

Karl E. Böhmer

**August Hardeland and the »Rheinische«  
and »Hermannsburger« Missions in Borneo  
and Southern Africa (1839–1870)**

The History of a Paradigm Shift and its Impact  
on South African Lutheran Churches

Edition  Ruprecht

Inh. Dr. Reinhilde Ruprecht e.K.

# Table of Contents

<b>Preface</b> .....	<b>13</b>
The Purpose of the Book in Light of Existing Research.....	15
Overview.....	17
<b>South Africa and North America: Observations on the History of Missions</b> ....	<b>19</b>
Matthew C. Harrison	
<b>Part One: The Development of August Hardeland Pre-1859</b> .....	<b>21</b>
<b>1. Youth and Education of August Hardeland (1814–1839)</b> .....	<b>23</b>
German Lands and Worldview in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century ...	23
Birth and Childhood.....	27
Adolescence and Early Twenties .....	28
The Rhenish Mission Society .....	32
Analysis .....	34
<b>2. 1839–1845 August Hardeland’s First Stint in Borneo</b> .....	<b>37</b>
Borneo.....	37
The Rhenish Mission Society in Borneo .....	39
Instructions .....	42
The Journey.....	43
A Controversial Marriage .....	44
August Hardeland’s Missionary Service in Banjarmasin (January, 1841 – March, 1842) .....	48
Missionary Service in Gohong, Kahayan (March, 1842 – February, 1843) .....	50
Missionary Service in Bintang, Pulopetak (February, 1843 – September, 1845) .....	53
Further Challenges for the Mission to the Dayaks.....	55
An Attempt at a Solution: The Pandeling Project .....	58
Resistance: August Hardeland Leaves Borneo.....	62
Analysis .....	65
<b>3. 1845–1848 August Hardeland’s Service in the Cape Colony</b> .....	<b>74</b>
The Rhenish Mission Society in the Cape Colony .....	74

The Printing of Dayak Literature in Cape Town .....	79
Public Scandal: August Hardeland in the Headlines.....	81
August Hardeland’s Brief Missionary Service in the Cape Colony: 1847–1848 .....	85
Analysis .....	93
<b>4. 1849–1858 August Hardeland’s Service in the DBS and Second Stint in Borneo .....</b>	<b>98</b>
Visit to Europe (1849) .....	98
August Hardeland settles in Palingkau .....	102
Conflict with August Beyer .....	104
Conflict with Ernst Denninger .....	107
Conflict with Johann Barnstein .....	108
Conflict with the Deputation: The Pandeling Project .....	110
Conflict with Ferdinand Rott .....	117
Suspension of Fellowship and Withdrawal from Active Missionary Service	120
Conflict with Carl van Hoefen and the Bornean Conference as a Whole .....	121
August Hardeland’s Departure and Return to Europe .....	128
Excursus: The Banjarmasin War (1859–1867) .....	130
Analysis .....	132
<b>5. Summary and Conclusions.....</b>	<b>143</b>
 <b>Part Two: Louis Harms</b>	
<b>The Man, His Views, and His Mission .....</b>	<b>147</b>
 <b>6. The Development of Louis Harms, His Views, and the Hermannsburg Mission Society .....</b>	<b>149</b>
Louis Harms and the Mission Seminary in Hermannsburg .....	149
The Consecration of the Twelve .....	154
The Primary Sources Authored by Louis Harms.....	155
Source 1: Letter to the Administrative Board of the Norddeutsche Mission	156
Source 2: Louis Harms’ Letter to the Consistory in Hanover .....	160
Source 3: “The Mission Seminary in Hermannsburg” .....	166
Source 4: “Goldene Äpfel in Silbernen Schalen” .....	168
Summary .....	173

<b>7. The Training and Deployment of the Missionaries and Colonists.....</b>	<b>176</b>
The Selection Process and the Seminary Curriculum.....	176
The Lay Colonists and Louis Harms' View of Vocation .....	180
The Expectation Communicated by Louis Harms' Eschatology.....	182
The Constitution of the First Mission Band of the Hermannsburg Mission Society .....	183
The Commissioning Services and the Candace .....	186
Summary .....	189
<b>8. The Implementation of the Vision of Louis Harms in the Mission Field (1854–1859) .....</b>	<b>192</b>
The Founding of the First Colony in Africa.....	192
Life in New-Hermannsburg During the First Five Years (1854–1859).....	195
Expansion of the Work of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Southern Africa up until 1859 .....	202
<b>9. Perceptions of the Hermannsburg Mission Society Model by Indigenous Africans .....</b>	<b>206</b>
Upheavals in Southeastern Africa: The Identity of the Africans .....	206
Initial Attitudes in the Hermannsburg Mission Society toward the Africans .....	207
The Hermannsburg Mission Society and the Zulu People .....	208
The Hermannsburg Mission Society and the Batswana.....	210
Analysis .....	211
<b>Part Three: The Hardeland Conflicts.....</b>	<b>215</b>
<b>10. Louis Harms selects August Hardeland as the First Superintendent for the HMS in Africa .....</b>	<b>217</b>
The Need for a Superintendent .....	217
Louis Harms Appoints August Hardeland .....	218
A Position of Trust.....	222
<b>11. Conflict between August Hardeland and the Missionaries in the Tswana Territory .....</b>	<b>225</b>
The Origin of the Conflict.....	225
The Conflict Progresses.....	232
Excommunication.....	235

