: 42) How this union of interests goes unchallenged, is demonstrated in an item on "Procedure Transfer of Properties" (Para 5 of the "Church Council Decisions Relating to Property Management Company",p. 133) which states that the Property Management Company requested from the Church Council a recommendation on which properties should be sold and which should be kept. The Church Council, in turn, hands this mandate back to the Property Management Company (p. 142). One example of a recommendation made by a member of the Property Management Company was the suggestion that there were six farms in Natal that could be incorporated into KwaZulu (Para 31, p. 140). The Company has, over the last few years, received Power of Attorney over an increasing number of properties, as all the Lutheran mission societies transferred their land holdings to the black Lutheran churches. The Property Management Company holds the title deeds over former mission properties, invests the proceeds of these holdings (Para 45, p. 141), develops projects on the farms (Para 46, p. 141), recommends properties for sale and purchase (p. 142), holds mineral rights (Para 23, p. 138), and administers the Common Farm Community Scheme (with the co-operation of the churches involved) (Para 17, p. 137).

In terms of the Common Farm Community Scheme, it is stipulated that only Lutheran Christians may reside on the farms (Para 20.1, p. 138), and that all residents are expected to respect basic Christian principles (Para 3, p. 148), threatening to evict "persons making a nuisance of themselves by drinking, fighting or selling intoxicating liquor or by doing anything detrimental to the benefit of the Community or not adhering to the Scheme" (Para 2.14, p. 151). Thus, remnants of old mission station regulations are combined with provisions for the limitation of agricultural land and livestock holdings, for the allotment of specific

grazing areas (Paras 2.2; 2.4; 2.7, p. 150). A Soil Conservation Scheme was introduced in 1963, entailing fencing and reduction of cattle to two heads per family, and no goats. A member of the Property Management Company complained that these regulations were disobeyed:

> "Unfortunately there was no co-operation by the comunity regarding the cattle and the fences were pulled down. Notices went to all the people having more than two heads of cattle. Goats were no longer allowed. Again no response. ... The Agricultural Section decided to select four or five people with the most head of cattle, and proceed in court against them ... Several cases followed. No cattle reduced. These people were found guilty. The magistrate ordered the eviction of the four families without success."
> (Meeting held at Entombe, 27 January 1984)

This issue came to be contested in the Pretoria Supreme Court in 1981. Four families threatened with eviction on the basis of transgression of the Common Farm Community Scheme regulations, brought an action against ELCSA (as the heiress of the Hermannsburg Mission), claiming that "the Hermannsburg Mission did not receive the farm Entombe from Mpande and that therefore the Hermannsburg Mission was not entitled to the farm, that the Mission would not be entitled to conduct farming activities on the farm, and that the Mission had no right to eject persons from the farm" (M. von Fintel: Important Notice to All Legal Residents on the Farm Entombe (Zendelingspost), 29 July 1981). The ELCSA contested this and judgement was given in favour of the mission church. The plaintiffs incurred high legal costs, and were ordered by the Property Management Company to leave the farm as persons "who do not accept the rules and regulations of the Mission" and in the interests of "peace". The Department of Co-operation and Development was called in to forcibly evict the four plaintiffs and their families.

One class interest that is clearly evident in the 'pacification' of the conflict is that of local farmers. Any contravention of soil conservation and stock control regulations, as well as population increase in excess of the 70 families for whom permission has been obtained to reside there, is likely not only to be judged in court, but also to provide the legitimation for evicting Entombe residents, which plays into the hands of the local farmers who make it clear that "the Law is on their side" (Meeting on Entombe, 16 November 1983).

It is therefore not surprising that the Property Management Company, through the instrument of the Common Farm Community Scheme, is perceived to be in league with the local farmers who are eager to have the 'Black Spot' inhabitants removed. On these grounds, the residents were reluctant to adopt the Scheme. They see the Scheme as providing the basis for the legal pretext to evict them and subject them to local white farmer interests, as their elders had experienced it under the missionaries. Thus, one of their defences is the condition under which the land was

given to the missionaries by King Mpande: "...the Church came there to do church work and ...now it wants to implement a Farm Scheme" (Meeting on Entombe, 16 November 1983).

