

**THE ROLE OF PRINCE THIMUNI KAMUDLI KAJAMA
IN ZULU HISTORY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
ACTIVITIES OF HIS SONS, NDLOVU AND CHAKIJANA AND
THEIR DESCENDANTS, 1842-1980**

by

THEMBINKOSI NTOKOZO MADLALA

**A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts in the
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

**in the
Department of History**

**at the
University of Zululand
KwaDlangezwa**

SUPERVISOR: PROF S.J. MAPHALALA

CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Photo of Prince Thimuni Zulu	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Clarification of terminology	iv-v
Abstract	vi-vii
Inggikithi	viii-x
Introduction	xi-xiii
 CHAPTER 1	
The Settlement of Prince Thimuni Zulu in Maphumulo area	1-31
 CHAPTER 2	
The Reign of Chakijana over Nodunga No.2 and the Bhambatha Uprising	32-66
 CHAPTER 3	
Prince Ndlovu Zulu of Nodunga Isizwe: His involvement in the Poll Tax Uprising of 1906, his imprisonment and the struggle for his return to Nodunga	67-116
 CHAPTER 4	
The Nodunga No.2 Tribal Authority	117-154
 CHAPTER 5	
The activities of Ndlovu's descendants	155-186

Conclusion	187-189
Bibliography	190-206

MAPS

Sketch map showing migration of Prince Thimuni from KwaZulu to Natal Colony - (Maphumulo)	(4)
Sketch map showing the ward division by inkosi Thimuni Zulu.....	(17)
Sketch map showing the area of inkosi Chakijana Zulu	(66)
Sketch map showing inkosi Ndlovu's area and the boundary issue	(70)

PHOTOS

Photo of Zawisa Zulu	38
Photo of Bhambatha Zondi	56
Photo of Ndlovu and Meseni	89
Photo of Shekela Khuzwayo	158
Photo of inkosi Ndoda Zulu	177
Photo of inkosi Bafanose Zulu	183

(i)

PRINCE THIMUNI ZULU



DECLARATION

I declare that: *The role of Prince Thimuni kaMudli kaJama in Zulu history with special reference to the activities of his sons, Ndlovu and Chakijana and their descendants, 1842-1980* is a product of my own effort, both in conception and execution, and all sources I have used have been appropriately acknowledged.

T.N. MADLALA

Kwa-Dlangezwa

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude is firstly extended to Professor S.J. Maphalala, my supervisor, for his fatherly advice and guidance that contributed to my success. He advised me not to rest after obtaining a B.A. Honours degree and was always at my disposal for the solution of my research problems.

My wife, Thembi, also played a remarkable part in my research work. She accompanied me to different places of research, like Ulundi, Natal Archives Depot in Pietermaritzburg, Durban Intermediate Archives and to different libraries.

To people who helped me with oral history, I say their names will be counted with those of the heroes of this country. These are people like Zawisa Zulu, Shekela Khuzwayo, Zimisile Zulu, Obed Mngoma, Matoboza Zulu, Ntombilezi Zulu and Mahulana Mbokazi.

In conclusion, I exalt with honour the name of Nkosinathi Zikhali, who was my vice principal at Udumo High School. He wholeheartedly assisted me with the proof-reading of my work, showing me errors I committed when writing. Without him this work should not have been successful.

To all who supported me - Thank you very much.

CLARIFICATION OF TERMINOLOGY

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---|---|
| 1. | Induna | - | headman |
| 2. | Inkosi | - | traditional leader |
| 3. | Ubukhosi | - | chieftainship |
| 4. | Umuzi | - | homestead |
| 5. | Indlu | - | thatched hut |
| 6. | Ukungena | - | taking over of ones brother's wife after his death |
| 7. | Ngenisa | - | affiliate |
| 8. | Ukuvusa | - | resurrect |
| 9. | Khothama | - | death of a traditional leader or king |
| 10. | Idlinza | - | traditional leader's grave |
| 11. | Itshitshi | - | young girl who has not chosen love partner |
| 12. | Iqhikiza | - | young girl who has chosen love partner |
| 13. | Indlalifa | - | heir |
| 14. | Ukweshwama | - | feast of the first fruit |
| 15. | Isivivane | - | heap of stones found along the path commonly used by people |
| 16. | Isigodlo | - | royal household/residence |
| 17. | Ezintandaneni | - | place of orphans |
| 18. | Ihubo lesizwe | - | national anthem |
| 19. | Ukugiya | - | warlike movements |
| 20. | Amadlozi | - | ancestral spirits |

(v)

21. Izithakazelo - patronymic legends
22. Izitha - enemies
23. Imbongi - praiser
24. Umthonga - leader of the hunting party
25. Abathakathi - witchdoctors
26. Umswani - stomach contents
27. Ukudunguzela - term used for falling ill of a king or a member of the Zulu royal house
28. Undunankulu - premier
29. Amabutho - regiments
30. Isizwe - nation/tribe
31. Impi - army
32. Intelezi - war medicine
33. Umntwana - member of a Zulu chiefs' family
34. Ukukhonza - give one's allegiance to
35. Ukuhlobonga - practise external sexual intercourse
36. Indlunkulu - chief's principal wife

ABSTRACT

Every nation has its own heroes that form part of its history. The history of the blacks, the Zulus in particular, is characterized by heroism, but very little is nowadays known about our heroes.

The photo and the name of Prince Thimuni appears in many books, but merely as an example of the traditional attire used by the hero warrior of AmaZulu. No researcher has taken pains to trace the history of such a remarkable figure in the Zulu history.

Thimuni belonged to Zimpohlo regiment of inkosi Shaka Zulu. He helped Shaka in building a strong Zulu nation by defeating different izizwe. Before the end of the Battle of Ndondakusuka, he crossed Thukela river into the British colony of Natal. Thimuni and his brother Sigwebana supported Mbuyazi instead of Cetshwayo. Sigwebana died in the battle and Thimuni took over his wives, resulting in the birth of Chakijana and Lokoza. Ndlovu became the son of Thimuni's own first wife, Mkhomolo.

The defeat of Mbuyazi resulted in strained relationship between Thimuni and the Zulu royal house.

When Thimuni reached Maphumulo, inkosi Mkhonto Ntuli gave him part of his area where he became inkosi. Thimuni's sons, Ndlovu and Chakijana disputed the heirship and Thimuni separated them. Chakijana was told to go and occupy Mvoti area as inkosi. Both Thimuni's sons used the name Nodunga for their districts and that was in honour of their grandfather, Mudli, whose umuzi was Nodunga.

When the Bhambatha uprising broke out, Ndlovu and Chakijana sided with AmaZulu against the British government. That brought about reconciliation between them and the Zulu Royal House so that their sons Mbango and Piti communicated freely with the Zulu Royal House. Mbango's son, Manukanuka, was evicted in 1972 from his land by the South African government, the reason being that he communicated secretly with the British government against the loss of his land to Whites and Indians. The South African government sold Manukanuka's land for the part played by Chakijana in the Bhambatha uprising. Ubukhosi of Ndlovu's Nodunga No.1 was only disturbed for a short period when Ndlovu was imprisoned. It was put under the Ngubane people under the chieftainship of Sibindi Ngubane of Mabomvini isizwe who made his brother, Mmleli to be chief of Nodunga isizwe. However, when Ndlovu came back from exile ubukhosi was restored to him and his descendants.

INGQIKITHI

Yilesa naleso sizwe sinamaqhawe aso aba ingxenye yomlando waso. Umlando wabantu abamnyama, ikakhulukazi amaZulu, ugqanyiswa ubuqhawe, kodwa kuncane kakhulu okusakhumbuleka ngalamaqhawe akithi.

Isithombe negama lomntwana uThimuni kuvela ezincwadini eziningi, kodwa kuvezwa nje njengesibonelo semvunulo eyayisetshenziswa izihlabani zamaZulu. Akekho oseke wazihlupha ngokulandela umlando walesisilomo emlandweni wakwaZulu.

Umntwana uThimuni wayengowebutho lesilo uShaka elalaziwa ngeleZimpohlo. Walekelela isilo uShaka ekwakheni isizwe samaZulu esinamandla ngokuhlanganisa izizwe eziningi. Ngaphambi kokuphela kwempi yaseNdondakusuka wawela umfula uThukela ewelela e"Natal" eyabe isiphethwe amaNgisi. UThimuni benomfowabo umntwana uSigwebana balekelela umntwana uMbuyazi esikhundleni sikamntwana uCetshwayo. USigwebana wafela khona empini uThimuni wabe esengena amakhosikazi akhe, okwenza ukuthi kuzalwe uChakijana noLokoza. UNdlovu waba indodana yendlovukazi kaThimuni, uMkhomolo.

Ukunqotshwa kukaMbuyazi kwadunga ubudlelwane phakathi kukaThimuni nendlunkulu yakwaZulu.

Ngenkathi uThimuni efika kwaMaphumulo wanikwa inkosi uMkhonto Ntuli indawo lapho owaba inkosi khona. Amadodana kaThimuni, uNdlovu noChakijana babanga ubukhosana uThimuni wase ebahlukanisa. Watshele uChakijana ukuthi ehambe eyoba inkosi endaweni yaseMvoti, yena wasala noNdlovu.

Omabili amadodana kaThimuni aqamba izindawo zawo ngegama likaNodunga, bekhombisa ukuhlonipha umkhulu wabo, uMudli, umuzi wakhe owawubizwa ngokuthi kukwaNodunga.

Ngokusuka kwempi yamakhanda ngowe 1906 uNdlovu noChakijana balekelela amaZulu, babhekana nohulumeni wamaNgisi. Lokho kwenza ukuthi kube nokubuyisana phakathi kwabo nendlu ebusayo kwaZulu ngangokuba amadodana abo, uMbango noPiti base bexhumana ngokukhululeka nendlunkulu yakwaZulu. Indodana kaMbango, uManukanuka waxoshwa uhulumeni waleli endaweni yakhe ngo-1972, isizathu kuwukuthi uxhumane ngasese nendlovukazi yamaNgisi ekhalaza ngokuthathwa kwendawo yakhe abelungu namaNdiya. Uhulumeni wadayisela aBelungu namaNdiya indawo kaManukanuka ngenxa yeqhaza elabanjwa uChakijana empini kaBhambatha.

Ubukhosi bukaNodunga wokuqala kwaphazamiseka kancane ngenkathi uNdlovu eboshiwe. LoNodunga wafakwa ngaphansi kobukhosi bakwaNgubane okwakuphethwe inkosi uSibindi. USibindi wabeka

(x)

umfowabo, uMmeleli ukuthi ephathe loNodunga. Nokho ngenkathi uNdlovu ebuya ekudingisweni ubukhosi kwabuyiselwa kuyena nesizukulwane sakhe.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Zulu Royal House has tended to concentrate mainly on King Shaka and his descendants and in the process minimising the role of other members of the Zulu royal family. For example, Prince Thimuni, son of Mudli's photograph appears in most history books but nothing worthwhile has been written about the history of this Zulu warrior and his descendants. In this work the writer has attempted to critically discuss the role of Prince Thimuni and his descendants in Zulu history.

It is already known that Mudli, Thimuni's father was one of King Shaka's mentors. But before his death he advised his two sons, Sigwebana and Thimuni to be loyal to the Zulu kingdom and defend it against its enemies. The two young princes honoured their father's advice and played prominent roles in King Shaka's unification wars against the Buthelezi people and the Ndwandwe people where Thimuni distinguished himself as an excellent warrior.

Following the assassination of King Shaka in September 1828, and the ascendancy of Prince Dingane to the Zulu throne, Thimuni continued his loyalty to the Zulu kingdom playing a significant role in King Dingane's campaign in Swaziland which were aimed at capturing Madubane Vilakazi, one of amaSwati leaders.

It was, however, the outbreak of the Battle of Ndongakusuka on 2 December 1856 which brought about a turning point in Thimuni's fortunes. The Battle of Ndongakusuka's main cause was the expansion of the British authority northwards into the Zulu kingdom, north of the Thukela river. The British wanted to instal Prince Mbuyazi to the Zulu throne and ignore Prince Cetshwayo, the rightful heir to the throne. In the bloody battle of that morning, Prince Thimuni fought on the losing side and before the termination of the Ndongakusuka Battle which resulted in Cetshwayo's victory, Thimuni fled and settled in the British colony of Natal, south of the Thukela river, then regarded as the physical boundary between the Kingdom of KwaZulu and the British colony.

Prince Thimuni first settled in Ntwashini near the site of King Shaka's Royal Dukuza palace (renamed Stanger by the British). The Natal government evicted him from this area which was for the settlement of white people only. He was compelled to settle in mountainous, rugged and mimosa ridden Maphumulo magisterial district. The British authorities in Natal had already established 1846 Boundary Commission which produced a report compelling the Zulu people to reside in the "Native reserves" to be used as labour reservoirs on white farms and towns. Thimuni was no exception to these humiliating conditions imposed upon the Zulu people south of the Thukela river.

This research details the plight of Prince Thimuni's descendants compounded by the barren nature of the territory. There was, for example, a succession dispute between Thimuni's two sons before his death. The resolution of that dispute was that Ndlovu remain in his father's site Nodunga in the Maphumulo district while Chakijana moved to establish Nodunga No.2 in the Mvoti district. But Nodunga No.2 was eventually evicted as the territory was required for Indian and white settlement. The continuation of ubukhosi, i.e. chietainship in the future would be restricted in the mountains of Maphumulo.

The outbreak of the Poll Tax uprising in 1906 was strongly resisted in Maphumulo mainly for economic reasons since the mountainous nature of the territory had gradually impoverished people. In that uprising Prince Ndlovu and Chakijana played prominent roles resulting in Ndlovu's arrest and banishment when the British troops suppressed uprising in Maphumulo on 27 June 1907. But after many years of negotiations with the Natal government authorities, Ndlovu was allowed to return to his territory. When he shortly died later, the status of his descendants declined and by the 1970's it had become pathetic.

CHAPTER 1

THE SETTLEMENT OF PRINCE THIMUNI ZULU IN MAPHUMULO AREA

Thimuni Zulu kaMudli fled across the Thukela river during the battle of Ndondakusuka which started on 2nd December 1856. The war was between the followers of Prince Mbuyazi, iZigqoza, and those of Cetshwayo known as uSuthu.¹

The main reason for crossing Thukela river to the British colony of Natal was that Thimuni and his elder brother, Sigwebana fought on the losing side of Mbuyazi.² Sigwebana feared that Cetshwayo would order their killing for high treason.³

He recommended that Thimuni should migrate with his (Sigwebana's) wives and children across the Thukela river and that in case he died, Thimuni should look after his family. Thimuni and Sigwebana's family crossed through the Dlokweni drift which is opposite Mvumase area in Maphumulo.

¹. T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, P.189. cf. The Natal Mercury: 1 January 1857. CF. NCP8/5/11 Ref 3: Cetshwayo, p.5 CDE B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart Archive. Vol 2, P.240.

². N1/1/3(44)7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi) 2 May 1973.

³. 1/SGR4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885.

It was during summer and the Thukela river was in flood.⁴ Sigwebana's only son, who was still very young dropped into the flooded river and drowned.⁵ The remainder of the party proceeded in the direction of Stanger.⁶

The area around Stanger was inhabited by various small izizwe (tribes) under the self appointed amakhosi (chiefs) who had been Shaka's izinduna (headmen) and who, after the death of Shaka made themselves amakhosi over the different wards that had been under their authority. Those were izizwe like abakwaNxumalo under inkosi Sothondose Nxumalo who occupied the area west of the Nonoti river towards Zinsimba river, abakwaMlungwana (Ngiba) under inkosi Habana Mlungwana who were in the area nowadays known as New Guelderland, abakwaQwabe (the Nkanini section) inkosi of which was Mamfongonyane Gumede who lived south-west of abakwaCele towards Mvoti river, abakwaDube, south-west of Stanger, who were under inkosi Makewu Dube and the very small section of abakwaNgcobo under inkosi Mashobane Mzimela who lived along Thukela river and shared borders

⁴. Zawisa Zulu ka Magulensi kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his house near the Mvoti river, 8 July 1994.