	The Effect of the Conflict.....	239
<b>12.</b>	<b>August Hardeland and the Missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission Society .....</b>	<b>244</b>
	No Salary for the Superintendent .....	244
	Living Arrangements for the Superintendent in New-Hermannsburg .....	244
	Conflict with Missionaries Friedrich Meyer and August Wiese .....	246
	Conflict with Missionary Albert Liefeld .....	248
	Conflicts with Other Missionaries .....	250
	The Effect of August Hardeland's Censorship .....	252
<b>13.</b>	<b>Conflict between August Hardeland and the Indigenous African People .....</b>	<b>255</b>
	<i>uMashayanjalo</i> : He who Always Beats People.....	255
	Growing Racial Segregation in the Hermannsburg Mission Society .....	257
	Consequences in the Hermannsburg Mission Society .....	257
<b>14.</b>	<b>Conflict with the Colonists .....</b>	<b>261</b>
	"They Do Not Earn Their Salt" .....	261
	Some Colonists Leave: August Hinze's Resignation as a Case Study .....	263
	Brutality toward the Colonists: The Case of Ludwig Schmidt.....	267
	The Missionaries and the Colonists: Masters and Servants .....	268
<b>15.</b>	<b>Growing Conflict between Louis Harms and August Hardeland .....</b>	<b>272</b>
	Mission to the Oromo .....	272
	Missionary Training.....	272
	Polygamy .....	273
	The Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society .....	274
	August Hardeland's Resignation and the Leadership of the Hermannsburg Mission Society .....	275
	August Hardeland's Service in Germany Post-1863 .....	276
<b>16.</b>	<b>The Termination of the Community of Property and Colonization Model .....</b>	<b>279</b>
	The 1864 Conference of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Africa .....	279
	A Call for the Termination of Communism and Colonization.....	280
	The Founding of the German Speaking Churches in Southern Africa .....	285
	Other Consequences.....	287

<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>288</b>
Overview .....	288
Personal Interpretations .....	288
Implications and Conclusion .....	292
<b>Der Hardeland-Konflikt</b> .....	<b>294</b>
Streit um Ideen und Ideale in den Rheinischen und Hermannsbürger Missionsgesellschaften in Borneo und im südlichen Afrika (1839–1870) ..	294
Wer war August Hardeland? Sein Werdegang und Einsatz in der Rheinischen Mission .....	295
Louis Harms und die Hermannsbürger Mission (HM) .....	302
Die Wahl August Hardelands zum Superintendenten .....	306
Der Konflikt mit den Tswana-Missionaren .....	308
Die Superintendentur August Hardelands: Weitere Konflikte und Austritte .....	311
Schlussfolgerungen .....	316
<b>Appendices</b> .....	<b>319</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>321</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	<b>322</b>
<b>Chronology</b> .....	<b>323</b>
<b>Selected Sources (in translation)</b> .....	<b>324</b>
Rules for the Rhenish Mission Society <i>Pandeling</i> Colonies in Borneo (1851) .....	324
Excerpts from Carl van Hoefen’s Letter to the RMS Deputation, August 7, 1855 .....	325
Constitution of the First Cohort of Missionaries and Colonists .....	331
1859 Description of New-Hermannsburg by Carl Hugo Hahn .....	337
Instructions for the Hermannsburg Mission Society Superintendent August Hardeland .....	339
Index of Missionaries and Colonists deployed to Africa by the HMS (1853–1867) .....	341

<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>348</b>
Unpublished Primary Sources .....	348
Unpublished Secondary Sources .....	351
Digital Sources .....	351
Published Sources .....	352
<b>Sources of Illustrations</b> .....	<b>364</b>
<b>Brief Biographies</b> .....	<b>366</b>
<b>Indices</b> .....	<b>372</b>
Index of Names .....	372
Index of Places .....	375
Index of Scripture Passages .....	376
Index of (selected) Subjects .....	377

## Preface

μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης πρὶν ἄν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης  
Cicero, ad Att., vii. 18

Without a doubt, one of the most painful periods in the history of Lutheranism in southern Africa is the mid-nineteenth century, i.e. the years immediately following the initial honeymoon phase of the presence of the Hermannsburg Lutherans in southern Africa. In that initial phase, the Hermannsburg Lutherans put into practice what many others only talked about: The Romantic ideal of reviving the communal mission model – and the success – of the early medieval monastic missionaries to mainland Europe, and to Germany in particular. The ideal of Christians, both ordained and lay, traveling to foreign lands as a group, living and working together in mission, dedicating their lives to the proclamation of the Gospel in word and action, and sowing what they saw as the seeds of a new Christian civilization. Such, at any rate, was the ideal. The reality was that after five years of initial concord, conflict broke out – conflict that centered on one man: The new mission superintendent, August Hardeland. August Hardeland came to serve as the catalyst for ongoing conflict in the Hermannsburg Mission Society, leading to painful consequences with which the Lutheran Churches in southern Africa contend to this day.

The best way to deal with painful problems is to bury them. At least, this has been the prevailing sentiment during numerous periods in history marked by conflict and trauma – the idea that silence is the best line of defense, that ignoring painful subjects is easier than dealing with them head-on. It is, in a sense, this sentiment that makes the enterprise of history resemble that of archaeology. Both involve uncovering things buried by accident – or by intention. In either case, uncovering them is profitable. Ever since Roman times, one of the basic tenets of law in Western civilization has been *audiatur et altera pars* (“let the other side also be heard”) – the tenet that it is impossible to come to any responsible and reliable conclusions about a matter unless all sides of the story are considered.<sup>1</sup> If only one side is being heard, then it is the task of responsible historical research to uncover and disclose the other(s), even and especially when it comes to painful subjects and traumatic times. The object of such research is not to dwell on pain, but to come to terms with it, precisely by addressing and not burying it. Simply put: If we are to come to any responsible and reliable conclusions about the past, then we must seek to hear all sides; and sometimes, the only way to do that is to uncover buried pain.

In the case of the Hermannsburg Mission Society, there was indeed pain. This pain was caused by conflict on a number of levels.

---

1 See Franciszek Longchamps de Bérier, “Audiatur et altera pars,” in Jan Hallebeek et al., eds., *Inter Civis Necnon Peregrinos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 429–442.