This conflict echoes the response to "Betterment" or "Rehabilitation" schemes introduced in other South African rural areas in the 1930's and 1940's. Such schemes involved the redivision of land into exclusive grazing, cultivating, and residential areas; livestock limitation; soil conservation; and controlled access to wood for fuel purposes (Chaskalson, 1987: 1).

Resistance initially took the form of breaking down of fences, burning of stock cards and land certificates, destruction of erosion banks, resistance against cattle culls, ignoring of firewood restrictions, and opposition to relocations (Chaskalson, 1987: 2). These more or less spontaneous acts of defiance must be seen in a broader context:

> "Such conflicts were seldom simply about conservation techniques. Ideas about how land and natural resources were to be controlled and used, and who should control them, must be located in the context of broader political, religious and economic contestations ... The intensity of competition between settler and African communities over natural resources, and the increasingly powerful hold of settlers over production and the instruments of state, ensured that any state attempt to regulate the environment became a deeply politicised issue." (Beinart, 1989: 146-147)

There is, however, a qualitative difference in the resistance launched against the "Betterment" schemes in the 1940's and 1950's on the one hand, and the Entombe Mission residents' defiance of the Common Farm Community Scheme on the other. In the former case, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 was partly an attempt to mobilise a collaborationist class against resistance to "rehabilitation". The Act devolved local government onto Tribal Authorities, whose composition and size was determined by the Native Affairs Department, with the result that chiefs, now rendered more powerful, turned into bureaucrats accountable to the Department. The power of these newly instituted local authorities included the enforcement of measures that extended the "betterment" initiatives to influx control in the urban areas and efflux control in the rural areas (extension of passes to women, relocation of urban "illegals", administration of labour bureaux, etc.) (Chaskalson, 1987: 3). Correspondingly, the targets of resistance in the 1950's included the whole spectrum: Bantu Administration, dipping tanks, police, afforestation, influx control, pass laws, and "rehabilitation" measures (Chaskalson, 1987: 8).

In the case of Entombe, however, there is an attempt on the part of the church authority to separate economic regulations (which are presented as 'rational' and guarantors of 'peace') from political ones (defined as 'irrational') and from acts of

defiance and resistance (labelled 'stupid', 'selfish'). Racially discriminatory legislation is apologetically adduced to explain the "controlling interest" of whites on the Property Management Company. The Company presents itself as "protecting the rights and possibilities of people like at Entombe", "all over South Africa", thus precluding questions of its "controlling interest" in class terms: namely the interests of landlords, church dignitaries, and financial institutions.

As the conflict at Entombe came to a head, a meeting was held there on 27 January 1984. A member of the Property Management Company stating the case for the Company, opened his speech by dismissing the history on the basis of which Entombe residents had staunchly defended their claims:

> "I will start with the history which is all quite well known to you. It is not necessary to discuss ownership and all these things. Because in South Africa there are some facts, which whether we like it or not, we must accept and live with."

He then proceeded to present the corporate interests of the church as supremely rational, in terms of which you either join and win or opt out and lose. A crucial role in this "rationality" is accorded to farmers' interests:

> "If you oppose us or fight us you will be fighting the wrong people, because if it comes to a fight with neighbouring farmers and the government, you definitely won't win it. If you join with us, we can make and suggest proposals which can work. We presume you will not like to oppose us but rather work with us."

To resolve this dispute, a committee of tenant representatives was then elected to negotiate with the Farm Committee, the Church, and the Property Management Company. (The Community Committee and representatives of the Property Management Company, in equal numbers, constitute the Farm Committee.) The Farm Committee, in turn, is responsible for implementing all rules and regulations (allocation of cattle in terms of government regulations, limitation of agricultural land and livestock, dipping of livestock, assignment of specific areas for grazing, determination of fees for land and livestock).

What has happened in the process of integrating a Community Committee into the management structures, is the internalisation of demarcation lines. Individual Entombe residents who spoke at the meetings, pointed to this by saying,

> "We are being compelled to become administrators of a state."

> "What is the use if the executive of a football team is the president, and if we clash with him and appeal to the Board where the president is president, how is that resolved?"