⁵. N1/1/3 (44)7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁶. Mahulana Mbokazi kaDlozi kaNyathela, kaMadlula, kaNkubela, interviewed at Mjakaja Dube's house, 28 June 1994.

with Sothondose Nxumalo and Cele people under inkosi Mathambo Cele.⁷

Thimuni settled at Ntwashini area, about two kilometres north of Shaka's Royal Palace of Dukuza (Stanger) near the Nonoti river. He was under the jurisdiction of the Lower Thukela magisterial district, the chief magistrate of which was Cleghorn.⁸

The area had been under the direct control of inkosi Shaka Zulu and it had been occupied by Shaka's chief induna, Ngomane, whose home was in the upper reaches of Nonoti. It was very close to the two palaces of Dukuza and Nyakamubi, therefore no inkosi, amongst those along the Natal coast, could claim it. Thimuni's royal blood made him an exception.⁹ He could have been welcomed anywhere as a prince, but because he did not want to create enemies for himself, he decided to choose a neutral zone that had been directly occupied by Shaka.¹⁰

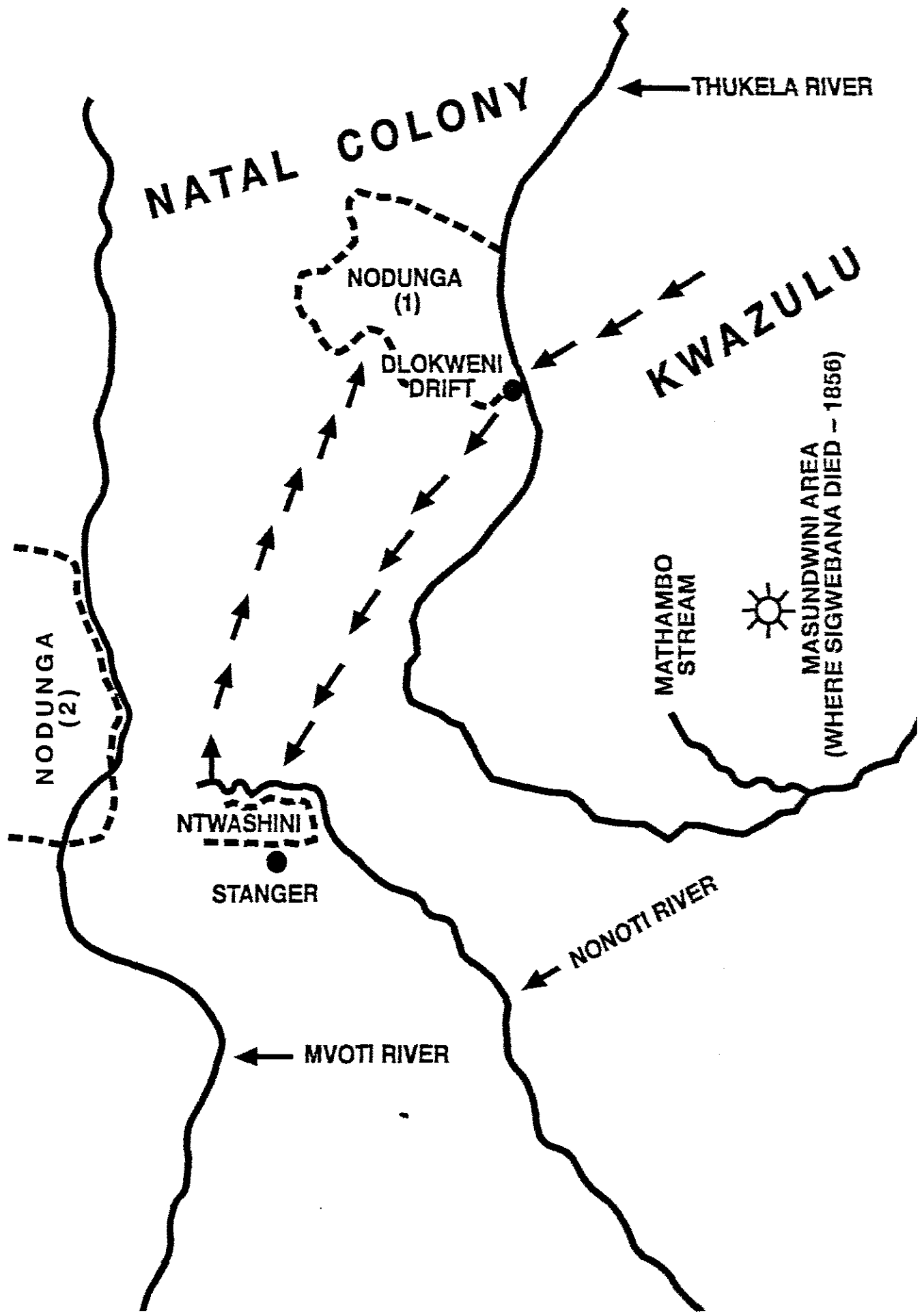
⁷. 1/SGR4/2/2/10 Ref 2/13/6 R M Stanger - CNC, 7 April 1884, cf. 1/SGR4/1/1 Ref SNA 1127/1889 R M Stanger - CNC, 5 March 1889. 1/SGR4/1/2 Ref SNA 41/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 30 August 1885, 1.SGR 4/1/4 Ref 135 Ltd R M Stanger - SNA, 28 December 1881.

⁸. SNA1/1/278 Ref 185/1897 USNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Maphumulo, 6 October 1896, cf. CSD 1881 Ref 1909/6680 R M Stanger - SNA, 16 October 1881. Mahulana Mbokazi kaDlozi kaNyathela kaMadlula kaNkubela, interviewed at Mjakuja Dube's house, 18 July 1994.

⁹. E.A. Ritter: Shaka Zulu P.69.

¹⁰. Matoboza kaMafunze kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni", the royal residence, 23 March 1994.

SKETCH MAP SHOWING MIGRATION OF PRINCE THIMUNI
FROM KWAZULU TO NATAL COLONY – (MAPHUMULO)



Three days after the battle of Ndondakusuka, Thimuni went back to the Thukela river to check if Sigwebena survived. He went to the area called "Masundwini" (Palm trees area). It was the area where a decisive fight took place that a stream running through it was called "Mathambo" (the stream of bones).¹¹

Thimuni found Sigwebana's shield along the bank of the river, having been washed away by the flooded river. He knew that Sigwebana was dead. He took his shield and paid tribute to his soul by reciting his praises as follows:

Umgwazi weziqananazana

The stabber of Ziqananazana (name of regiment)

Umgwazi akaxheguli

The stabber that does not hesitate

Ngokugwaz' imiqala yamadoda

For he stabs even men's throats

OkaNdaba ongengakanani

The Ndaba's who is not of any bigness

•

¹¹. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi) 2 May 1973.

Ngob' uqhvakela ngish' emkhontweni

For he sits even on the spears sharp point.¹²

In accordance with the custom of "ukungena" (the taking over of the deceased brother's wife/wives), Thimuni became responsible for Sigwebana's family and raising seeds for him. One of these wives, OkaQwabe, the daughter of Mamfongonyane Gumede, gave birth to Chakijana, who, though biologically belonged to Thimuni, but according to tradition and the immortality of the soul, was in all respects regarded as Sigwebana's. Chakijana Zulu then became "indlalifa" (heir) of Sigwebana.¹³

Another wife of the late Sigwebana Zulu was okaMagubane. She likewise bore a son, Lokoza, who went to live at Eshowe district under inkosi Nonqandela Zulu until he died in 1929.¹⁴

¹². 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885. cf. Papana Zulu kaMbango kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his home near Mvoti river, 20 May 1994.

¹³. NCP8/5/133 Ref C1702/4, P.18: Native Law (ukungena). cf. 1/SGR4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885. 1/SGR4/1/4 Ref 135 Ltd R M Stanger - SNA, 28 December 1881. 1/MPO5/1/5 Ref 25/1 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 17 April 1890.

¹⁴. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi) 2 May 1973. cf. CNC111 Ref 1913/345: Lokoza Zulu R M Stanger - CNC, 23 April 1913.

Having raised children for his brother and provided for his family, Thimuni had to marry his own wife. Usually "umndeni" (blood relatives) provides a cow for thanking a person for caring for his deceased brother's family. This was done in the case of Thimuni.¹⁵ His first wife (indlunkulu) was known as "Mkhomolo." Out of this marriage Prince Ndlovu, the indlalifa (heir) was born. Both Chakijana and Ndlovu claimed to be Thimuni's successors to "ubukhosi" (chieftainship). It was inevitable that a dispute for ubukhosi would arise as they reached manhood. That rivalry will be discussed in the following chapter.¹⁶

Thimuni could not stay permanently at Ntwashini because Dr William Stanger, the chief surveyer, in whose honour Stanger was named, had in July 9, 1849 earmarked that tract of land between Mvoti and Nonoti rivers including the intervening space of 20 or 24 kilometres from the coast for the European settlement.¹⁷

The British government therefore sold areas around Stanger to Whites to develop themselves as farmers. The whole strip of land between Thukela and Mvoti rivers was considered to be one of the healthiest parts of the

¹⁵. 1/SGR4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885.

¹⁶. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885.

¹⁷. C 1850 P.430: William Stanger to Early Grey, 31 August 1849. cf. G.T. Plowman: The Natal Civil Service List (1895), P.48 P. Davis: Debates of the Legislative Council. Vol V, P.207.

colony of Natal.¹⁸ The African inhabitants were firstly allowed to settle on private white farms and made to realise that Whites were not to displace them. The inadequate Natal colonial troops prevented the government from suddenly curtailing powers of amakhosi from the farms.¹⁹

Dr William Stanger was assisted by Shanahan, the government agent at Nonoti who motivated why Africans were to be evicted from White farms. Their advice was endorsed by the government. Mr Saunders, member of the Legislative Council, in the debates of the Legislative Council in 1852 argued as follows: "White interference in Native Affairs was to protect natives from self-destruction."²⁰

On becoming aware that Blacks were not allowed permanent residence in the stipulated areas, Thimuni decided to move further west to Maphumulo area. He went to "khonza" (ask for the living space) to inkosi Mkhonto Ntuli of the Ntuli isizwe which, with the introduction of tribal authorities was later known as Mkhonto Tribal Authority (KwaHohoza).²¹

¹⁸. 1/SGR4/1/4 Ref 201/180 R M Stanger - CNC, 12 August 1891. cf. D.A. Bill Guest: Natal and Zululand, P.128. W. Watson: Natal Blue Book, P.B.42.

¹⁹. D.A. Bill Guest: Natal and Zululand, P.128. cf.1/SGR4/1/4 Ref201/180 R M Stanger - SNA, 12 August 1891.

²⁰. P. Davies: Debates of the Legislative Council, Vol V, P.207.

²¹. SNA1/1/278 Ref 185/1897: Thimuni: Chief of AmaZulu, 14 April 1897. cf.1/SGR4/1/4 Ref 201/180 R M Stanger - CNC, 12 August 1891.

Other families who were evicted were Mlungwana and his loyal followers who had come to the colony of Natal during the reign of king Shaka. He returned to Nongoma in KwaZulu. Madubana too, who was Mashobana's induna returned to KwaZulu on 17 October 1889. They were compelled by the Dutch immigrants like Freniksen and Colenbrander to leave. The Nxumalo isizwe formerly under inkosi Sothondose were also ordered to look for another land. They joined inkosi Mbango Zulu's isizwe, being under the new leadership of Mambuka Nxumalo. In 1925 half of the Nxumalo isizwe was given to inkosi Nyakana Gumede of the Nkanini isizwe.²²

Ubukhosi (chieftainship) of the other small amakhosi like Ngcobo and Mbokazi along the Natal coast came to an end. The last Cele inkosi was evicted by the South African government of that time and given a small mountainous piece of land near Thrings Post (KwaJimu). That area was part of abakwaQwabe's land, the Mthandeni section. The subjects of other amakhosi joined under the neighbouring amakhosi like Mathonsi, Gumede and Ntuli.²³

This was the position when Thimuni arrived at Maphumulo. He was welcomed by inkosi Mkhonto Ntuli who gave him land between Mati and

²². NCP8/5/22 Ref 5 Correspondence Relative to the Eviction of Native occupants from Crown lands, 1883.

²³. 1/SGR 4/1/3 Ref LTD 467/91 R M Stanger - CNC, 18 January 1891. cf. 1/SGR4/1/1 Ref 6476/1889 R M Stanger - SNA, 15 March 1889.

Otimati rivers. He also accompanied him to Pietermaritzburg for the official handing over of the land. Inkosi Mkhonto, according to tradition readily offered Thimuni the living space out of respect for members of the Zulu Royal House.²⁴

The granting of land was done by inkosi Mkhonto-in-council because it was realized that according to Zulu tradition Prince Thimuni was to be accorded great respect.²⁵ Thimuni named his district Nodunga, meaning one who dirties. He argued that it was Nodunga who dirtied water for the cowards living below to drink.²⁶

Nodunga had been previously the name of umuzi of Mudli, Thimuni's father. The Zulu tradition had that deceased parents imizi should be resurrected (ukuvusa) in their honour. The reason for this was religious, namely that a person lives in the hereafter and returns as the ancestral spirit to look after umuzi or isizwe.²⁷

The greater part of the area given to Thimuni by inkosi Mkhonto was however bushy, mountainous and stoney. It was neither suitable for human

²⁴. SNA 1/1/278 185/1897: Thimuni: Chief of AmaZulu, 14 April 1897.

²⁵. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni", the royal residence, 15 May 1994.

²⁶. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

²⁷. D.B.K. Mhlongo: Ilanga LaseLangeni. PP.43-51.

habitation nor economic development because of its barren nature.²⁸

The lack of sufficient arable land compelled Thimuni's subjects to trade through barter system with White traders. They gave them livestock in exchange for crops like mealies. In 1883 Magayisa, one of Thimuni's subjects took a bag of mealies from one Cook, a white farmer in return for payment of a cow. He died before fulfilling his promise. Cook demanded 2 cows from Magayisa's brother, Phakade, who reported Cook to Thimuni. But he had no powers to try a case involving a white man; although it was a civil case.²⁹

The case was referred to the Stanger magistrate. He took a decision against Phakade, found him guilty and ordered him to pay 2 cows. Phakade complained against the law agents but could not move any step further because the decision of the magistrate was racist and provided no room for appeal. The appointment of the magistrates in 1850 made them superior to amakhosi and therefore encroached upon the powers of amakhosi. Although Thimuni was discontent about the verdict, he could not help Phakade.³⁰

²⁸. SNA 1/1/83 1885/369: A Minute from Mr John Knight the administrator and border agent to the Secretary of Native Affairs, 27 July 1885.

²⁹. 1/SGR4/1/2 Ref SNA 219/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 30 August 1885.

³⁰. 1/SGR4/1/2 Ref SNA 219/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 30 August 1885. cf. C.F.J. Muller: 500 Years, P.205. A. Edley: The Natal land and colonial Natal 1860 - 1890, P.5.

The problem that faced Thimuni was the boundary issue. It dated back to the time of Mkhonto Ntuli. Mkhonto had not settled the boundary question between him and Tatalambu Khuzwayo, the inkosi of Mambedwini area. In the east, the Vimbukhalo area, there were many imizi (homesteads) that claimed to be subjects of Tatalambu and some of Mkhonto. Surprisingly those that claimed allegiance to inkosi Tatalambu were about 5 kilometres away from Tatalambu's isizwe known as Mambedwini.³¹

In the west there was a chaotic situation pertaining the boundaries along the Mati river. Madlangampisi's umuzi along the Mati stream claimed to be under Mkhonto and not under Thimuni as it was believed to be. Up the Bele stream was umuzi of Gingqitshe which also claimed to be under Mkhonto. Just next to Gingqitshe, along the edge of Siqozomana was the umuzi that claimed allegiance to inkosi Thimuni.³²

Imizi up Sigedle stream to Siwa Sezimbuzi till Mgontswaneni all agreed that they belonged to prince Thimuni. Mkhonto died on 2 January 1897 with the boundary question having not been solved.³³ Inkosi Thimuni disregarded the boundary issue as he thought it might lead to the violation of his good intention of peaceful co-existence with his neighbours. He did not take heed

³¹. SNA1/1/292 Ref 1813/1901 SNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Stanger, 21 August 1901. cf. 1/SGR4/1/3 Ref 478/88 R M Stanger - CNC, 18 January 1888.