There was conflict between the superintendent and many of the missionaries. This conflict was so severe that it resulted in the loss of the most promising mission stations of the Hermannsburg Mission Society, the stations among the Batswana in present-day Botswana. These stations had recorded the most phenomenal conversion rates and even included members of Tswana royal houses. The missionary personnel were anathematized, their stations lost, and the entire area was essentially abandoned by the Hermannsburg Mission Society for many years.

There was conflict among the Hermannsburg missionaries as a new order was introduced by the superintendent, a ranking system and some resettlement that led in many instances to friction and tension. As a result, a number of missionaries resigned.

There was conflict between the superintendent and the indigenous Africans, conflict which arose when he insisted on treating the Africans as inferiors, disciplining them severely, even brutalizing them, earning him the nickname *uMashayanjalo*, meaning “the one who always beats people.”<sup>2</sup> This master-subject approach was also adopted by a number of the other Hermannsburg missionaries, contrary to their initial instructions, which led to further instances of brutalization of Africans. There was conflict between the superintendent and the “colonists,” the laypeople serving the mission as carpenters, shoemakers, wagonmakers etc. Some colonists resigned, and the ensuing tension in the Hermannsburg Mission Society became so great that within a few years, the communal mission model was abandoned, and the colonists, who had dedicated their lives to mission, and who had traveled across half a world to serve in the mission field, now left the mission and became farmers.<sup>3</sup>

There was even conflict between the superintendent and Ludwig “Louis” Harms, founder of the mission – conflict over mission strategy, over the running of the Hermannsburg Mission Society, over the training of the missionaries, over the numbers of missionary personnel, over theological issues, over the mission vision and goals, and, increasingly, personal conflict between the two men as well. After the superintendent resigned, Louis Harms eventually refused to meet with him ever again.

Yes, the superintendency of August Hardeland<sup>4</sup> (1859–1863) was indeed a very painful period for the Hermannsburg Mission Society and for Lutheranism in

- 
- 2 Prince Bongani Kashesemba Zulu, “From the Lüneburger Heide to Northern Zululand: A History of the Encounter between the Settlers, the Hermannsburg Missionaries, the Amakhosi and their People, with Special Reference to Four Mission Stations in Northern Zululand (1860–1913)” (master’s thesis, University of Natal, 2002), 449–450; HMBI 9, no. 4 (1862): 53–54.
  - 3 Heinrich Bammann, *Koinonia in Afrika*, Veröffentlichungen der Freien Hochschule für Mission der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Evangelikaler Missionen. Reihe C: Vorträge und Aufsätze 6 (Bad Liebenzell: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1990), 84–85.
  - 4 Disambiguation: The August (Friedrich Albert) Hardeland (1814–1891) who is the protagonist of our study should not be mistaken for the younger Lutheran churchman August (Wilhelm) Hardeland (1855–1929), who was a superintendent in Uslar, Germany. Cf. Thomas Stahlberg, *Seelsorge im Übergang zur “modernen Welt”*: Heinrich Adolf Köstlin und Otto Baumgarten im

southern Africa. And yet, surprisingly, little was said about it afterward; the leadership of the mission society eventually forbade mention of the superintendent. And thus, in the course of time, the pain was buried. Until recently, subsequent generations learned of the subject only in vague, general terms. However, though the pain of the conflicts was muted, their painful consequences remain(ed), leaving historians puzzled. The most pressing issue remains: Who was this superintendent, what was his story, and why did Louis Harms<sup>5</sup> select him to serve as Hermannsburg Mission Society superintendent in the first place?

## The Purpose of the Book in Light of Existing Research<sup>6</sup>

Wolfgang Proske, in his landmark study of the controversial superintendency of A. Hardeland and its impact on the development and history of Botswana, claims that the works covering the history of the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) and of its daughter churches tend to address the painful subject of Hardeland's superintendency in a very carefully formulated, relatively superficial manner. Proske adds that extant research ultimately serves to direct the reader's attention away from the subject or to mythologize it, sometimes even to the point of suppressing it. He concludes: "In this way, Hardeland, who left no descendants in South Africa, has become a 'nonperson;' people cope with the Hardeland conflict by hushing it up."<sup>7</sup> Mignon adds her support to this sentiment.<sup>8</sup>

Proske himself labored to correct this deficiency and to provide a coherent, meaningful contribution to the subject. Since the publication of his work, other authors like Mignon and Hohmann<sup>9</sup> have made substantial contributions toward

---

*Kontext der praktischen Theologie um 1900* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 9; D. Sachsse, "Praktische Theologie," in Grützmaker et al., eds., *Die Theologie der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907), 88.

- 5 From this point on, Louis Harms will be referred to as "L. Harms," Theodor Harms as "T. Harms," and August Hardeland as "A. Hardeland," except in headings.
- 6 Spatial limitations prevent the inclusion of a thorough literature review. Interested readers are directed to the review in Karl Böhmer, "Colonist Mission and Community of Property: August Hardeland's Conflict with the Rhenish and Hermannsburg Mission Societies in Borneo and Southern Africa," (doctoral dissertation, Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, USA, 2015), 14–20; 81–106.
- 7 Wolfgang Proske, *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission: Voraussetzungen, Verlauf und Scheitern eines lutherischen Missionsversuches im Spannungsfeld divergierender politischer Interessen*, Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 3, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 391 (Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Peter Lang, 1989), 227–228.
- 8 Andrea Mignon, *Dürre und Segen: Die Hermannsbürger Mission und die Gesellschaft der Baale in vorkolonialen Botswana*, Beiträge zur Missionswissenschaft und Interkulturellen Theologie 4 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1994), 79.
- 9 Christian Hohmann, *Auf getrennten Wegen: Lutherische Missions- und Siedlergemeinden in Südafrika im Spannungsfeld der Rassentrennung (1652–1910)*, Studien zur Außereuropäischen Christentumsgeschichte (Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika) 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).

addressing the issue. However, as one of the leading researchers in and publicists on the subject of L. Harms and the history of the HMS, Dr. Hartwig F. Harms, suggests, a significant historiographical need still exists to shed light on the personality and service of A. Hardeland, and especially with regard to comparative studies between his approach and that of L. Harms.<sup>10</sup> This is particularly true from the perspective of Lutheran missiology.