The last statement aptly captures the tautologies engendered by the duplication of structures phrased in terms that conceal class interests and antagonisms. A set-up like that devised by the mission, the Church, and the property interests for Entombe is not essentially different from the boundary line which marks the concurrence of interests of two sovereign states (as I have attempted to demonstrate for the fixing of the Natal-Transvaal boundary) in the sense that the boundary as principle of passage is included in its own definition. In the case of Entombe, the area is exempted from the Land Act; and yet the regulations governing the productive forces are multiply reproduced within its own demarcation lines, determining its significance. Its context - the "controlling interest" (in the wider sense of class interests) - defines it, producing a congruence that is captured in the terms of identity, integrity, normality, competence, appropriateness which the discourse exemplified in the talk of representatives of the Property Management Company encapsulates. This talk includes in its own definition a demarcation of the alien, deviancy, abnormality, extraterritoriality, childishness, and vulgarity, with which the evicted persons are characterised. What it omits in the process are the sanctions by which this process is maintained. This is what the peculiar power of these practices of demarcation rely on: the power of instituting a claim to rationality, normality, and universality without appealing to any laws other than those of their own constitution, thereby turning conflictual history and politics into unconsciouness: "I will start with the history which is all quite well known to you. It is not necessary to discuss ownership and all these things" (Member of the Property Management Company). "Forget the past because the past will not do you any good" (Church dignitary). - Against this, I believe it is the function of the History Workshop to keep a knowledge of these conflicts alive.

NOTES

I would like to thank the SACC and the University of Natal (PMB) archivists for making the material for this study available to me. I would further like to acknowledge my intellectual debts to Jeff Guy's research on Zululand, Fritz Hasselhorn's history of the Hermannsburg Mission Society, Verne Sheldon Harris' dissertation on land issues in Northern Natal, John Noyes' work on spatialising discourses, and Daniel Cottom's book on Text and Culture.

1) Labour tenancy is generally defined as the system of land tenure whereby families, in return for the work of at least one member of the homestead, reside on a landlord's farm, cultivate a patch of ground, and obtain grazing for stock.

2) In doning so, I largely rely on Jeff Guy's research on the destruction of the Zulu kingdom.

3) The missionaries had learnt this when, in repeated attempts to obtain title deeds over Entombe, they introduced elements of property demarcation and exchange/sale into their account of how they came to occupy mission stations in Zululand. They maintained that Mpande had give those missionstations to the Hermannsburg Mission Society as property, after having defined the boundaries, in return for a waggon, a carthouse, a significant number of woolen blankets, and many other objects (Gesuch um Schutz fuer die Missionsstationen in Suedafrika, 30. 9. 1890 - in Hasselhorn, 1988: 70). In refusing the title deeds the British officials maintained that "it seems that definite boundaries of mission stations were never determined by the Zulu king" (Beiratssitzung in Hermannsburg, 25. 1. 1887 - in Hasselhorn, 1988: 70) (emphasis added)

4) This is demonstrated by S. Meintjes ('Law and Authority on a 19th Century Mission Station in Natal' - Presented to the History Workshop, February 1984): "Converts to Christianity found themselves between two worlds, neither of which was prepared to accept them as full members. In Nguni society, Christians were expelled from their lineages, lost reciprocal rights and obligations within their kinship groups, and the protection of their chiefs " (p. 1). Christians were excluded from access to communal land and other means of production.

5) see also F. Hasselhorn on the case of the mission station Ehlanzeni (1988: 107)

6) This is evident from even the earliest descriptions of the mission station at Entombe, where the missionary complains of the "pagan chaos" in cultivation methods: "[At the arrival of the missionaries], there was the desert of heathendom everywhere; even the fields of the people bore the mark of the heathen desert, without any rule and order, here a patch and there a patch" (HMB 6, 1862: 94)

7) The ELCSA could not be the holder of title deeds because of the Land and Group Areas Acts. Consequently, the Property Management Company was established to take over that function, with a controlling interest of white members of the Company.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CZ - Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Zululand and Adjacent Territories (University of Natal (PMB) Archives)

- HMB - Hermannsburger Missionsblatt

- IAM - Index zu Aktenbaenden des Missionsarchivs (unpublished)

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