³². SNA 1/1/292 Ref 1813/1901 SNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Stanger, 21 August 1901.

³³. 1/SGR4/1/4 Ref 135 LTD R M Stanger - SNA, 28 December 1897.

of the advice of some of his councillors who urged him to consult Gordon William Rose, the magistrate in Maphumulo Division, to act as a mediator in that settlement. His decision was wise, however, seeing that the Boundary Commission of 1846 had divided Africans into the so-called Native Reserves.³⁴

The imizi of Khuzwayo people who had been claiming allegiance to Tatalambu but who later settled in Thimuni's area, occupied the strip of land from Qaqeni down to Thukela river and named that area Mambedwini. Mambedwini was the name of Tatalambu's area that they had left. Thimuni should therefore have disapproved of that name for it showed that although they were then his subjects, they still honoured their former inkosi, Tatalambu.³⁵

That name might in the long run cause ill-feeling between the two izizwe. The first possibility might be the deliberate distortion of history by inkosi of the real Mambedwini Tribal Authority who might ill influence the Mambedwini isizwe under his control by alleging that the area in question belonged to him and that he was robbed of it. The result might be for the bloodthirsty people clamouring for the return of the area.³⁶

³⁴. Maphumulo District Record Book (From Magistrate's office) 1 July 1894 - 1996.

³⁵. Shekela Khuzwayo, interviewed at his umuzi near the Thukela river, 24 June 1884. cf. J. Clegg: Ukubuyisa isidumbu - Bringing back the body, P.3.

³⁶. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/20/10: Boundary Dispute, 9 November 1939.

The second possibility might be for this name acting as the source of trouble amongst Nodunga wards which can commence through the passing of provocative remarks against members of Mambedwini that they will be made to flee and join under inkosi of Mambedwini as they call themselves Mambedu. That might divide the Nodunga isizwe into two hostile camps and result in the faction fight.³⁷

After settlement Thimuni developed his "isigodlo" (Royal household) and named it "Zintandaneni" (place of orphans). He thought of that name because they came there landless like the destitutes or orphans. The development of isigodlo was the work done by isizwe. The males went to the bushes and brought poles for the houses while females cut grass for thatching. Thatch-work was also part of the female duties.³⁸

Apart from building houses the males also made the inkosi Thimuni's cattle kraal and also brought some thorny branches of trees for the fencing of the inkosi's fields. The work was accompanied by drinking beer and sometimes feasting on meat.³⁹

³⁷. 1/MPO 3/1/2/1 Ref 2/15/11: Location Boundaries, 18 January 1940.

³⁸. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1897: Thimuni: Chief of AmaZulu, 14 April 1897. cf. C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, P.342.

³⁹. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni", the royal residence, 18 June 1994.

Thimuni then had to divide his district into wards in order to facilitate administration. There were six wards altogether e.g. Qaqeni, Mbulwini, Nutwa, Mthombeni, Mambedwini and Mvumase. The division of land was the work of Thimuni and his izinduna.⁴⁰

Each ward was put under the control of induna (headman). Izinduna of different wards formed part of the tribal council and court. The work of induna was to hear minor cases in their wards. The major civil cases were referred to inkosi-in-council in their respective areas. Izinduna also had to see to it that the ward inhabitants performed isizwe's service to inkosi like working his land and herding cattle.⁴¹

One of the important tasks facing Thimuni was that of the composition of "ihubo lesizwe" (the national anthem). That was discussed with the family members, izinduna and councillors. Eventually ihubo was composed and sung as follows:

Siba - ngi - zwenko --- si
We quarrel over the land O! King.

Wa-thi - ntuno - Dunga
When you provoke Nodunga.

⁴⁰. N1/1/3 (40)7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁴¹. 1/MPO 1/1/5/34 Ref C1/1/1: Chiefs courts. cf. Sicebi Khuzwayo, induna, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward under Nodunga, 23 June 1995. A. Duminy and B. Guest: Natal and Zululand from the Earliest Times to 1910, P.173.

Wa - tholi - cala
You will be sued.

I - zwelo - mnto - mkhulu
For it is the land of a great person.

Inkonya - neye - silo.
The son of paramount chief.⁴²

Thimuni was reminiscent of the problematic situation that prevailed over the boundaries. He knew that his disregard of that problem would inevitably lead to his successors being at loggerheads with his neighbouring amakhosi. He nevertheless warned them not to provoke Nodunga for they would be inviting trouble for themselves. It should be inculcated in their minds that he was descendant from the royal house, the general custodian of the land.⁴³

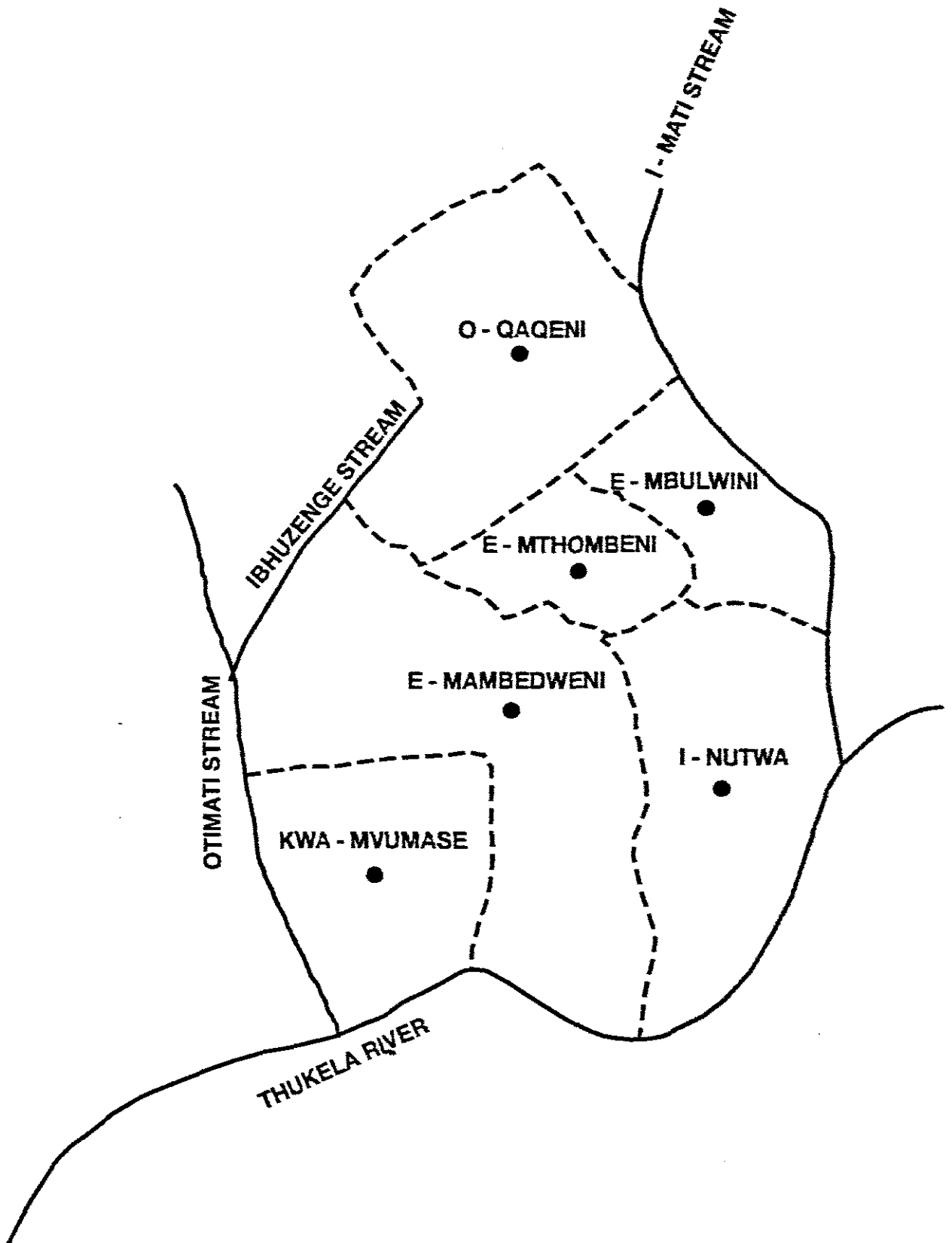
That national anthem was to be sung on very important occasions by isizwe in order to invoke the spirits, especially on attacks, after important feasts to mark the end of the ceremony and to accompany amakhosi of Nodunga with it when they have passed away.⁴⁴ Thimuni emphasized that when one is holding his own individual feast he must sing his own ihubo at

⁴². Shekela Khuzwayo, interviewed at his home near the Thukela river, 14 July 1994.

⁴³. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1897 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 14 April 1897. cf. Themba Madlala kaNdabakazipheli, kaZibhebhu, kaHaga kaNtweba, interviewed at his home, 12 May 1994.

⁴⁴. Bafana Nxumalo, interviewed at his home at Nyamazane, under Mkhonto Tribal Authority, 20 July 1994.

THE WARD DIVISION BY INKOSI THIMUNI ZULU



the end of the function. This must be followed by "ukugiya" (warlike movements) which was aimed at invoking "amadlozi" (ancestral spirits). The last ihubo to be sung is that of inkosi of that particular isizwe, to say thank you to the custodian of the land.⁴⁵

The taking part in great general feasts like "ukweshwama" (feast of the reaping of the first fruit); was, however, not observed by Nodunga isizwe under Thimuni. The reason for this was the strained relationship between Thimuni and the Royal house after the breaking away of Thimuni from KwaZulu. He wished to attend such feasts but feared that it might lead to problems. His people were regarded as traitors and fugitives to be killed as they supported the enemy of the Royal house at the Battle of Ndondakusuka. He was also afraid to conduct "ukweshwama" (ceremony of the first fruit) individually with his isizwe as that would imply that he claimed to be independent. This might have resulted in further alienation from the Zulu Royal House.⁴⁶

Another incident which occurred during Thimuni's reign was the quarrel of his sons. It resulted in the migration of Chakijana to Mvoti river. Thimuni was afraid that Chakijana might come back to dispute ubukhosi with Ndlovu. Thimuni decided to go to the Stanger magistrate with Ndlovu on 17 August

⁴⁵. M. Gcina: Nokukhanya, P.55.

⁴⁶. C. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart Archive, Vol 4, P.207. cf. R. Russel: Natal the land and its story, P.210.

1885 to declare the disposal of his property. He introduced Ndlovu to the magistrate as one to represent him in all matters affecting his isizwe. He was already sixty years old and no more able to properly fulfill his daily routine activities. He further stated that Ndlovu should be recognised by the government as his heir.⁴⁷

The magistrate could not entertain the decision of Thimuni. He argued that Thimuni was still strong and lively to decide on the disposal of his property. The magistrate was interfering in Zulu tradition he knew very little about. He also referred Thimuni's request to the Chief Native Commissioner in 1886 who made provision for the suitable person to draw up wills for the African people.⁴⁸

Chakijana, Ndlovu's elder brother had already left for settlement in Mvoti area where he was already recognised as inkosi. He also called his new settlement Nodunga. It might have been that name that made Thimuni suspicious that the aim of Chakijana was to combine the two sections of Nodunga isizwe under his control. Chakijana was nevertheless not concerned with dispute issues. He concentrated on the new problems of his

⁴⁷. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885: Declaration of Chief Thimuni regarding the disposal of his property, 17 october 1885.

⁴⁸. NCP 8/5/13 Ref C1702/4: Native Law (Power to dispose of the property), P.13.

new settlement.⁴⁹

Another issue which concerned Thimuni was the possession of a firearm. It was realised by the majority of the Zulu people that a man without a gun was like a man without hands. Thimuni lodged his application for a gun on 19 February 1885 through Mr J. Knight, the administrator and border agent of the Lower Thukela district. That application had to be forwarded to the Secretary of Native Affairs in Pietermaritzburg who in turn discussed the matter with the British governor in his capacity as the "Supreme Chief of the Native Population", (the position which had been previously held by the Zulu king.)⁵⁰

The reason for Thimuni to apply for a firearm was that where Thimuni resided were many monkeys due to the wooded nature of the territory and that those monkeys destroyed his crops. He wanted to shoot these monkeys to frighten them away from the surroundings of his fields. That would solve the problem because the monkeys are very much fearful of the noise of a gun.⁵¹ John Knight strongly recommended Thimuni Zulu's

⁴⁹. SNA1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 USNA Pietermaritzburg - R M, 22 July 1906. cf.1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885: Declaration of Chief Thimuni regarding the disposal of his property, 17 October 1885.

⁵⁰. SNA 1/1/83 Ref 1885/369: Mr John Knight (the administrator and border agent - SNA, 25 July 1885. cf. F. Kendall and Louw: Let the people govern, P.240.

⁵¹. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at his royal residence (isigodlo) known as "Ezintandaneni," 24 May 1994.

application, pointing out that monkeys were indeed a great pest in Thimuni's territory. He also added that Thimuni was a loyal inkosi and therefore deserved a gun.⁵²

A permit for Thimuni to own a gun was sent on 5 July 1885 by the Seretary for native Affairs to the governor for his signature and on 6 July the permit was dispatched to the Lower Thukela Division to be handed over to Thimuni. Thimuni received good news that, like the majority of other amakhosi, he was also entitled to possess a gun. That gave him additional confidence in the Natal government.⁵³

According to inkosi Bafanose Zulu, one of Thimuni's descendants, it was easy for his great-grand-father to be granted permission to posses a gun because apart from the fact that he was a prince and inkosi, he was not regarded as hostile to the Natal government. He was known as a peaceful inkosi.⁵⁴

⁵². SNA 1/1/83 Ref 1885/369: Mr John Knight (the administrator and border agent) - SNA, 25 July 1885.

⁵³. 1/SGR 4/1/4 Ref 135 LTD R M Stanger - SNA, 6 July 1885. cf. SNA1/1/83 Ref 1885/364: Mr John Knight (the administrator and border agent) - SNA, 25 July 1885.

⁵⁴. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, kaThimuni, interviewed at his royal residence (isigodlo) known as "Ezintandaneni", 30 May 1994.

Generally the Africans in KwaZulu-Natal were deprived of the opportunity to get access to firearms. Such steps, it was alleged, were taken to keep them peaceful.⁵⁵ History reminded the British how the Africans resisted colonisation. The government was aware of the fact that as long as Africans were still languishing under oppressive laws and social injustice there would be no peace, and to make them less harmful, no firearms had to be allowed to them.⁵⁶ Despite embargo more and more Africans who went to work in the diamond fields did get hold of the firearms probably from the poor Whites. The act which was passed for the return of firearms did not materialize.⁵⁷

Thimuni did not want a gun in order to disturb peace. He enjoyed harmonious co-existence with his neighbours like Mkhonto, Tatalambu and Magidi. He also made his people respect the Natal government.⁵⁸

⁵⁵. C.F.J. Muller: 500 years, P.221 cf. P. Davis: Debates of the Legislative Council, June 7 - August 25, 1882, P.205.

⁵⁶. F. Kendall and L. Leon: Let the People Govern, P.44. cf. J.D. Fage: A History of Africa, PP.430-31. V.B. Thompson: Africa and Unity, P.18.

⁵⁷. J.D. Omer - Cooper: History of Southern Africa, PP.107-08. cf. W.R. Guest: Langalibalele The Crisis in Natal 1873 - 75, P.19.

⁵⁸. SNA 1/1/83 Ref 1885/369 Mr John Knight - SNA, 25 July 1885. cf. 1/SGR4/1/4 Ref 135 LTD R M Stanger - SNA, 28 December 1881.