This book is intended to make a contribution in this regard. We will pick up the story by examining A. Hardeland's formative years and his mission service in Borneo. A. Hardeland was a gifted linguist and Bible translator, a man who received two honorary doctorates for his impressive exploits. Imposing credentials! Yet studying this man's story stirs up dust covering even more painful things than those which later took place in the Hermannsburg Mission Society, painful events which people preferred to forget, rather than to discuss. We find traces of radical, seditious politics in A. Hardeland's youth in Germany, whispers of an attempted assassination of German princes. We find evidence of violence in his missionary service in Borneo and in the Cape Colony, aspirations of autocratic rule over local missionary converts, whom A. Hardeland was said to have subjected to anguish, shameful treatment, and even torture – men and women alike. We find mounting conflict between A. Hardeland, his colleagues in Borneo, and the mission leadership in Germany, and eventually a total breakdown of fellowship. Furthermore, niggling questions remain over A. Hardeland's contribution to the subsequent popular uprising in Borneo during which a number of his fellow missionaries were killed. At any rate, the record yielded by the research is indeed a painful one, and so it comes as no surprise that the few people who knew about it preferred to let it gather dust in archives, rather than to make it public.

The same is true for what came to be known as the "Hardeland conflict" in the history of the Hermannsburg Mission Society. It is reasonable to expect that many would prefer it to remain that way. The subject is, after all, a painful one. However, it is my conviction that the other side needs to be heard if we, the heirs and friends of Lutheranism and the Hermannsburg Mission Society in southern Africa, are to begin to come to responsible and reliable conclusions about the Hardeland conflict(s). And these conflicts substantially determined the course of history of Lutheranism in southern Africa. They determined much of the focus, scope, vision, and methodology of the subsequent mission work. They set the stage for later conflicts which arose in the HMS regarding the salaries and trading activities of the missionaries. And they also shed light on the parallel development along racial lines among the Lutheran churches in South Africa as direct or indirect results of the work of the Hermannsburg Mission Society.

It is my hope that this study will contribute toward a greater understanding of our past and present, and enable us to deal with both in a productive and Christlike

---

10 Hartwig F. Harms, e-mail message to author, April 10, 2010.

manner. It is in this spirit that I decided to write this book in English, in order to make the subject matter available to a wider audience, particularly in Africa. It is my hope that it will help us to hear both sides of the story.

## Overview<sup>11</sup>

Although our main aim is to study the early development of the mission work of the HMS in southern Africa and especially the conflicts that unfolded under the supervision of A. Hardeland, two aspects must necessarily occupy our attention before we can turn to this subject. The first will be the development of A. Hardeland as a person and as a missionary<sup>12</sup> and Bible translator in Borneo. As it is, it is difficult to understand why A. Hardeland acted the way he did as superintendent of the HMS. It is impossible to do so without taking into consideration his development within the historical context of Hanover and the German territories, the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS), the south-east Asian island of Borneo, and the Cape Colony. Here lie the seeds that germinated in the HMS during and after A. Hardeland's superintendency. We will begin therefore by tracing A. Hardeland's idiosyncratic development within his particular contexts both as a person and in terms of his career up until 1858, in order to arrive inductively at conclusions about his understanding of mission work, and specifically of his understanding of mission and of the ideal form and function of a mission community. This consideration will be the subject of part one.

- 
- 11 A note on delimitations is helpful at this point. While many issues suggest themselves as worthy of study, our framework simply does not allow for tangential investigations. Issues not directly investigated in this study include the practice of slavery or bondservice; the use of authority in mission; the relationship between the priesthood of all believers and the office of the ministry; conflict and conflict resolution; the nature of vocation; the role of language in the application of the means of grace; poverty and wealth; the religious beliefs of the Malays, Dayaks, Batswana, or Zulus; polygamy; and a host of others. Although the subject of apartheid and racial discrimination is raised in this treatise, it is only addressed here inasmuch as it bears upon the specific research concern. Certain similarities between the approach of the HMS and the work of other relatively contemporary mission thinkers and societies suggest the need for a comparison and contrast between them and the HMS. Examples include Wilhelm Löhle and his work in Frankennuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust, and Frankenhilf in the USA, and the work of the Moravian Brethren or Johannes Evangelista Gossner in southern Africa. However, again, our framework does not allow for analyses of this nature, and they will therefore only be conducted in brief, broad sketches when appropriate.
  - 12 The HMS used the term *Missionar* ("missionary") to refer to ordained men sent out into the mission field to proclaim God's Word and administer the Sacraments. In this research, the term "missionary" will be used in a corresponding fashion. The *Colonisten/Kolonisten* ("colonists") were laymen who were sent into the mission field to carry out their secular vocations as carpenters, rope-makers, etc., and to use those vocations in service to the mission effort. Divine services were always held by the missionaries, not by the colonists. The colonists did not preach or administer the Sacraments. This research project will adopt the word "colonists" to refer to these men and to distinguish them from the missionaries.

The second aspect we need to consider is the development and outlook of L. Harms himself (in brief) and of the HMS as a whole. Many aspects of L. Harms' views and of the whole HMS were unique at the time, and these aspects contributed in no small measure to the unique development of mission work in southern Africa – that is, to the situation which A. Hardeland encountered when he came on the scene as the first HMS superintendent. Specifically, we will trace the influence of the medieval monastic tradition on L. Harms' views, and the manner in which those views were put into practice by the HMS and initially received in Africa. This will be our focus in part two.

These two parts will then set the stage and take us into the third part: The narration and analysis of the “Hardeland conflicts,” which so fundamentally altered the course of the HMS and the historical development of the Lutheran churches in southern Africa.