One of Thimuni's contribution to the history of AmaZulu was the tracing of the origin of the surname "Zulu". He said the word "Phezulu" was the name of the ancient ancestor of Lubololwenja. In honour of their ancestor the Zulu people decided to call themselves by his name, as their surname, discarding the prefix "Phe" and then remaining with "Zulu" as their surname.⁵⁹ The people with "zulu" as their surname subsequently made the Lubololwenja or Lufenulwenja their "izithakazelo" (patronymic legends), but Shaka did not like that isithakazelo and decided to get rid of it. He replaced it with "Ndabezitha" which is Mbatha's isithakazelo.⁶⁰ Shaka bought Ndabezitha patronymic legend with cattle from the Mbatha people, arguing that they did not have "izitha" (enemies). Nevertheless the Mbathas still use Ndabezitha but it is commonly known to be belonging to abakwaZulu.⁶¹

During the reign of Thimuni there were no school buildings, therefore there was no formal school education. Education took place in a traditional manner. The bringing up of children was the sole task of all adult members of the society.⁶²

⁵⁹. C. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart Archive (Vol.4), P.207.

⁶⁰. Bafana Mbatha, interviewed at Udumo High School, 28 July 1994.

⁶¹. C. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart Archive, vol 4, P.207.

⁶². Ilanga lase-Natal: 29 May 1903 (Editorial). cf. S.W.B. Engelbrecht et al.: Education III Second Edition, P.48. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

Thimuni was himself the great educator. He was mostly interested in the history of amaZulu, with special emphasis on the heroic part of it. Hence his "imbongi" (praiser), Mpinda, praised him as "Umkhumbuzi kaZulu ukuhlabana" (one who reminds the Zulus of heroism). He also narrated about the death of his father, Mudli kaNkwelo. When mentioning KwaZulu heroes, his name was amongst the first. He was thus encouraging young men to be heroes who protect their isizwe as he did.⁶³

There were times during Thimuni's reign when there was the holding of "inqina" (the hunting party). Thimuni encouraged his people to go out on it. The procedure followed was the same as outlined by C.T. Msimang in his famous book: "Kusadliwa ngoludala". The gun that he applied for was also to serve the purpose of inqina. Hunting was one of the undertakings of the males, especially the grown up boys and men and that was where the boys used their throwing skills they learnt when throwing "insema" (a roundish rhizome rolled by the boys on down slopes at the grazing fields and thrown with sharp sticks called izinkande).⁶⁴

Apart from it being one of the means of getting meat for the family, Thimuni knew that the importance of inqina was that it served as the unifying factor. It brought people together in a co-operative mood which resulted in the spirit

⁶³. C. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart archive, Vol.4, P.219.

⁶⁴. C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, P.108. cf. SNA1/1/83 Ref 1885/369 Mr John Knight (the administrator and border agent) - SNA, 25 July 1885.

of brotherhood. The other factor making the hunting party important was the importance of bucks fat and bones used by the traditional doctors. The leader of the hunting party was called "Mthonga."⁶⁵

There were certain principles of *inqina* that Thimuni revived in his people. When certain bucks emerged they were not called by their names e.g. "insimba" was called "uthi." It was believed that when called by the name it disappears whereas it was one of the valuable bucks. Its skin was used in the making of traditional attire and for the decoration of the small sharp sticks of the shields known as "umsila" or "umgobo." People were also told that bucks and birds like "chakide" and fukwe were associated with bad luck.⁶⁶

Thimuni also saw to it that "isivivane" was erected in his area. Isivivane was a heap of stones erected along the foot paths commonly used by the people. The importance of it was that it was used by the foot path users as the sign of good luck. When passing by isivivane one took a small stone and some said "sivivane sivivane ngihambe ngingakhathali" (help me walk without tiring) and some said "sivivane sivivane ngifike kubuswa phambili" (help me find people feasting in my destination). After expressing his or her wishes, one had to spit onto the small stone in hand and threw it onto the

⁶⁵. C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, P.108.

⁶⁶. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni" (Royal residence), 21 November 1994.

heap of stones.⁶⁷

For the erection of isivivane Thimuni assembled members of isizwe together under his supervision to put up a foundation heap for it. They went to the appointed spot and put up a small heap. The erection ceremony was graced by the drinking of Zulu beer. From that time onwards every member of the community would pick up a stone as he/she passed by and follow the procedure discussed above. The heap gradually grew into a huge heap. Through isivivane Thimuni taught his people a lesson of the spirit of brotherhood.⁶⁸

Thimuni was a great Zulu religious believer, and so was the whole isizwe. According to Thimuni and the general opinion that dominated the lives of the members of isizwe, the illness was said to be due to "amadlozi" (ancestors) having turned their backs on a person. When one became ill, people would proceed to a diviner who would say the idlozi had caused the illness and might direct not only a beast, but a particular beast to be slaughtered and also describe the colour of a beast.⁶⁹

Amadlozi, as it was generally believed, might purposefully cause illness. He believed that the aim of idlozi was not to kill, but to frighten people so that

⁶⁷. C. De B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart Archive, Vol.1, P.220.

⁶⁸. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁶⁹. C. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart Archive, Vol.3, P.174.

they could listen. Those illnesses which were of a serious nature were believed to have arisen out of amadlozi having turned their backs on umuzi. Thimuni and his Nodunga isizwe believed that when that happened, amadlozi were angry and did not give protection. The "isanusi" (diviner) would remark that the stomach contents of the beast sacrificed for idlozi had been taken by "abathakathi" (witchdoctors). It was a rule therefore for the "umswani" (stomach contents) of every beast so sacrificed to be cleared away, or thrown into and mixed with the water of a running stream, or be buried.⁷⁰

During the term of Thimuni's reign there were no roads at Nodunga and therefore no cars penetrated into his area. The common transport used comprised of horses, ox-wagons and donkey wagons, but generally people walked long distances on foot which gave them opportunity to use "izivivane." Sledges were used for the transportation of heavy things. When people had to walk long distances they provided themselves with the provision which was mostly in the form of "ugume" (dry-roasted-crushed mealies). Ugume was preferred because it did not get rotten.⁷¹

The walking of long distances' side effect was that it kept the people healthy and contributed to the long life span of the Nodunga people. The

⁷⁰. I/SGR4/1/4 Ref 135 LTD R M Stanger - SNA, 28 December 1881. cf. C. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart Archive, vol.3, P.174.

⁷¹. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at his isigodlo known as "Ezintandaneni," 28 August 1995.

last few generations who knew Thimuni died in 1992 when they were very old, but could still, old as they were, walk a distance of 70 kilometres to and from Dukuza (Stanger) from Maphumulo.⁷²

Economically the inhabitants of Nodunga under Thimuni practiced subsistence farming and also kept cattle, goats and horses. The crops commonly cultivated by almost everyone in Nodunga comprised of mealies, melons, corn, beans, calabashes, groundnuts and sweet potatoes, all of which were eaten in their natural form. Corn was used mainly for making "amasi" (sour milk) and for beer-brewing when it had been changed to malt. The staple food was sour milk which was mostly mixed with corn or "mcaba" (the cooked and crushed dry mealies). This contributed to good health.⁷³

While people were still happy and satisfied with their symbol of peace and unity, inkosi Thimuni Zulu, he most unfortunately suddenly became ill, "wadunguzela" (the term used for the falling ill of inkosi). All the people of his isizwe became very much dejected. They loved him as he loved them. Wherever they met, the ukudunguzela of inkosi Thimuni formed the first part of their conversation.⁷⁴

⁷². SNA1/1/278 Ref 185/1897: Thimuni: Chief of AmaZulu, 14 April 1897.

⁷³. B.J. Thomas: AmaZulu: Their last history, manners, customs and language, P.13. cf. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. 1/SGR4/1/2 Ref SNA 219/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885.

⁷⁴. 1/MPO5/1/5 Ref 25/1 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 17 April 1890.

The "izinyanga" (traditional doctors) came from the breadth and length of the country to use their medicines in their endeavour to bring about the recovery of the king, but all was in vain. Eventually inkosi succumbed to death in 1890, (yakhothama).⁷⁵

The first people to become aware of that calamity were the neighbours. The family informed the late Thimuni's prime minister (undunankulu) who in turn informed the ward izinduna until the whole isizwe became aware of what had befallen them. People were told that despite the love they had for their inkosi, they should not shed tears so that he could move peacefully to his forefathers.⁷⁶

The regiment izinduna mobilised their regiments to "Ezintandaneni", the royal residence, to observe night vigil. They were all under traditional arms. The singing of traditional songs, chanting of war slogans and drinking of traditional beer was the order of the vigil until dawn.⁷⁷

Early in the morning amabutho were led by the late inkosi's heir, Ndlovu, to the cattle kraal to show them the spot of "idlinza" (the name used for inkosi's grave). He had Thimuni's spear in his hand, embedded it on the

⁷⁵. Maroboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at Ezintandaneni, 11 September 1994. cf. C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, P.304.

⁷⁶. C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, P.359.

⁷⁷. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

upper side of the grave spot and made few diggings, after which the whole work was left to amabutho (the regiments). Amabutho consoled themselves with traditional beer while they were digging. In no time the idlinza was completed, with its side chamber (igumbi) well prepared. The skinning of the oxen then followed. The skin of the first one should be used in wrapping Thimuni's body.⁷⁸

By midday countless people of different status had come to Ezintandaneni to bid the solemn farewell to inkosi Thimuni. Amabutho had taken up their arms, singing traditional songs. After wrapping Thimuni's body and arranging it on a traditional stretcher (uhlaka), amabutho were ordered for sight to the hut where the body was lying. Thereafter they led him with the singing of ihubo lesizwe: "Siba-ngi-zwenko-si" to the cattle kraal where he should be buried.⁷⁹

All the amakhosi of Maphumulo, Stanger and Eshowe districts, attended the funeral to pay tribute to their colleague. The burial was accompanied by advisory speeches directed especially to his sons, Chakijana and Ndlovu, who stood on the upper side of the grave, that they should follow the good leadership characteristics of their father. His sons were unfortunately not

⁷⁸. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885. cf. C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, P.359. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni", 18 October 1995.

⁷⁹. 1/SGR 4/1/4 Ref 135 LTD List of Chiefs to SNA, 28 December 1881.

going to be as peaceful the amakhosi as their father, Thimuni Zulu, had been. That will become vivid when their leadership is discussed in the following chapters.⁸⁰

Thimuni was survived by his own first wife, Mkhomolo Mdletshe (Ndlovu's mother), Magubane (Lokoza's mother) Mamhlatshwa Gumede, known as okaQwabe who was Chakijane's mother and the above mentioned sons, Ndlovu, Lokoza and Chakijana. Lokoza did not stay at Maphumulo, in the British Colony of Natal, but crossed Thukela river to live in the ward of Chief Nonqandela Zulu until he died in 1929. Lokoza feared the brewing trouble between his two elder brothers, Ndlovu and Chakijana and realised that after the death of his father, life would not be enjoyable as long as he was staying with his brothers.⁸¹

There was however no clash between Ndlovu and Chakijana after the death of their father because he had wilyly and willy-nilly divided them into two different amakhosi, but people always commented that the death of inkosi Thimuni left a gap very hard to be filled by any of his descendants.⁸²

⁸⁰. 1/SGR 4/1/4 Ref 135 LTD R M Stanger - SNA, 28 December 1890. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885.

⁸¹. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁸². SNA1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 USNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Stanger, 22 July 1906. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/6 Ref LTD 132/1897 R M Stanger - SNA, 1 December 1897.

CHAPTER 2***THE REIGN OF CHAKIJANA OVER NODUNGA NO.2 AND THE BHAMBATHA UPRISING***

When Chakijana and Ndlovu reached adulthood, rivalry for ubukhosi started.¹ Thimuni decided that the two sons be separated. He told Chakijana to go and occupy Mvoti area, which is under the Lower Thukela Magisterial district and Ndlovu to remain in Maphumulo, in Nodunga No. 1. Chakijana departed and was followed by a large number of people. This showed that the general opinion was that Chakijana should be an inkosi.²

Thimuni, who was still alive, became alarmed and ordered that Chakijana and his followers be followed. When Chakijana's followers reached Mt. Albert near Madundube area, they were intercepted by the regiment sent by Thimuni and some were requested to return. Chakijana, who respected his father, allowed some to go back, hence he was praised as "Umnqandi wodwendwe zibheke kuMadundube" (one who intercepted the procession towards Madundube.) Chakijana proceeded with his followers to Madundube area where he was allowed by the Qwabe people to settle near

¹. N1/1/3(40)7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

². 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885. cf. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1887 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 5 July 1887. Mahulana Mbokazi kaNkubela kaDlozi kaNyathela, interviewed at his umuzi near Nsikeni mountain, 26 May 1994.

the Mvoti river. The area was bushy, with a lot of wild animals, harmless and harmful like monkeys, leopards, antbears, etc. Chakijana built his isigodlo (Royal residence) over the Ndungulu river, a tributary of Mvoti river.³

Shortly thereafter Chakijana was made to understand that that area belonged to a white farmer, Gibson Hullett. Chakijana and his people were therefore regarded as tenants.⁴ The British had a tendency of allocating the African land to white farmers without prior negotiation with the inhabitants. People were told by the new foreign owner that the land belonged to him. Chakijana had to settle under such circumstances of subordination while he was allowed by the Qwabe people, under inkosi Mamfongonyane Gumede, to be an inkosi.⁵

On 23 October 1885 Chakijana went to the Stanger magistrate in connection with the problem caused by the land owned by Hulett.⁶ The magistrate could not help Chakijana because the British government had encouraged the British immigrant farmers to settle on the African land when

³. Zawisa Zulu kaMagulensi kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his home near Mvoti river. 27 July 1994.

⁴. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906: R M Stanger - SNA, 3 March 1894.

⁵. J. Pampallis: Foundation of the New South Africa, P.40.

⁶. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 23 October 1885.

Natal became a British colony in 1845.⁷ The magistrate instead told Chakijana about his father's visit. Chakijana was surprised to hear that his father, Thimuni, had been at the magistrate's office to verify the heirship of Ndlovu. The magistrate could not give Thimuni a satisfactory answer. He left with no solution about his successor. Chakijana was however less concerned about the Maphumulo area's affairs.⁸

Inkosi Chakijana, Ndlovu kaThimuni and other amakhosi like Mashobana, Gqayinyanga, Magidi, Sothondose, Mlungwana and Mashwili were asked by the Stanger magistrate, Mr T.R. Benett, to meet at Stanger on 12 August 1891, to be addressed by the Secretary for Native Affairs about Law 19 of 1891 pertaining lobolo. The aim was to fix the number of cattle payable for people of different status.⁹

In that meeting Chakijana and other amakhosi supported the secretary in that the hereditary inkosi had no limit whereas his son, brother or uncle were entitled to 15 head of cattle. Regarding the appointed inkosi in charge of isizwe, the meeting endorsed 20 claimable head of cattle. The headman

⁷. M. Meredith: In the name of apartheid, P.32. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/1 Ref Ltd 123/1891 R M Stanger - SNA, 11 September 1891. 1/SGR 4/1/4 Ref 20/1/180 R M Stanger - SNA, 12 August 1891.

⁸. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 23 October 1885.

⁹. 1/SGR 4/1/4 Ref SNA 467/1891 R M Stanger - SNA, 12 August 1891. cf. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office ((Ulundi), 2 May 1973. Lower Thukela district record book (from magistrate's office), 10 April 1996.

in charge of isizwe as well as the official witness deserved 15 and the common person had to charge 10 head of cattle. That agreement formed part of the so-called "Native law."¹⁰

Mr Gibson Hulett, who had become Chakijana's rivalry on the land, possessed an old double barrelled gun that he had been having for ten years and Chakijana wished to buy it. Gibson told him that he had no objection as long as the government agreed to him purchasing it.¹¹

Gibson subsequently wrote a letter on 3rd March 1894 to the Magistrate of Lower Thukela division, Mr F.R. Benett, where he stated that inkosi Chakijana Zulu, who was "one of his tenants", wished to obtain permission from the government to purchase a gun. His reason being that his crops were destroyed every year by monkeys and baboons.¹²

On 20 March 1894, W.G.A. Clayton, the magistrate of Lower Thukela division sent a minute to the Secretary of Native Affairs submitting the application of inkosi Chakijana. In his recommendation he informed the secretary that Chakijana was a trustworthy and well behaved inkosi who

¹⁰. NCP 8/5/13 Ref C1702/4 P.5: Administration of Native Law.

¹¹. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/94 R M Stanger - SNA, 3 March 1894. cf. The Natal Mercury, 31 March 1894.

¹². Lower Thukela District Record Book (from magistrate's office), 10 April 1896. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/3 Ref Ltd 467/91 R M Stanger - SNA, 8 January 1891.

deserved a gun. On 22 March 1894 the secretary informed the Stanger Magistrate that permission had been granted to Chakijana to own a gun.¹³

As Gibson Hulett developed his farm and planting more and more sugar cane, he needed more and more labourers. Africans were unwilling to be subjected to regular attendance at work. They worked for few months between which there were unauthorized absence from duty while they practised their subsistence farming. He therefore preferred Indians to Africans on the farm.¹⁴

Chakijana's people were gradually replaced by Indians until he himself was asked to move across the Mvoti river. Africans were no longer regarded as inhabitants or owners of their land, but as squatters that had to be evicted, especially if they were not willing to work on the farm.¹⁵

When Chakijana came across Mvoti river, there were fragments of several clans with their leaders who were acting as amakhosi. These fragments comprised of the Nxumalo section, the Ngiba section, the Nkanini (Qwabe) section and other stragglers from other izizwe (nations). The Ngiba section

¹³. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/94 R M Stanger - SNA, 3 March 1894.

¹⁴. B. Pachai: The International aspects of the South African Indian Question 1860-1971, P.3. cf. NCP 8/5/18 Ref 3: Report upon Indian Immigrants, 1881.

¹⁵. J. Pampallis: Foundations of the New South Africa, P.46. cf. Zawisa Zulu kaMagulensi kaChakijana. interviewed at his umuzi near Mvoti river, 18 July 1995.

was the dominant one. It was known as the "Mlungwanas." Mlungwana had on 28 August 1890 applied in vain for appointment as an inkosi.¹⁶

The Nxumalo section were those of Sothondose, grandfather of Mambuka. Their ubukhosi had been along the Nonoti river near Stanger. The Nxumalo's would greatly welcome a reversion to the status quo ante and had naturally a strong penchant towards Mambuka. In case of hostilities they combined with the Ngiba section. Chakijana settled near the Nxumalo section.¹⁷

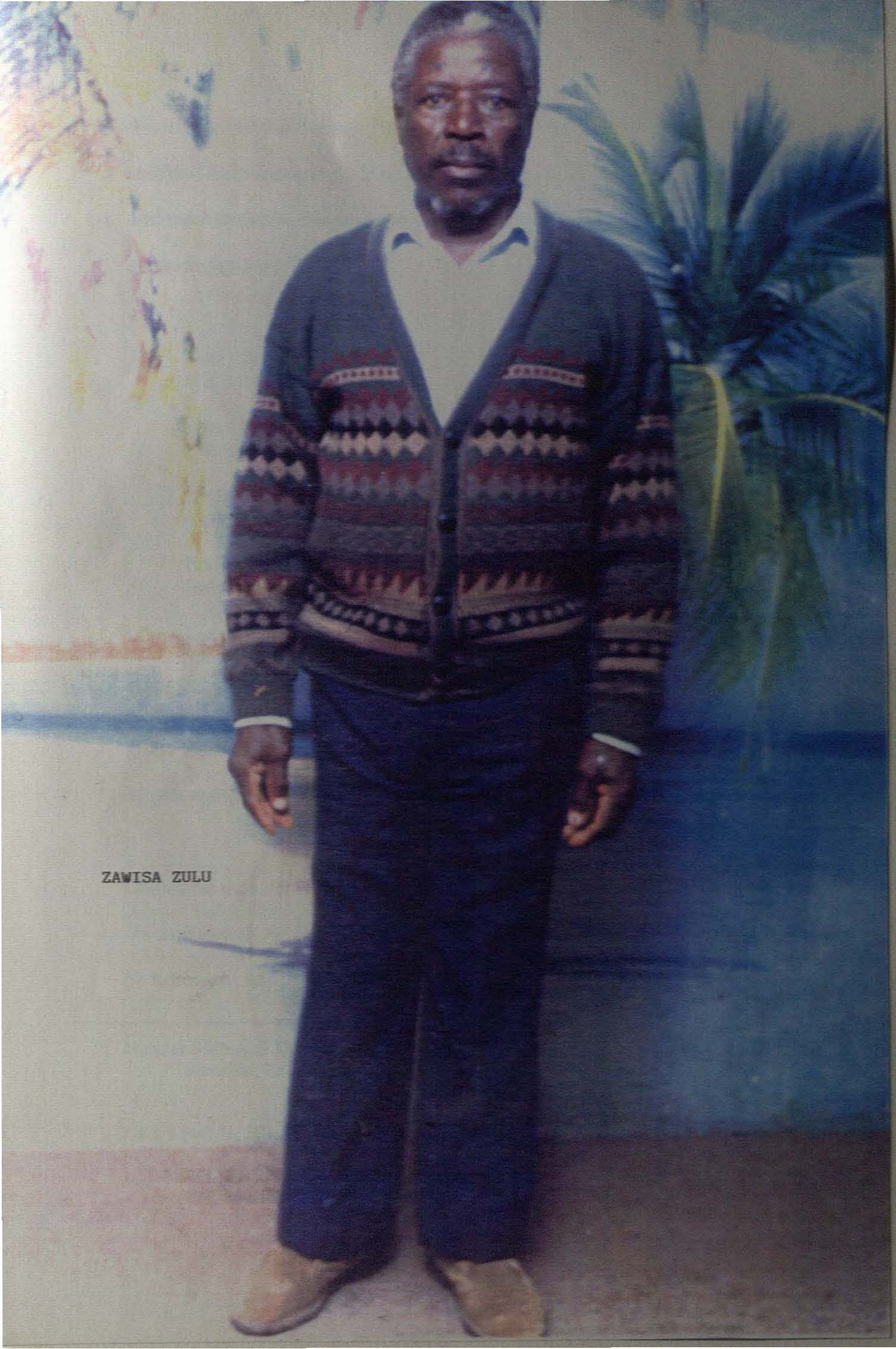
On his arrival to the area Chakijana was expected to be an inkosi over those clans. Dlodlono Mthembu, who was the headman of the Nxumalo people had been with Chakijana's father in KwaZulu. He, according to Zawisa Zulu, said he knew that when a prince comes, he should rule and therefore handed over the land to Chakijana. Chakijana made him his "undunankulu" (Prime minister).¹⁸ Chakijana, like Shaka, acted as a unifying factor over those small clans and that was also the extension of the role of Prince Thimuni in the Zulu history as Chakijana was one of his sons.¹⁹

¹⁶. 1/SGR 4/1/3 Ref 467/1891 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 August 1891. cf. SNA 2/13/7 Ref 4084/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 October 1906.

¹⁷. SNA 2/13/7 Ref 4084/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 October 1906.

¹⁸. Zawisa Zulu kaMagulensi kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his umuzi near Mvoti river, 19 June 1994.

¹⁹. A.E. Ritter: Shaka Zulu, PP. 43-80.



ZAWISA ZULU

Having united the people, Chakijana thought of the composition of "Ihubo lesizwe" (national song). Discussions were held with members of the family and the officials in the kingdom. Eventually the following words were sung as ihubo lesizwe:²⁰

Uya - qubu - la
It is chanting war slogans

Uya - qubu - la
It is chanting war slogans

Na - nguNo - dunga - ose - Manzi - ni
Here is the in-water Nodunga

Na - nguNo - dunga - ose - Mvoti
Here is the in-Mvoti river Nodunga

Kuye - kwa - zama - zamu - lwandle
Till the sea trembles.

Ihubo lesizwe also, in its own, acted as a unifying factor, it created a sense of belonging amongst the people, therefore it was indispensable.²¹

Chakijana also named his area Nodunga. He wanted to show through the composition of his own ihubo that it was an independent Nodunga from that of Ndlovu at Maphumulo.²²

²⁰. Mahulana Mbokazi kaNkubela kaDlozi kaNyathela, interviewed in his umuzi near Nsikeni mountain, 23 July 1994.

²¹. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

²². 1/SGR 4/1/5 Ref SNA 36/1894 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 July 1894. cf. SNA 1/1/221 Ref 709/1896 R M Stanger - SNA, 23 January 1896.

On 28 July 1894 Chakijana had misunderstanding with his cousin, Mbobo, over property ownership that affected cattle mixture. Mbobo bore grudges against inkosi Chakijana and retaliated by reporting him to the police that he was selling illicit liquor known as "isishimeyane." Chakijana was fined the sum of £4.²³

Mlungwana failed to be appointed as an inkosi in the area given to Chakijana. He therefore decided, on 3 March 1896, to apply for permission to migrate to KwaZulu with 66 families. The reason for his migration was that there was plenty grazing land in KwaZulu. His application was approved by S.O. Samuelson, the under secretary of Native Affairs. Mlungwana went to Nongoma with people like Dambuza, Somlomo, Nozaza, Zawisa, Ngiba, Nongqekeza and Njoloba. His departure lessened dispute problems for Chakijana. The Nxumalo section was the only problematic section left.²⁴

The problem that faced Chakijana after the departure of Mlungwana emanated from the attacks between his isizwe and those of Mashobana and Tshingumuzi. The source of friction was the lack of clearly defined demarcations. Inkosi Mashobana expressed great concern that he appealed

²³. 1/SGR 4/1/5 Ref SNA 36/1894 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 July 1894. cf. SNA 1/1/221 Ref 209/1896 R M Stanger - SNA, 23 January 1896.

²⁴. 1/SGR 4/1/5 Ref 903/1896 R M Stanger - SNA, 3 March 1896. cf. SNA 1/1/194 Ref 1446/1896 R M Stanger - SNA, 3 March 1896.

to the Stanger magistrate, Mr F.P. Shuter, to fix the definite boundary line within which members of his isizwe might reside. On 7 August 1901 Mr Shuter invited Chakijana, Mashobana, Ndlovu and Tshingumuzi for the solution of the problem. They agreed to end hostilities as long as the magistrate fixed clear boundaries between their izizwe.²⁵

Mr F.P. Shuter referred the problem to F.R. Moor, the Secretary of Native Affairs who firstly wanted to know more about the history of ubukhosi of abaThembu in the Lower Thukela division. Inkosi Mashobana was expelled from Zululand during the Ndondakusuka battle. Due to the fact that abaThembu were hereditary amakhosi since inkosi Ngoza Mthembu who fled to Pondoland, Mashobana was recognised as inkosi on his arrival on the area that overlapped upon the Ngcobo isizwe known as amaFuze.²⁶

On 21 August 1901 the Secretary of Native Affairs, Mr F.R. Moor, responded that Mashobana's land had been given to White farmers and that he did not approve of the delimitation of inter-tribal boundaries on private lands. Mr F.P. Shuter, however, sympathised with Mashobana for the loss he had suffered. On 29 November 1906 he recommended that Mashobana

²⁵. SNA 1/1/292 Ref 1813/1901 R M Stanger - SNA, 7 August 1901. cf. SNA 1/1/299 Ref 289/1903 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 January 1903.

²⁶. CSO 1727 Ref 1903/2483 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 July 1902. cf. SNA 1.1.292 Ref 1813/1901 R M Stanger - SNA, 7 August 1901.

be given jurisdiction over ward No.5 in the Lower Thukela division.²⁷

Inkosi Chakijana had been given coronation medals by the Secretary of Native Affairs. He therefore wished to meet him on 7 July 1902 with the aim of offering thanks for such medals and also to obtain permission to fetch some of his people's cattle from KwaZulu. The secretary appreciated Chakijana's action of extending gratitude to him and wholeheartedly allowed him to fetch cattle from KwaZulu. The arrival of cattle coincided with the outbreak of rinderpest which occurred on 27 September 1902.²⁸

Chakijana was respected and trusted by his people of Nodunga. Their trust in him was verified by his appointment by the widow of the deceased Tatane, Somfula, as guardian of Tatane's estate on 13 January 1903. Tatane's boy, Nhlekisane, was still a minor to take responsibility for his father's estate.²⁹

The great dilemma that ever faced Chakijana was the decision that he had to take when the Bhambatha uprising broke out in 1906. The Natal

²⁷. 1/SGR 4/1/5 Ref 2621/1896 R M Stanger - SNA, 25 August 1896, cf. SNA 1/1/292 Ref 1813/1901 R M Stanger - SNA, 7 August 1901. Davis and Sons: The Natal Civil Service List, P.58.

²⁸. 1/SGR 4/1/7 Ref LTD 1031/1902 R M Stanger - SNA, 7 July 1902. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/7 Ref SNA 2209/1902 R M Stanger - SNA, 27 September 1902.

²⁹. CNC 2/13/7 Ref 4084/1906 R M Stanger - CNC, 7 April 1906. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/7 Ref SNA 2209/1903 R M Stanger - SNA, 13 January 1903.

government put an end to nearly seventeen years of peace when, in 1905 it introduced the Poll Tax Act, a tax of £1 to be collected from all African males. Inkosi Bhambatha Zondi resisted the government's move which resulted in the whole of Kwazulu-Natal being in chaos.³⁰

The chaotic situation put Chakijana between the devil and the deep blue sea, but he eventually, like his brother Ndlovu, decided to side with Zulu people and took up arms against the government.³¹ The other neighbouring amakhosi like Meseni Gumede, Ngqokwana Khuzwayo, Mashwili Mthethwa and Ndlovu ka Thimuni were also defiant when called upon to pay Poll Tax and decided to fight against that injustice.³² Fighting was confined to Zululand and Mvoti country where Colonel Duncan Mckenzie, the Commandant of Militia, proved to be very powerful.³³

By July 4, 1906 Chakijana's Mvoti area was under extensive patrol by British troops. When the leader of Militia, A.S.L. Hulett together with 13 men under L. Bulby moved to umuzi of Bhanana (headman of inkosi Tshingumuzi Gumede), they noticed an armed African dressed in traditional attire and using the resistance badge of white ox-tail and goat skin running

³⁰. A.J. Van Wyk: Buthelezi chocolate-boxed, P.65 (Book reviews) (*Historia*) JRG 21-22, 1976-1977.

³¹. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

³². SNA 1/4/15 Ref SNA 48/1906 Sgt. L. Estrange - Sub Inspector Clifton, 22nd January 1906.

³³. D.J. Potgieter et al: Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol.8, P.59.

from the top of a hill overlooking Mvoti river towards the umuzi of Bhanana.³⁴

That man was chased and shot in the arm. Hulett searched Bhanana's umuzi and a number of assegais and resistance badges newly prepared were found. While they were searching, a number of troops gathered across the Mvoti river in Chakijana's location, allegedly discussing plans of resistance. Hulett said he was of the opinion that Chakijana should be called upon to give an explanation as to why he did not report the assembly of Tshingumuzi's people in his ground.³⁵

On the following day (5 July 1906) Chakijana's umuzi was burnt by the British troops at 16h00 in the afternoon, the reason being that he had not reported the reason why people assembly in his umuzi which proved his disloyalty. We are not told how the message was sent to inkosi Chakijana and of the nature of the reply from him. Hulett had on 4 July called upon Chakijana to give reasons for the presence of the armed men in his umuzi. But before this could be done, his umuzi was burnt and his food supply destroyed.³⁶ It becomes clear from the foregoing that inkosi Chakijana was not given time to exonerate himself. The action of the troops gives

³⁴. SNA1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906: R M Stanger - SNA, 4 July 1906.