This book could not have been published without the support of a number of anonymous donors, Concordia Theological Seminary (Fort Wayne/USA), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Missionswissenschaft, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionswerk in Niedersachsen, Freie Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode in Südafrika (FELSISA), Lutherische Kirchenmission (Bleckmarer Mission), Mr. Eckart Meyer, Mr. Walter Redinger, and the Vereinte Evangelische Mission (VEM) – thank you for your counsel, for the use of archival materials both in my research and in this book, and last but not least, for contributions towards the print subsidy.

Karl E. Böhmer,  
Pretoria, October 2015

# Indices

## Index of Names

- Adamson, James Constantine 82–84, 96  
Althaus, August 275, 284  
Andrae-Roman, Alexander 35, 70  
Backeberg, Christoph Heinrich 205,  
232–234, 239–241, 247, 334  
Bading, Johannes 178  
Ball, Ernst Friedrich 71  
Barnstein, Johann Heinrich 40, 44, 46,  
48–50, 53, 62–64, 69f., 102–106,  
108–110, 119, 122f., 126f., 131,  
133f., 326f.  
Baxter, Richard 51, 70  
Becker, Johann Friedrich 40, 44, 48f.,  
51, 53f., 60f., 64, 69–72, 81, 91, 100,  
102–105, 133, 327  
Bede, The Venerable 158, 162, 164, 169,  
171  
Beeger, Carl Heinrich 180, 333  
Behrens, Heinrich Wilhelm 240f., 258,  
334, 338  
Benedict Biscop 164  
Benedict of Nursia 145, 167f., 288  
Beneke, Johann Friederich 180, 205,  
333  
Berger, Heinrich Julius 44, 48, 52f., 64  
Beyer, August Wilhelm 100, 102–110,  
112, 117–119, 122f., 128, 134, 326–  
328  
Bleek, Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel 196,  
199  
Böhmer, Bernd Diedrich Ludwig 263,  
283, 335  
Boniface (Winfrid) 156–159, 161, 163,  
169, 171, 173  
Börne, Carl Ludwig 28  
Bourne, Thomas Johnstone 79f.  
Brockmann, Johann Heinrich 248, 252,  
335  
Budler, Friedrich 88  
Calvin, John 34, 61, 71, 84, 96, 113, 141,  
146  
Charlemagne 170, 256  
Charles Martel 158  
Colenso, John William 195  
Columba (Columbkil) 154  
Columbanus 154  
Daniel of Winchester 163  
Denninger, Ernst Ludwig 69f., 102, 104,  
106–110, 134, 136, 326–328  
Diestelhorst, Amalie Friederike 27  
Dietrich, Karl 109  
Eckhoff, Ernst F. 221  
Edwards, William 204  
Egbert 162, 171, 173  
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 31  
Filter, Johann Heinrich Jacob 229,  
250f., 256, 258, 264f., 269, 271,  
282f., 334  
Fismer, Friedrich Wilhelm 88  
Freyer, Heinrich Wilhelm 180, 197, 333  
Gathmann, Johan Hinrich 180, 333  
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 31, 117  
Gossner, Johannes Evangelista 17, 154,  
200  
Graul, Karl 141, 274  
Grout, Lewis 195, 244, 258, 337  
Gützlaff, Karl Friedrich August 175  
Häfele, Christian Friedrich 88  
Hahn, Carl Hugo 34, 200, 207, 219, 245,  
273, 305, 337  
Hansen, Jes Nicolai 235, 248, 335  
Hardeland  
Carl 27  
Hermann 27, 29, 32, 141, 220, 296,  
306  
Johann Hermann 27  
Julius 27f., 141, 306  
Justine (née Lyßmann) 27, 32  
Theodor 227  
Hardeland (née Hulk), Sarah 44–46  
Harms, Theodor 153, 187, 250, 253,  
304, 309, 311f., 314  
Heine, Heinrich 28, 31, 97

- Herbst  
 Johan Heinrich 180, 204, 232, 240, 333  
 Wife of J.H. (née Meyerhof) 240
- Hewald  
 The Black 169  
 The White 169
- Heyer, Philip-Jacob 40
- Himmelmann, Johann Heinrich 40, 42–46, 57
- Hinze, Georg Heinrich August 263–266, 270, 282, 284
- Hofmeister, Ernst 109, 119, 123, 131
- Hohls  
 Johann Heinrich 179, 204, 282, 332f.  
 Karl 179, 204, 217, 222, 236, 239, 241–243, 245, 247–251, 254, 256, 258, 261, 266, 268f., 281, 284–287, 310, 315, 323, 333
- Hupe, Johann Michael Carl 64
- Hupperts, Johann Gottfried 40, 44, 48, 50, 53f., 60, 64, 69, 102, 131, 135
- Imam of Muscat 192
- Inglis, Walter 204f.
- Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig 26
- Jensen, Thomas 240, 335
- Juffernbruch, Ferdinand 54f., 60, 64, 72, 81
- Kaiser, Heinrich Ludwig 240f., 248, 253
- Karmarsch, Karl 29f., 35
- Khama 235
- Khamanyana 235
- Kind, Friedrich Wilhelm 131
- Kohrs  
 Christian 264, 266, 282  
 Johann Heinrich Wilhelm 179, 334
- Krapf, Johann Ludwig 172f., 192
- Kriele, Eduard 48, 72
- Kröger, Berthold 266, 284
- Krüsman, Friedrich Wilhelm 40, 57
- Kück, Johannes Hinrich 248f., 335
- Külpmann, Johann Heinrich 89f., 94
- Landolf 169f., 173, 302
- Leipoldt  
 Johann Gottlieb 88  
 Wilhelm 47
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 31
- Liefeld, Friedrich Wilhelm Albert 248–252, 259, 267f., 274, 336
- Liudger 167, 169f., 173
- Livingstone, David 155, 204, 210, 242, 370
- Lohann, Carl August 240f., 243, 248, 252–254, 336
- Löhe, Wilhelm 17, 121, 142
- Lückhoff, Daniel 37
- Luther, Martin 61, 71, 84, 141
- MacKenzie, John 233, 239–241
- Mangold, *Mason* 287
- Medhurst, Walter Henry 37, 39, 43, 45
- Meidinger, Heinrich 200
- Meyer  
 Johann Jürgen Friedrich Albert 179, 246f., 271, 280, 333  
 Jürgen Heinrich 181
- Miller, Ebenezer 82–84, 96f.
- Millies, Henricus Christiaan 98–100
- Moe, Johannes 258, 262
- Moffat, Robert 233, 239
- Mpande, King of the Zulus 193, 207, 209
- Mühlhäuser, Johannes 40
- Müller, Heinrich Wilhelm 179, 258, 267, 279, 281f., 333, 338
- Münchmeyer, August Friedrich Otto 99
- Nägel, Johann Hinrich 172
- Nathusius, Martin von 276f.
- Neumeyer, Elisabeth 65, 248
- Niemeyer, Hermann Agathon 40, 64
- Nies, Tillmann 40
- Nollau, Eduard Ludwig 40
- Oftebro, Ommund 209, 247
- Ondaatje, Adrianus Marinus Elaartst 44, 48–50, 53, 63, 65, 69, 73, 91, 97, 133
- Parisius (née Harde land), Anne  
 Henriette Marie 27
- Parisius, Johann Ludolph 27, 192, 225–227, 340
- Patrick 162f.
- Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich 26, 31f., 34, 36
- Petersen, Niels 88
- Petri, Ludwig Adolf 99, 141, 151, 166, 184, 192, 306

- Philip, John 37, 85  
Pippin II 157f.  
Posselt, Wilhelm 192f., 196, 198–200,  
202, 368  
Pretorius, Martinus (President of the  
Transvaal Republic) 203f.  
Price, Roger 233, 239  
Prigge, Johann Christoph Heinrich 229,  
269f., 334  
Rabe, J. Heinrich 264, 266, 270, 282,  
284  
Rebmann, Johannes 192f.  
Reinstorf, Heinrich 248, 250, 269, 311,  
334  
Richter, Heinrich 327  
Röhrs, Hans Heinrich 263, 284, 335  
Rohden, Ludwig von 72, 104, 134f.  
Rott, Ferdinand 110, 115, 117–124, 131,  
134, 136, 140, 223, 325f., 328f.  
Sander, Immanuel Friedrich 84f.  
Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst  
155  
Schmidt  
Georg 87  
Ludwig 267f.  
Schreuder, Hans Paludan 86, 193f., 202,  
209, 247  
Schröder  
Dorette 226, 240  
Hinrich Fritz 180, 198, 205, 334  
Johann Georg 88–90  
Jürgen Heinrich 179, 204f., 226, 228,  
232–234, 239, 333  
Schulenburg, Heinrich Christoph 205,  
229f., 232–242, 247, 309f., 334  
Schütte, Johann Christian 180, 332f.  
Schütze, Johann Heinrich Hermann  
179, 251, 332, 334  
Sechele, Chief of the Bakwena 203f.,  
210, 239f., 305, 310  
Shaka, King of the Zulus 206, 209  
Shepstone, Theophilus 194, 201, 208,  
232  
Stegmann, Georg Wilhelm 79, 82–85,  
96f., 192  
Stolte, Johann Heinrich 180, 332f.  
Struve, Chr. H. Wilhelm 179, 197, 245,  
261, 331, 333, 337f.  
Tacitus 56, 169f., 173  
Tidman, John 233f., 240  
Uhle, 44–46, 68  
Ursus 163  
Van Hoefen, Carl 54, 57, 60, 64, 81,  
102–104, 106–109, 111f., 115–120,  
122–124, 126f., 129, 133–137, 325,  
328–330  
Vollmer, Franz Heinrich 86, 88, 90  
Wagner  
Christian 250f., 259, 335  
Karl 88  
Wallmann, Johann Christian 72, 118,  
123, 125, 200f.  
Weber, Friedrich 335  
Weddik, Arnoldus Laurens 62, 65, 73,  
101f., 133, 144  
Wendlandt, Wilhelm 225, 254, 258  
Wentink, Hendrik 43–45  
Wichern, Johann Hinrich 149, 277  
Wietbert 162  
Widukind 169  
Wiese, Heinrich August 246f., 334  
Wigand, Friedrich Eberhard 131  
Willehad 169f.  
Willibrord (Wilbrord) 154, 156–159,  
161f., 169, 171, 302  
Wurmb, Theobald von 37, 89, 95, 144  
Zahn, Gustav Adolf 37, 127, 144  
Zimmer, Georg 120f., 123–128, 136f.,  
140, 329, 330  
Zimmermann, Ferdinand Friedrich Alex  
205, 217, 227, 232f., 236f., 239–241,  
247, 334  
Zinje, Gertrud 65  
Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von 154  
Zwingli, Huldrych 71