³⁵. SNA 1/1/354 Ref 1906/3701 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906.

³⁶. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 1906/3763 R M Stanger - SNA, 14 November 1906.

impression that the aim was to victimise inkosi and his isizwe.³⁷

The list of goods destroyed with umuzi of the inkosi Chakijana was sent to the commandant on 10 July 1906. The magistrate decided on 19 August 1906 to send a minute with affidavits to the Secretary of Native Affairs for the investigation of Chakijana's matter. He also informed him that in the event of proof being established that inkosi and his isizwe took any part in the furtherance of the uprising, their cattle would not be restored and that there would also be no compensation for "izindlu" (huts) burnt.³⁸

The Minister of Justice decided that people be compensated. By November 8, 1906, Mr Shuter, the Lower Thukela division magistrate, informed the commandant of Militia that the claim of Ndumo and Thengumuthi Nxumalo, the headmen of Nodunga, had been met. The secretary of the Compensation Board, W.H. Attlee, who later became a clerk and Zulu interpreter at Maphumulo court, gave Ndumo a cow. Thengumuthi was given £8 for his two izindlu (huts). Chakijana's claim had however not yet been met.³⁹

³⁷. Themba Madlala kaNdabakazipheli kaZibhebhu kaHaga kaNtweba, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward in Nodunga No.1, 20 August 1994.

³⁸. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 10 July 1906.

³⁹. The Natal Mercury: 2 June 1906, P.5 cf. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 1906/3763 R M Stanger - SNA, 14 November 1906.

The delay of Chakijana's claim prompted him to proceed to Pietermaritzburg to request the minister of Native Affairs to appeal to the government to compensate him because his people did not physically fight against the government. They agreed that they took up arms, the action taken by any sensible man in times of trouble, for protective rather than offensive sake. In Pietermaritzburg they were promised compensation.⁴⁰

On 14 November 1906 Mr S.O. Samuelson, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, told the magistrate, Mr Shuter, that the question of compensation and conduct of Chakijana should be dealt with separately. Samuelson requested the magistrate to investigate Chakijana's conduct during the uprising and make recommendations to him.⁴¹

Mr Shuter pointed out that the same course be adopted in the matter of Nodunga "isizwe" (nation) as was followed in the case of Nkwenkwezi isizwe, namely that the police be instructed through the minister of justice to investigate the extent to which Chakijana and his isizwe were implicated in the uprising.⁴²

⁴⁰. Ilanga lase-Natal: 10 July 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 4 July 1906.

⁴¹. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 4 July 1906.

⁴². NCP 8/5/13 Ref C1702/4: Rebellion, P.20. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 14 November 1906.

After the investigation made by the police, Mr Shuter informed the secretary that on the evidence recorded, he found that Chakijana was disloyal, that he was in close contact with Meseni Qwabe and that he was prepared with his impi to move out and destroy Stanger.⁴³ He further stated that Chakijana's umuzi was searched by the troops and that new assegais and war decorations were found in one of his boxes. He therefore recommended that inkosi Chakijana be demoted and that in the interest of the better control of his isizwe he should be removed to another part of the colony.⁴⁴

Thirdly he recommended that inkosi Mahlombe Manqele, who acted after the death of Sothondose Nxumalo, be appointed as an inkosi in Ward No.8, Lower Thukela Division and take over ubukhosi from Chakijana.⁴⁵

These recommendations were not easily adopted by the Secretary of Native Affairs. He himself still wanted to see more affidavits by different people before any action could be taken against inkosi Chakijana. It is these allegations that gave a clear picture of the part played by Chakijana during the uprising.⁴⁶

⁴³. CSO 1727 Ref 1906/2483 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 November 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 November 1906.

⁴⁴. Iphepha lo Hlanga: 16 December 1906, P.9.

⁴⁵. SNA1/1/319 Ref 1905/807 R M Stanger - SNA, 29 November 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/354 Ref 1906/3701 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1906.

⁴⁶. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 November 1906.

The first statement submitted was that of Mcingeni kaMdushubana Ntuli. On 17 October 1906 he stated that he was sent out on patrol on Monday, 28 May 1906, by the officer. He visited amakhosi in his uniform and started by visiting Tshingumuzi. Tshingumuzi ordered the men to sit still with their weapons and see which side was victorious. He acted like inkosi Njubanjuba Luthuli.⁴⁷

On the same day Mcingeni proceeded to inkosi Mlungwana Ngiba where he also found a large gathering of people being addressed by Mlungwana himself. His address was based on the trouble and suffering brought by the whites e.g. taxation, white supremacy and discrimination. The gathering he addressed responded by saying: "We do not wish to speak, the white people's day is today, they give trouble to us in the land." They wished to drive all whites away.⁴⁸

Mcingeni, who was a police detective, also visited inkosi Chakijana Zulu. There was an assembly of men but there was no feasting, no meat nor beer. Chakijana appealed to the assembly that he had been called by Meseni Gumede to go to Mthandeni, his "isigodlo" (royal residence). Chakijana was however unwilling to do so, instead he said Meseni was supposed to come

⁴⁷. SNA 1/1/362 Ref 1907/373 R M Stanger - SNA, 1 January 1907. cf. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 1906/3763 R M Stanger - SNA, 11 July 1907.

⁴⁸. 1/SGR 4/1/5 Ref 903/1896 R M Stanger - SNA, 3 March 1896. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1906.

to them with his impi and join them on the way to Stanger where they were determined to stab the "government people and the police."⁴⁹

Chakijana wanted to know from Mcingeni whether he had gone pass Stanger and if he did not see Mcijo, the court induna and Mr Shuter, the magistrate. He said that day was theirs to be killed.⁵⁰

When Mcingeni left Chakijana, he went towards Nhlanguwini where he found Africans under arms. Some were sharpening assegais, others cutting skins for war decorations. Eventually he went to Meseni's Mthandeni umuzi where there were also many people under arms. After talking with Meseni he went back to Stanger.⁵¹

The secretary also read the statement of Solengwenya kaMukutha. Solengwenya was one of the convicts of the Bhambatha uprising. He belonged to inkosi Mahlombe Manqele and his home was on Wulans farm near Mvoti river (Glendale District). He was under induna Fabase kaDlaba of isizwe of Mahlombe. He was asked to give statement on 18 October 1906. After taking an oath he stated that their isizwe was intermixed with those of Chakijana, Mlungwana, Msolwa and Tshingumuzi. He admitted

⁴⁹. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 April 1906, P.2.

⁵⁰. SNA1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 4 July 1906.

⁵¹. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906, P.2. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 4 July 1906.

that all the members of those izizwe took up arms against the government, including the Nkwenkwezi isizwe.⁵²

Their first meeting was convened to take place at the Goqanyawo isigodlo of Mlungwana where they were addressed by Solengwenya. The first meeting was held on Sunday and the second on Thursday. The Sunday largest meeting was attended by people like Hhashi kaZwide Nxumalo, Mmemezi kaNokhula Gumede and Mdidingo kaMatile Makhathini, Shweshwe kaDlulabehlezi and Ngqumungana kaNondela Zulu who was related to Chakijana.⁵³

Solengwenya noticed that all the attendants, including those from inkosi Chakijana, were doctored for war i.e. given war medicine (intelezi). The war medicine was brought by Ngqumungana and Mmemezi who told them that the purpose of it was to make them bullet proof. Solengwenya was doctored with Mankentshane Biyela with that ntelezi which was said to be coming from Bhambatha. After being doctored they heard of the troops at Maphumulo and of the capture of Gobizembe Ntuli (an inkosi of the Ntuli isizwe at Maphumulo).⁵⁴

⁵². SNA 1/1/319 Ref 1906/807 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 October 1906 - cf. SNA 1/1/370 Ref 1907/1617 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 January 1907.

⁵³. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3882/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 October 1906.

⁵⁴. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3769/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 October 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 16 July 1906.

The people were told to sit still and the men who had been doctoring them came and removed all European articles from their bodies such as beads, bands and other things as it was allegedly ordered by Bhambatha. They were told to remove from their "izindlu" (huts) tins and dishes as it was rumoured that all the Europeans would be killed. The removal of their things would facilitate their massacre. It must, however, be noted that Nongqawuse, the Native Intelligence Officer, said the same in 1858 and that led to the National suicide of the Xhosa people.⁵⁵

Inkosi Chakijana and Tshingumuzi warned that the troops were coming to seize Meseni and the people of Meseni consequently armed themselves. Chakijana's people also remained under arms. Another report had it that Ndlovu had obtained war medicine from Bhambatha and had given a supply of it to Meseni.⁵⁶ Ndlovu was related to Meseni. Meseni's mother was Thimuni's (Ndlovu's father's) sister.⁵⁷

Meseni immediately reported that the troops had come to Hlonono ridge. Thereupon all people picked up their weapons and prepared for war. The people of inkosi Chakijana, Mlungwana, Mahlombe and Msolwa, all of which

⁵⁵. N. Parsons: A New History of Southern Africa, P.17.

⁵⁶. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 16 July 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/370 Ref 1907/617 R M Stanger - SNA, 15 February 1907. SNA 1/1/354 Ref 1906/3701 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 October 1906.

⁵⁷. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 16 July 1906.

were amakhosi around Stanger, picked up their weapons.⁵⁸

Chakijana, believing that the war medicine prevented bullets from penetrating bodies of men and turned them into water, sent two runners, Ndlovu and Mashwili, to Meseni to fetch it. After a fight at Otimati in Maphumulo district between troops and the people of Ndlovu on 19 June 1906, the men were all gathered together by inkosi Mlungwana and Chakijana. Chakijana took some of the war medicine to doctor his people at his isigodlo. The traditional doctors were playing prominent role during the war, providing war medicine.⁵⁹

Inkosi Chakijana held another meeting with members of his isizwe at his umuzi. The meeting was attended by people like Hashi, Mmemezi, Shweshwe, Hlelezana and others. The above mentioned were all "izinduna" (headmen) of Chakijana. The meeting was arranged to make a plan of going to Mthandeni, Meseni's isigodlo, to help Meseni against the British troops. On the following Monday the members of the izizwe of Chakijana, Mahlombe and Mlungwana also went to Mthandeni.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.136.

⁵⁹ SNA 1/4/15 Ref SNA 48/1906 Sgt. L. Estrange - Sub-inspectorate Clifton, 22 January 1906. cf. P. Ingrid: Dinuzulu and the Bhambatha Rebellion, P.48. C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa ngoludala, P.335.

⁶⁰ SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 8 July 1906.

They were all armed with assegais and shields and had on war decoration. Only half a portion of the isizwe of Chakijana went to Mthandeni, the other half remained at their "izindlu" (huts). Those who went to Mthandeni were thoroughly doctored for war. Chakijana had also obtained war medicine from inkosi Mashwili Mthethwa who was in charge of the Mthethwa isizwe along the Zinsimba river. His messengers were Nyathini and Mbayimbayi Mthembu.⁶¹

Solengwenya explained that when their companies got into position, they found the Mthandeni location ablaze and that Meseni's impi was scattered and running in all directions. Chakijana's impi therefore did not fight physically with the government troops.⁶²

The other additional affidavit was that of Sjoblom Isak. He was a trooper on the Natal Mounted Rifles which was the best-known of South African regiments, formed in 1888 by the amalgamation of four coastal units.⁶³ Sjoblom acted as a guide to Leuchars Column during the military operation against Meseni.⁶⁴

⁶¹. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 1906/3769 R M Stanger - SNA, 15 July 1906. cf. SNA 335 Ref 3769/06 R M Stanger - SNA, 10 August 1906.

⁶². SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 8 July 1906. cf. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906, P.2. R.C.A. Samuelson: Long Long Ago, P.194.

⁶³. D.J. Potgieter et al.: Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa, Vol.1, PP.69-70.

⁶⁴. NDR 5/2/2 Ref V 288/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 31 October 1906.

After the conclusion of operation against Meseni the column returned to Glendale Valley which was in Chakijana's area. Isak Sjoblom and 50 men were ordered by the officer in command to go and search Chakijana's umuzi as he was suspected of being involved in the uprising. At Chakijana's umuzi they found him not at home. He had gone to one of his imizi across the Mvoti river. The commanding officer gave orders for umuzi to be searched.⁶⁵

All Chakijana's belongings were taken out of "izindlu" (huts). There were three izindlu altogether. Amongst the belongings removed from izindlu was a tin trunk in which were two assegais with new shafts. There were also skin decorations which are worn by men on important occasions. The troops took possession of assegais and Chakijana's skin decorations. No reason was given for confiscating these belongings. The Natal government troops decided to burn Chakijana's izindlu. Some of Chakijana's belongings remained in possession of his people. The action of the troops hardened the people's attitudes.⁶⁶

The troops thereafter returned to the colonel in command who was at Thrings Post. While Isak Sjoblom was away from his home which was at Glendale, his house was entered into by the rebels of Chakijana, completely wrecked his belongings and broke away every door. People were embittered

..

⁶⁵. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 8 July 1906.

⁶⁶. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 1906/3763 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 October 1906.

because Sjoblom was staying with them but sided with their enemies, the government troops, against them.⁶⁷

Other reports which implicated Chakijana were that it was his intention to send impi to Stanger to kill all the white people. Nhlana, one of Chakijana's subjects told the Native Intelligence Officer that Chakijana assembled the impi at his umuzi and slaughtered a cow to feed his warriors. Nhlana distorted the facts because the beast slaughtered was not for warriors to attack, but had been slaughtered to cure Chakijana's illness.⁶⁸

On the same date (22 October 1906) another evidence about the part played by Chakijana during the Bhambatha uprising was heard from Zwelabo kaFinjwana. Two Chakijana's men Ndlovu and Mcijo, who were both armed and carried assegais and shields and had on the war decorations, went to Meseni to ask for war medicine. Meseni refused to give them any to take away.⁶⁹

The following day's occasion was the arrival at Mthandeni of a group of people from Chakijana who were all armed with assegais and shields. They were doctored for the war and left Mthandeni to guard the troops coming

⁶⁷. ZGH 804 Ref A: Native Rebellion, 1906-07. cf SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 29 August 1906.

⁶⁸. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906.

⁶⁹. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906.

BHAMBATHA ZONDI (CENTRE)



from Stanger direction. It was planned that any column of troops heading for Mthandeni should be met by Chakijana's impi.⁷⁰

The last statement was made by Duze kaMbube on 23 October 1906. Duze was of inkosi Meseni. He saw the people of isizwe of inkosi Chakijana, some of which were Mdoni and Mggikizana coming to Mthandeni prior to the fighting. That time Meseni's isizwe was already under arms, carrying their shields and assegais. Chakijana's people wanted to speak with Meseni and they were allowed to do so by the people at the gate. After their departure Meseni announced that the men of Chakijana had been to fetch war medicine which they got.⁷¹

There was misunderstanding between Chakijana and Meseni as to the direction to be taken by Chakijana's impi during the Bhambatha uprising. Chakijana's impi wished to make a sweep down to Stanger on Wednesday but Meseni wanted that impi to come up to Mthandeni to help him.⁷²

Inkosi Njubanjuba Luthuli who was Chakijana's neighbour and who had promised to help the government against Meseni had yet not taken any action. He said he was surrounded by Meseni's impi and found it impossible

⁷⁰. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906.

⁷¹. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. P M 1906 Ref 826/61 R M Eshowe - P M, 12 July 1906. 1/MP03/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 Lieut Colonel Leuchars - SNA, 22 October 1906.