## Index of Places

- Abyssinia 172  
 Amandelboom 75, 78  
 Amsterdam 43, 98, 100f., 129  
 Bad Eilsen 130, 221  
 Bad Pyrmont 31  
 Banjarmasin 37–41, 44, 46, 48–50, 52f., 62f., 65, 68f., 73, 101–103, 109, 130–133, 135, 138, 140, 142, 219, 325, 328  
 Barmen 31–33, 43f., 46, 54, 63, 67, 69, 71f., 79f., 85f., 94, 96, 98–102, 109, 120, 123f., 129, 229, 296, 328f.  
 Batavia 39f., 43, 45, 49, 53, 61, 65, 73f., 102  
 Benin, West Africa 172  
 Bethabara 48, 50, 102f., 108, 111, 124, 324f., 328  
 Bethanie 241  
 Bintang 53f., 57, 60–63, 70, 73, 102f., 107f.  
 Borneo 16f., 37, 39–45, 48f., 50, 54, 56–58, 62–67, 69, 71–73, 79–81, 85f., 91f., 95, 97–100, 101f., 109–112, 115–117, 119, 120, 122–124, 126–133, 135–138, 140, 142, 144f., 217–220, 223, 227, 229, 256, 260, 267f., 277, 291, 294–296, 298–300, 301, 306f., 324  
 Botswana 14f., 203, 205, 210, 217, 226, 229–231, 234, 238–240, 242, 295, 305, 308–310  
 Brunswick 277  
 Cape Colony 16f., 37, 43, 63, 74–78, 81, 85–87, 91, 127, 145, 151  
 Cape Town 28, 34, 43, 61, 78–80, 82–85, 87, 100, 192, 225–227, 272  
 China 37, 175  
 Dusson (Barito) River 48, 50, 107  
 Ebenezer 75, 78, 86f., 89f., 95, 140  
 eHlanzeni 202, 338  
 Elberfeld 32f., 129  
 eMlalazi 202f.  
 England 23, 80, 88, 169–171, 242  
 eNkombela 286  
 eNtombe 286  
 eNyathi 250, 259  
 eNyezane 202  
 eThembeni 338  
 Flensburg 277  
 Genadendal 87f., 95  
 Germany 13f., 16, 23–26, 29, 31, 34, 40, 42, 58, 60, 63, 67, 87–89, 92f., 97f., 124, 128f., 132, 141, 154, 156–158, 160f., 165, 169, 171f., 175, 177, 180, 183, 185, 189, 192, 194, 196, 201, 204f., 212, 217f., 227f., 230, 232–235, 239, 243f., 250–254, 259, 263, 265f., 268, 276f., 279–281, 284–286, 289, 291  
 Gohong 48, 50–54, 56, 62, 64, 69, 72f., 102, 107  
 Göttingen 149  
 Greytown 194  
 Halle 40, 64, 130  
 Hamburg 149  
 Hanover  
     City of 26–28, 31f., 99, 101, 160, 166, 179, 186, 188, 192, 221, 277  
     Kingdom of 17, 23, 27, 29, 149f., 153, 182, 213, 225, 242, 331, 339  
 Helmstedt 277  
 Hermannsburg, Germany 149f., 152, 154, 156, 160, 162, 166–168, 176f., 180, 187f., 191, 198f., 205, 218, 220, 223, 229, 233, 236, 244, 250, 252, 259, 267, 272–274, 279, 284f., 304–308, 314f., 331  
 Hermannsburg, South Africa 194–202, 204f., 207–212, 217, 226–228, 230f., 234–236, 240, 244f., 249, 258, 261, 268f., 271, 274, 279, 283, 285–287, 290f., 304f., 308, 315, 337, 340  
 Herrnhut 87  
 Ireland 88, 162  
 Java 37, 39f., 43–46, 50, 91, 298  
 Kahayan 48, 50, 52, 62, 131  
 Kolobeng 204  
 Komaggas 75, 78  
 Lauenburg 150

- Lemgo 220, 306  
Linokana (Dinokana) 204f., 240, 241f.  
Liteyane (Dithubaruba) 204f., 210, 226f., 239–242  
London 77, 233, 234  
Lüneburg, Germany 150, 168  
Lüneburg, South Africa 285f., 315  
Mathebe 205  
Matlare 241  
Mentangei 54, 107  
Müden 202, 337f.  
Namaqualand 37, 74f., 78, 85  
Namibia 37, 74  
Natal Colony 14, 85f., 91, 95, 144, 192–194, 199–206, 209–211, 217, 221, 225f., 228f., 231f., 236, 243, 253, 255, 258, 261, 269, 281f., 308–311, 337  
Neinstedt 276f., 290  
Netherlands Indies 37, 40, 43f., 49, 56, 63, 73, 101  
New Hanover 202, 285–287, 315  
Osnabrück 99  
Palingkau 48, 50, 53, 55, 60, 100, 102–108, 111f., 115, 117–121, 124–129, 136f., 140–142, 324, 328  
Pella 75, 78  
Pietermaritzburg 194, 197  
Port Natal (Durban) 86, 192–194, 226, 234, 272  
Potchefstroom 233  
Pretoria 240f.  
Pulopetak 48, 50–53, 56, 62f., 102, 107f., 118, 126, 328  
Pulotelo 54, 107, 118, 121  
Richtersveld 75, 78  
Sarepta 75  
Saron 75, 78, 89–93, 95, 98, 113, 141  
Schietfontein 75, 78  
Shoshong 205, 234f., 239–241  
Sihong/Paty 107, 124, 328  
Singapore 61  
Steinkopf 75, 78  
Stellenbosch 43, 75, 78f., 151, 192  
The Netherlands 43, 80f., 101, 196  
Transvaal Republic 203, 261, 310  
Tulbagh 75, 78, 86, 90, 96, 127  
uPhongolo 286  
Utrecht 130, 158  
Worcester 75, 78, 85f., 91, 94  
Wupperthal, South Africa 75, 78, 86–90, 93–95, 136  
Württemberg 172  
Zanzibar 192  
Zululand 179, 193, 202, 205f., 208–212, 226, 229, 231f., 236, 246, 253, 255f., 261, 265, 267, 269f., 281, 283, 308, 311

## Index of Scripture Passages

### Old Testament

- Genesis 9:25 207  
Numbers 16 236  
Psalm 18:49 335  
Psalm 23:1 335  
Psalm 23:4 333, 335  
Psalm 23:6 335  
Psalm 27:1 335  
Psalm 69:9 61  
Psalm 86:11 333  
Psalm 119:19 335

- Psalms 126:1–2 335  
Psalm 126:6 335  
Proverbs 22:4 333  
Isaiah 41:10 333  
Jeremiah 17:7 335  
Malachi 128