⁷². SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 22 October 1906.

to force his way through. The British government could not trust Njubanjuba's allegation. He was defined as a disloyal inkosi and was consequently deposed on 11 July 1907 for failure to keep a promise. Many white soldiers who died at Mthandeni were buried together on a mountain called "kwaSathane" (devil's place).⁷³

*The Under Secretary of Native Affairs, S.O. Samuelson, having read all the evidence pertaining Chakijana's participation in the Bhambatha uprising, reported to the magistrate of Lower Thukela division, Mr F.P. Shuter. He had earlier suggested that Chakijana be called upon to appear in the supreme court. The Under Secretary of Native Affairs would like to get advice from the Attorney General.*⁷⁴

On 16 July 1907 Mr S.O. Samuelson, the Under Secretary of Native Affairs, sent a minute to the Attorney General asking him to say whether he concurred with the magistrate and whether he was of the opinion that there was good ground for dealing with inkosi Chakijana politically and not criminally. He also asked if the Attorney General thought a charge should be formulated against Chakijana so as to have opportunity to explain about

⁷³. SNA 1/1/362 Ref 1907/373 r M Stanger - SNA, 11 July 1907. cf. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 11 July 1906.

⁷⁴. CSO 1727 Ref 1906/2483 R M Stanger - SNA, 26 July 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906.

his conduct.⁷⁵

In reply the Attorney General, G.A. Poquafeud Labistouw, said the proper course was to ask the magistrate to report fully, if he had not done so, with his recommendations and reasons thereof. He told him that as regard criminal proceedings, he was certainly not prepared to disagree unless on strong grounds.⁷⁶

On 6 August 1907 the magistrate of Lower Thukela division, Mr F.P. Shuter, informed the Under Secretary of Native Affairs that Chakijana's case could be dealt with, not by the institution of Criminal Proceedings, but by dealing with it under the powers vested in the Governor as a Supreme Chief, with his recommendation that Chakijana be deposed. The magistrate's recommendation that Chakijana be deposed was not put into effect by the governor until he died on 25 April 1908.⁷⁷

The governor was hesitant to commit himself in that delicate issue of Chakijana because the evidence collected did not qualify him for deposition. It is true that he sided with Bhambatha and took up arms against the

⁷⁵. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/194 Ref 1446/1894 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 December 1894.

⁷⁶. The Natal Mercury: 2 June 1906, P.5. **

⁷⁷. Imvo zabantsundu: 12 June 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1906.

government but there was no evidence showing physical encounter at any stage between his impi and the government troops, therefore the allegations against him did not carry substance.⁷⁸

All the affidavits submitted showed that by the time half of Chakijana's impi reached Mthandeni, Meseni's impi had already been defeated and Chakijana's impi returned having not fought. That made the governor to be fearful of taking action against inkosi Chakijana because his argument would be very weak.⁷⁹

All the amakhosi who took up arms and fought against the government like Ndlovu, Meseni, Gobizembe etc, were imprisoned. In the case of Chakijana instead of imprisonment he was compensated for the loss that he incurred due to the lack of evidence that he fought against the government. The eleven head of cattle looted were restored to him by W.H. Attlee who was the secretary for the Compensation Board. The board also compensated him for the 4 burnt izindlu at a rate of £4 per hut which amounted to £16 for all huts.⁸⁰

⁷⁸. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906, P.2 cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906.

⁷⁹. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906, P.2. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 July 1906.

⁸⁰. P M 61 Ref 1906/826 R M Eshowe - CNC, 12 July 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/358 Ref 4154/1906 R M Maphumulo - USNA, 12 November 1906.

The last order from H.D. Martin, the Minister of Native Affairs on 9 January 1908 was that no political action should be taken against inkosi Chakijana and that all events related to him should be recorded against his name.⁸¹

Chakijana did not live long after the Bhambatha uprising. He soon became very ill and died on 25 April 1908. He was no longer in good terms with the Stanger magistrate, F.P. Shuter, who had suggested in vain that he be demoted. His death was therefore a blessing in disguise for Mr Shuter.⁸²

It was during the time when people who had quarrelled with the government were poisoned. Amakhosi like Meseni and some of Ndlovu's followers were poisoned to death in the gaol of Pietermaritzburg and it was a narrow escape for inkosi Ndlovu kaThimuni who was twice poison-tried, but saved by a warder who was related to him.⁸³

The death of Chakijana should have been surreptitiously well planned by the government authorities.⁸⁴

⁸¹. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 November 1906.

⁸². N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁸³. Inkosi BafanoseZulu kaPiti kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at his isigodlo known as "Ezintandaneni", 24 September 1994.

⁸⁴. Themba Madlala kaNdabakazipheli kaZibhebhu, interviewed at his home at Nodunga, 29 November 1994.

After the uprising Chakijana's land was infiltrated by more and more White farmers. That was part of punishment because the argument was that they were brought in due to his participation in the uprising.⁸⁵

The truth is that the British government, after the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902, wanted to compensate the British soldiers with the land that belonged to the Black people.⁸⁶ That is proved by the fact that as early as 1902 the Tongaat-Hulett Group Ltd. had become owners of a very large part of Chakijana's land.⁸⁷

From that time onwards, people were gradually removed from the sites that had graves and bones of their forefathers. The graves were destroyed by huge tractors and caterpillars. That was a great rebuff and disappointment to the Black people as the graves were highly revered as the sacred home of the deceased people or ancestors who were and still believed to be forming a link between them and the Almighty God.⁸⁸

⁸⁵. NCP 7/1/3 Ref 3A: Grants of land, P.259.

⁸⁶. J. Pampallis: Foundation of the New South Africa, P.46.

⁸⁷. H.C.8/1/53 2: Department of Regional and Land Affairs, 18 May 1995. cf. The Natal Advertiser: 2 October 1925, P.10. T.R.H. Davenport: South Africa (A modern History), PP.211-212.

..

⁸⁸. 1/SGR 4/2/4/2/3 Ref N9/1/2 R M Stanger - SNA, 25 April 1935. cf. N. Parson: a New History of Southern Africa, P.231.

Nodunga of Chakijana also became the victim of the recommendation of the 1903-05 Lagden Commission on South African "Native Affairs". This commission had suggested that most of the Union of 1910 land should be secured for White development by reserving only nine million hectares (about seven per cent of the Union land) for the so-called "scheduled areas" of African tribal ownership.⁸⁹

According to this commission Africans should not be economically independent, but should be workers on White farms or mines where they worked under very harsh conditions. Thus Ilanga lase Natal reported as follows: "The illtreatment of the natives came largely from the uneducated white man. An educated white man is in general too self-respectful to abuse a native."⁹⁰

Chakijana's isizwe occupied a vast area between Stanger and Theethe river near Shakaskraal. The white farmers, amongst which land was subdivided were very few, subsequently each farmer found himself in possession of more than necessary large tract of land, all of which he could not make the immediate use.⁹¹

⁸⁹. L. Louw and F. Kendall: The solution, P.35.

⁹⁰. Ilanga lase-Natal: 8 December 1905, P.4.

⁹¹. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home near Nsikeni mountain, 18 October 1995.

The removal of people from such places therefore was a very slow process. People who suffered the immediate removal were those whose huts unfortunately lied next to the farmsteads. However, as farmers became richer and richer and occupied more and more land for farming more and more people were removed and more and more people became poorer and poorer.⁹²

People were firstly reshuffled around within the farms, being moved from fertile areas to occupy mountainous, stoney and barren areas in order to make even subsistence farming impossible. They were told to reduce the number of their cattle while the whites increased theirs. That was done to disrupt their economy because cattle farming was the backbone of the African economy. The ultimate aim was to force the black people to work on their (white's) farms in order to earn a living.⁹³

Amakhosi that succeeded Chakijana therefore found themselves gradually losing authority over their subjects who were then paying allegiance to White and Indian farmers. They subsequently lost more and more people who found farm life unacceptable and decided to join under the neighbouring amakhosi.⁹⁴

⁹². W.M. Watson: Debates of the Legislative Council, Vol.vi P.582.

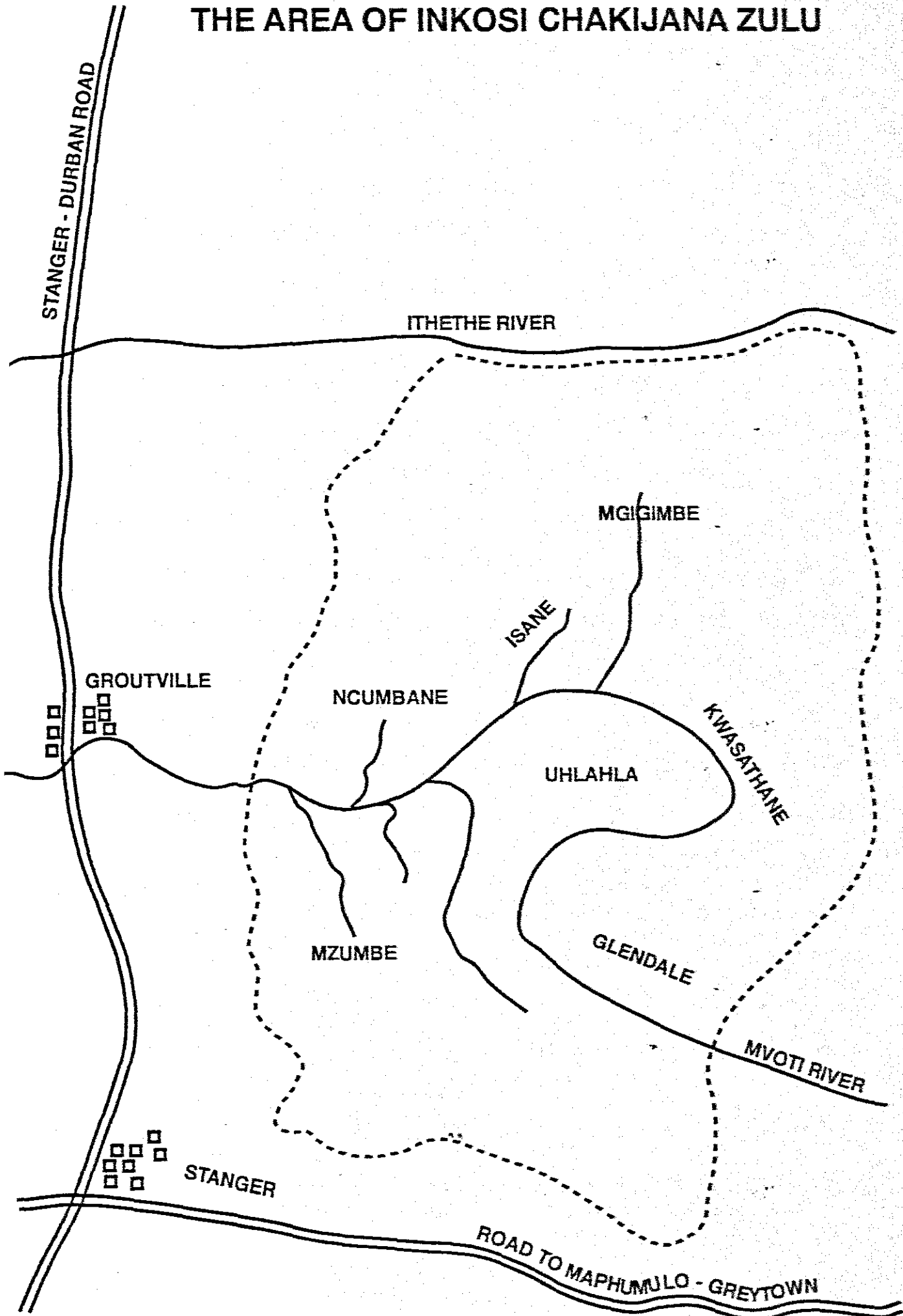
⁹³. J.D. Fage: A History of Africa, PP.430-31.

⁹⁴. 1/SGR 4/1/4 Ref SNA 923/93 R M Stanger - SNA, 22 August 1909.

The moving away of the people from Nodunga resulted in Chakijana's successors losing integrity as amakhosi because "inkosi inkosi ngabantu" (an inkosi "chief" is an inkosi because of the presence of people). The end result was that the last inkosi, Manukanuka Zulu, who will be dealt with in detail under chapter 4, was himself forced out of his own area and told to go to Maphumulo Magisterial district. That marked the end of ubukhosi created by inkosi Chakijana.⁹⁵

⁹⁵. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Stanger - SNA, 16 July 1906. cf. Themba Madlala kaNdabakazipheli kaZibhebhu kaHaga kaNtwela, interviewed at his home next to Nodunga tribal court, 11 November 1994. N1/1/3 (44) 7: file from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 July 1941.

THE AREA OF INKOSI CHAKIJANA ZULU



CHAPTER 3***PRINCE NDLOVU ZULU OF NODUNGA ISIZWE: HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE POLL TAX UPRISING OF 1906, HIS IMPRISONMENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR HIS RETURN TO NODUNGA***

Prince Ndlovu kaThimuni was born in 1857, a year after the outbreak of the Ndongakusuka Battle. His mother, Mkhomolo, gave birth to him when they were already in the British colony of Natal.¹

The migration of Chakijana, Ndlovu's elder brother, from Maphumulo gave Ndlovu the golden opportunity to be an inkosi after the death of his father. Chakijana left him with no rivalry to ubukhosi.²

On 17 August 1885 Thimuni informed the Lower Thukela Division magistrate that Ndlovu should represent him in all matters affecting his isizwe and that the government should recognise him as his (Thimuni's) heir. Thimuni did not live long after making that declaration. He died in 1890 and Ndlovu was appointed as an inkosi on April 8, 1890.³

-
- ¹. C. De B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Stuart archive, Vol 4, P.219. cf. SNA 1/1/339 Ref.1906/1101 R M Maphumulo - U.S.A. 13 May 1906.
 - ². N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.
 - ³. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 662/1885 R M Stanger - SNA, 17 October 1885. cf. SNA 1/1/349 Ref 1906/1293 SNA Pietermaritzburg - Minister of Justice, 23 August 1906.

The first case he tried shortly after his appointment had to do with "ukungena" by the surviving brother. Mbuzana died and was survived by his wife, Xabi. According to African custom, Mehlwana, his brother, had to take over his brother's wife and his official witness was Xovuza. Ndlovu reported that case to the Maphumulo magistrate on 17 April 1890.⁴

Ndlovu's father, inkosi Thimuni Zulu, died having not solved the boundary question with the neighbouring amakhosi like Tatalambu Khuzwayo of Mambedwini isizwe and Mkhonto Ntuli of Hohoza isizwe. Therefore the boundary issue became the first major problem that Ndlovu had to solve.⁵

Prince Ndlovu requested the under secretary of Native Affairs, S.O. Samuelson, that a boundary be defined between his isizwe and that of Mkhonto Ntuli and Tatalambu Khuzwayo. Samuelson in turn sent a minute to the Maphumulo magistrate, W.R. Gordon, for his opinion.⁶

Gordon proposed that the ten imizi of Ndlovu outside his boundary and four of inkosi Tatalambu which were inside should be dealt with in the manner provided by Section 6 Act 40, 1896. That act had to do with the exchange

⁴. 1/MPO 5/1/5 Ref 25/1 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 17 April 1890. cf. SNA 1/1/349 Ref 1906/1293 Native Commissioner - SNA 12 November 1906.

⁵. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1897 SNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Maphumulo, 6 October 1897.