### Apoerypha

- Tobit 4:5 333

## New Testament

Matthew 10:28 333  
 Matthew 13:31–33 186  
 Matthew 18 120, 139, 235, 327  
 Matthew 18:15 139  
 Matthew 18:15–16 329  
 Matthew 18:15–17 120, 138f., 229,  
 236f., 275, 326  
 Matthew 23:33 61  
 Matthew 28:19 200  
 Matthew 5:23 108  
 Matthew 5:5 335  
 Matthew 5:9 335  
 Luke 11:13 333  
 John 14:6 334  
 John 16:33 335  
 Acts 26:16–18 186  
 Acts 5:29 68  
 Acts 8:26–27 186  
 Romans 14:23 335  
 Romans 8:28 335  
 1 Corinthians 12:12–13 321  
 1 Corinthians 9:15 188  
 2 Corinthians 12:9 336  
 2 Corinthians 4:17–18 335  
 Galatians 2:20 334

Galatians 3:28 207  
 Galatians 6:1 139  
 Ephesians 3:17 336  
 Ephesians 4:1–6 219  
 Philippians 1:21 333–335  
 Philippians 3:12 113  
 Philippians 4:13 334f.  
 Philippians 4:4 336  
 Colossians 3:11 335  
 1 Timothy 4:16 184, 332  
 1 Timothy 5:18 213  
 2 Timothy 2:7 335  
 2 Timothy 3:2 230  
 Hebrews 11:32–40 183  
 Hebrews 12:10 125  
 Hebrews 13:8 333  
 2 Peter 2:13 230  
 2 Peter 3 236  
 1 John 2:18–27 236  
 1 John 4:8 335  
 Revelation 2:10 335  
 Revelation 4:11 184, 332  
 Revelation 7:14 335  
 Revelation 12:14–17 183  
 Revelation 13 182  
 Revelation 22:13 336

## Index of (selected) Subjects

1848 revolutions 92, 97  
*adat* 57, 66  
 Augsburg Confession 33, 184, 332  
 brutality 122, 123, 134, 137f., 140, 223,  
 255, 257, 260, 267f., 276, 291, 324f.  
 Candace 65, 186, 189, 192, 221, 225–  
 227, 232, 252, 268, 285  
 celibacy 199, 212, 282, 292f.  
 censorship 223, 227, 232, 252–254,  
 266  
 charges 62–64, 70, 90, 96f., 136f., 141  
 colonies  
 European colonies 159, 210

mission colonies 88, 156, 159f., 175,  
 201, 212, 258, 275, 292  
*pandeling* colonies 58, 72, 80, 98,  
 100, 103, 111f., 114, 116, 120,  
 129, 139, 144, 300f., 324  
 colonization 98, 155, 175, 200f., 244,  
 258, 275, 279–281, 283–288, 293  
 communism 174, 199f., 214, 244, 271,  
 275, 280f., 283–286, 293, 312  
 community of property 174, 212f., 222,  
 229, 244, 275, 279f., 285–288, 293  
 eschatology 182  
 excommunication 87, 120, 229, 235–  
 238, 240, 253, 290f.

- French Revolution 23f., 149  
furlough 42, 189  
grid and group 185, 250  
*hajjis* 55, 113  
Harcelandism 280  
Heidelberg Catechism 33, 71, 96  
illness 49, 57, 64, 87, 91, 123, 128, 130, 268, 328, 332  
institutes/estates 78, 87–89, 91, 93, 95, 112, 140  
Islam/muslim 37f., 55, 58, 131f., 297  
*Junges Deutschland* 28, 295  
law of patronage (*ius patronatus*) 186f., 218  
Lüneburg Church Constitution 183f., 187, 197, 218, 222, 230, 237f., 290, 331, 339  
Luther's (Small?) Catechism 33, 184  
Lutheran Confessions 66, 174, 183, 211, 213, 218f., 292  
marriage 42, 44–47, 67f., 176f., 198f., 209, 213, 249, 282, 288, 292  
martyrs 63, 70, 140, 143, 158, 169f., 183  
masters 105, 113, 160, 174, 188, 191, 223, 255, 257f., 268f., 297, 301, 304, 316  
mission festivals 58, 92, 97–99, 166–168, 183, 186f., 205, 220, 223, 244f.  
moderamen 94, 129  
monarchy/monarchical 92, 149, 222, 250, 284, 311  
monasticism/monastic 13, 18, 88, 144, 158, 163, 167, 173f., 213, 282, 290, 292f.  
Moravians (Brethren) 17, 33, 87f., 170, 204  
*pandelings* 57–61, 65, 71–73, 80, 98, 101, 103f., 110–114, 116–118, 121, 128, 132f., 139–141, 145, 297–301, 324, 328  
polygamy 17, 273–275, 279, 289, 314  
racism 207, 257, 289  
Reformed Confessions 83, 96  
revolutionary 25, 29, 92, 231, 246, 249, 251, 288  
salary/salaries 16, 98, 100, 174, 190, 199, 211, 229, 244, 258, 280, 285, 287  
seminary 32–35, 49–51, 53–55, 59, 71, 92, 98, 101, 149, 151f., 154, 156, 160, 162, 166f., 176–180, 184, 187, 191, 198f., 211, 218, 230f., 250f., 272f., 331f.  
superintendency 14f., 17, 94, 217f., 220f., 227–229, 231, 248f., 253, 259, 267, 279, 288  
trading/profit 16, 38, 88, 98, 186, 233, 238, 266, 270, 282, 287f.  
translation/translator 16f., 54f., 61, 71, 80f., 96, 98–100, 102f., 108, 121, 123, 126, 128–130, 132, 142, 218, 325, 330  
two kingdoms 36, 66, 70, 146, 184, 222  
vocation 17, 31, 106, 173, 176f., 181, 185, 191, 213, 222, 268, 270, 282, 293  
Westminster Confession 84