⁶. Maphumulo District Record Book - Magistrates and Native Commissioners, 1 July 1894 - 1996.

of imizi in trying to solve the boundary problem because any boundary would necessitate the removal of a large number of imizi of amakhosi Mkhonto and Tatalambu as a large number of their imizi abuted on the proposed boundary.⁷

The removal of ten imizi would, according to W.R. Gordon, not be any hardship to Ndlovu as it was generally admitted, even by himself, that his people had no right on the Masiwele river side of the Mati stream. The removal of imizi of Tatalambu to go under Ndlovu would balance matters.⁸

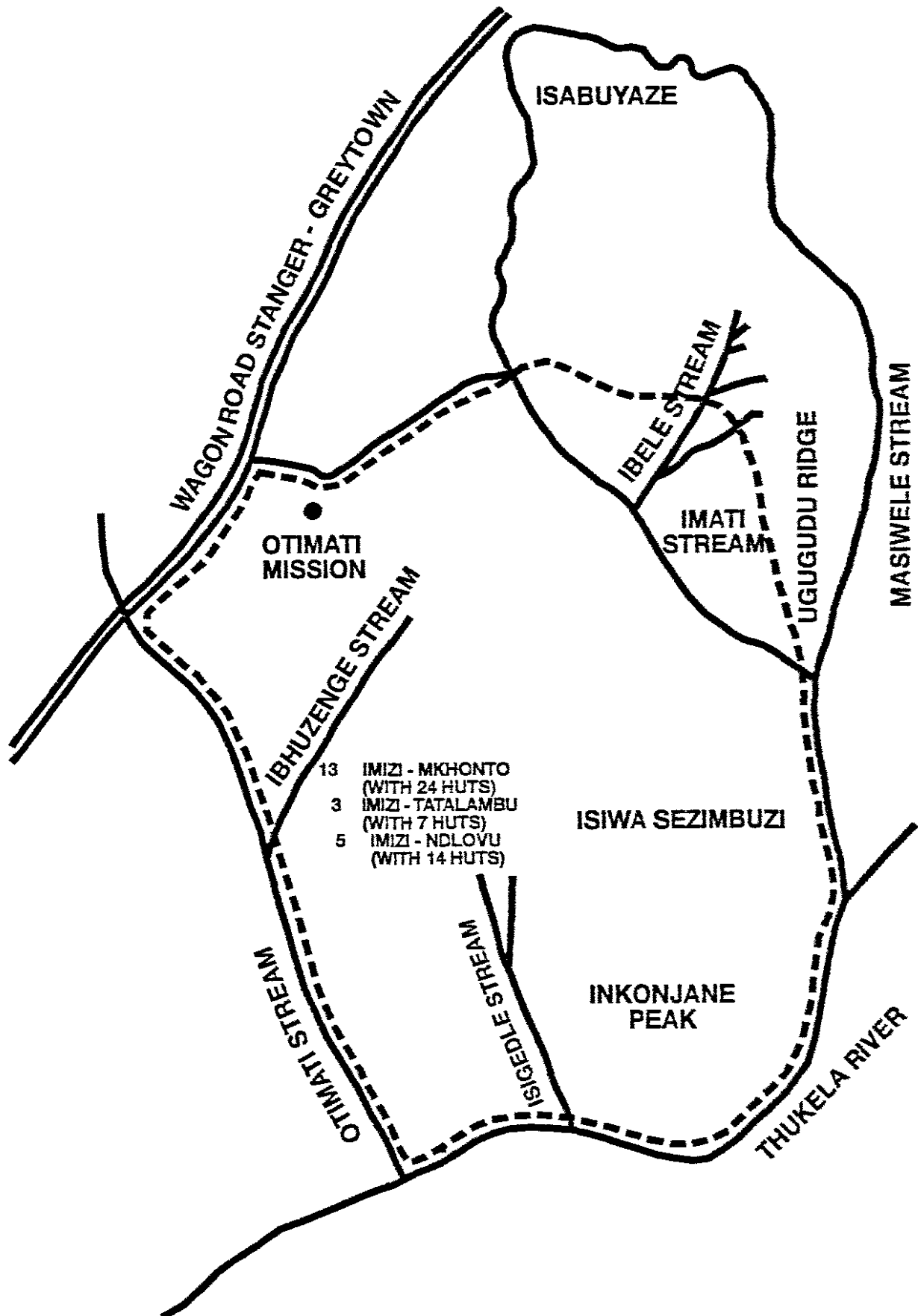
The under secretary of Native Affairs, S.O. Samuelson, was satisfied with the solution of W.R. Gordon and asked him to summon amakhosi concerned for discussion. Mkhonto approved of that arrangement but Ndlovu objected, saying that he wanted all the land between the Mati and the Zinsimba streams and Thukela river and the wagon road i.e. road from Stanger to Greytown. That would necessitate the removal of about a hundred imizi of amakhosi Mkhonto and Tatalambu and about 200 imizi of Inkosi Mashwili Mthethwa of Mthethwa isizwe (Oyengweni).⁹

⁷. A204 Ref 1278/2: A Native problem in Natal, 1897. cf. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1897 SNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Maphumulo, 6 October 1897.

⁸. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1897 SNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Maphumulo, 6 October 1897.

⁹. SNA 1/1/292 Ref 1813/1901 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 10 October 1901 cf. P. Ingrid: Dinuzulu and the Bhambatha Rebellion. P.48.

INKOSI NDLOVU'S AREA AND THE BOUNDARY ISSUE



That proposal would not be entertained by such amakhosi who would lose so many of their subjects. Inkosi Mashwili would lose almost all his people because his isizwe was very small. That might lead to the disappearance of his ubukhosi.¹⁰

The insistence of Ndlovu led to the fruitless negotiations and to the disappointment of the Maphumulo magistrate who decided to refer the problem to the Stanger magistrate. On 1 February 1897 Ndlovu was summoned to Stanger magistrate, F.P. Shuter, to settle the boundary question. Ndlovu sent izinduna (headmen) Ndumundumu and Hlabangane to tell the magistrate to excuse him for his child was unwell. The date was then postponed.¹¹

On 9 August 1897 Ndlovu and inkosi Gobizembe of the Ntuli isizwe met Samuelson, the under secretary of Native Affairs and Ndlovu told him that his father, Thimuni, had been placed in that district by inkosi Mkhonto Ntuli and that the limits of the land he claimed to have been given to Thimuni were Mati and Otimati streams, including Sabuyaze mountains. Gobizembe

¹⁰. Ilanga lase Natal: 1 June 1906, P.2. cf. SNA 1/1/335 Ref 3769/06 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 14 November 1906. SNA 1/1/349 Ref 1906/2807, 11 July 1906.

¹¹. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1897 SNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Maphumulo, 6 October 1897 cf. 1/SGR 4/1/6 Ref LTD 132/1897 R M Stanger - SNA, 1 February 1897.

however denied Ndlovu's allegations.¹²

According to the map Madlangampisi's umuzi, down the Nhlwathi stream to the junction with Mati stream was under Ndlovu. Then further down Mati to the junction with Bele stream were imizi of Gingqitshe belonging to Mkhonto isizwe. Along the edge of Siqozomana and on the right bank of Sikhonkwane were Ndlovu's imizi. The confluence of Masiwele and Mati belonged to Mkhonto. Up Sigidle stream to Siwa Sezimbuzi, including Saxalaba to Mgonswaneni and Ndwedwe-mbili mountain were all Ndlovu's imizi.¹³

The debate about the possession of land went on and on 10 August 1897 Ndlovu stated that Thimuni was the first occupant of the part of location he claimed for his isizwe and that members of Mkhonto, then Gobizembe, who were occupying it, were located by Thimuni. But when cross-examined by W.R. Gordon, he admitted that Thimuni and his people were located by Mkhonto.¹⁴

¹². SNA 1/1/292 Ref 1813/1901 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 10 October 1901. cf. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu interviewed at his "isigodlo" (royal residence) known as Ezintandaneni, 18 July 1995.

¹³. G.T. Plowman: The Natal Civil Service List (1897), P.44.

¹⁴. 1/SGR 4/1/6 Ref LTD 132/1897 R M Stanger - SNA, 1 February 1897. cf. SNA 1/1/292 Ref 1813/1901 SNA Pietermaritzburg - R M Stanger, 21 October 1901.

Eventually the boundary issue was solved by making Otimati and Mati streams be the east and west limits of Ndlovu's land. In the south and north, the wagon road and the Thukela river were the boundaries.¹⁵

Another issue which became prominent in 1897 was Ndlovu's application to own a firearm through the Maphumulo magistrate, W.R. Gordon. *Following the recommendation by the magistrate the application proceeded* to the under secretary of Native Affairs, Mr S.O. Samuelson, then to the Secretary of Native Affairs. The secretary approved of the application and on 1 October 1897, S.O. Samuelson informed the magistrate of Maphumulo Division that a permit had been granted to Ndlovu.¹⁶

Although Ndlovu had a negative attitude towards the Whites, he loved W.R. Gordon who was the Maphumulo magistrate from 1 July 1894 to 10 July 1900. After his transfer, Ndlovu wrote a letter on 5 November 1903 to the Chief Native Commissioner, asking for his return to Maphumulo. Gordon had been co-operating well with Ndlovu in the solution of the boundary question and in the recommendation of Ndlovu's application for a firearm licence. Ndlovu said since his departure tears had not ceased to flow from his eyes. His application was however not successful because Mr Gordon

¹⁵ G.H. 1561: Zululand after 1897. cf. SNA 1/1/278 Ref 185/1897 SNA P.M.Burg - R M Maphumulo, 6 October 1897.

¹⁶ SNA 1/1/257 Ref 2133/1897 R M Maphumulo - USNA, 1 October 1897. cf. Maphumulo District Record Book - Magistrate and Commissioners, 1 July 1894 - 1906.

never returned.¹⁷

Ndlovu reigned during the time when different taxes like hut and dog tax were demanded from the Africans. Amakhosi were reluctant to pay such taxes but compelled by the fear of the wrath of the government. Any government act like the taking of census was regarded as part of suppression because they did not understand the advantage of it. On 28 May 1902 inkosi Makewu Dube tried in vain to discourage Ndlovu and Chakijana from paying hut tax. Makewu's words however had a rebellious influence in Ndlovu's life.¹⁸

In 1904 Ndlovu, Meseni and Mqhawe, who were all amakhosi in Maphumulo district, planned to resist the taking of census but their preconcerted action collapsed when they found the other amakhosi complying with the law. The resistance ideas were growing within the minds of the majority of Maphumulo amakhosi. They lacked only a courageous strong leader to emerge and they were prepared to give him a full support.¹⁹

When the Bhambatha uprising broke out in 1906 they regarded it as the answer to their suffering. The uprising engulfed Ndlovu with confusion. He was against Poll Tax and wished to fight but doubted the full support of

¹⁷. 1/SGR 4/1/8 Ref P M 1171/1903 R M Stanger - CNC, 5 November 1903.

¹⁸. 1/SGR 4/1/7 Ref SNA 497/1903 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 May 1903.

¹⁹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 25 February 1906.

Maphumulo amakhosi. He deceived the government by sending his induna, Nzulekana, to the magistrate's office to ask where to assemble to pay poll tax. Ndlovu wanted to get enough time to study the situation and general feeling before identifying himself with the rebels. In February 1906 he had asked for inkosi Dinuzulu's advice in connection with poll tax but got no definite answer.²⁰

He was further confused by the fact that Dinuzulu and his isizwe paid the poll tax but Perett points out that king Dinuzulu probably paid the poll tax not because he approved of the law, but because he feared to draw attention to himself.²¹

Dinuzulu might also have been forced by the condition of the Natal government that poll tax should have been paid before Usuthu could be allowed to attend the wedding of Dinuzulu's sister to Mabhoko Ntshangase of Emgazini near the Mkhuze river.²²

Before taking any action, Ndlovu thought it wise to consult Meseni Gumede, an inkosi of abakwa-Qwabe at Mthandeni. Meseni was his cousin. Meseni's mother was MaZulu who was the sister of Ndlovu's father,

²⁰. SNA 1/1/339 Ref 1906/1101 R M Maphumulo - USNA, 13 May 1906. cf. C. De B. Webb and J.B. Wright: James Stuart Archive, vol.4, P.219. SNA 1/1/358 Ref 41/54/1906 Act R M Maphumulo - USNA, 12 November 1906.

²¹. I.M. Perett: Dinuzulu, P.60.

²². A. Duminy and B. Guest: Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910, P.396.

Thimuni. Apart from poll tax problem Ndlovu went to Mthandeni because Meseni's people had killed the other people and Ndlovu wanted to know the result of the case and also to hear about the death of Mdungazwe, the brother of Meseni.²³

They talked about the poll tax issue. Ndlovu told Meseni that his people said they had no money and that they had told Mr J. Dunn to report that to Pietermaritzburg. The reply they got was that they were given three full months to pay. At Mpendle amakhosi like Mafahleni, Cuphuchuku, Mlaba and Laduma had also not paid.²⁴

Ndlovu also discovered that the three important Maphumulo amakhosi, Gobizembe Ntuli, Mashwili Mthethwa and Ngqokwana Khuzwayo had made up their minds to resist the payment of the tax.²⁵

He was further made to understand that the poll tax issue had divided amakhosi of Maphumulo district. Sibindi Ngubane of Mabomvini and Nyakana Mkhize of the Embo isizwe decided to pay poll tax and support the Natal government against the poll tax resisters. In 1905 Nyakana promised Colonel Leuchars to help the troops in Maphumulo and he was to be

²³. SNA 1/1/339 Ref 1906/1101 R M Maphumulo - USNA, 13 May 1906.

²⁴. The Natal Mercury: 5 April 1906, P.6.

²⁵. SNA 1/1/358 Ref 4154/1906 Act. R M Maphumulo - USNA, 12 November 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/335 Ref 3769/06 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 4 June 1906 - cf. P. Ingrid: Dinuzulu and the Bhambatha Rebellion, P.50.

rewarded by Gobizembe's area and Sibindi to be rewarded by Ndlovu's and Meseni's area. Mashwili's isizwe was to be merged with Msolwa's.²⁶

Ndlovu did not encourage his people to pay, despite the discouraging action of Sibindi and Nyakana. He hated that tax because the main burden of the poll tax fell on the Africans, and even more than the hut tax it symbolized the injustice of a system whereby Whites, with an average per capita income over 30 times greater than that of Africans paid no direct taxes.²⁷

Although Ndlovu was aware of the injustice meted by the poll tax he had not taken decision to fight. While still undecided, two messengers arrived from Sitheku, an uncle of Dinuzulu living near Melmoth. That was early in June 1906. Sitheku incited izizwe of Ndlovu, Mashwili and Meseni to rebel and kill all the White people.²⁸

He told them that Bhambatha kaMancinza had not been killed but was in hiding in the Thukela valley. Sitheku also threatened Ndlovu with violence if his people did not rise. Mthonga, another uncle of Dinuzulu living in

²⁶. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 3750/1905 SNA - R M Maphumulo, 18 November 1906. cf. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906, P.2.

²⁷. Dr R.H. Lamb: Hard times in Natal, P. x. cf. SNA 1/1/124 Ref 1890/176 R M Stanger - SNA, 19 October 1890.

²⁸. J. Stuart: A History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906, P.347. cf. The Natal Mercury: 2 June 1906, P.5 The Zululand Times: 1 March 1907 (NP).

Showe district also sent a messenger to Ndlovu, inciting him to take up arms.²⁹

The Gobizembe people who had been fighting at Mome also exercised considerable influence over the people of Ndlovu and Meseni. These outlaws spread the story that the white men had wiped out the Africans at Mome and were now on their way to eat up Meseni and Ndlovu.³⁰

It was then rumoured that prince Ndlovu and Meseni had planned to combine their forces to attack Maphumulo. Meseni however, warned Ndlovu not to precipitate the attack unless it would be successful.³¹ The Maphumulo magistrate, T. Maxwell, appealed to the Natal government for protection. A Commando, known as the Natal Mounted Rifles was sent to Maphumulo. The Natal Mounted Rifles was the best-known of South African regiments, formed in 1888 by the amalgamation of four coastal units.³²

²⁹. J. Stuart: A History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906, P.347.

³⁰. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.160. cf. SNA 1/1/358 Ref SNA 4154/1906 Act. R M Maphumulo - USNA, 12 November 1906.

³¹. SNA1/1/325 Ref 2302/05 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 12 December 1905.

³². G.T. Plowman: The Natal Civil Service List, P.6 cf. D.J. Potgieter et al (eds): Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, Vol.1, P.69.

The first operation by the Natal Mounted Rifles was launched against Meseni Gumede of Mthandeni. Ndlovu was still regarded as the less harmful inkosi as he had approached the magistrate's office about the poll tax payment. Meseni was helped by Mashwili Mthethwa, Makewu Dube, Chakijana Zulu and Mahlombe Mangele. Although Ndlovu had not yet taken active part, the upper Mushane people, under Meseni, were doctored at his umuzi.³³

On 18 June 1906 a convoy of seven wagons trekked from Stanger to Maphumulo with supplies to the regiment. When they reached Otimati river, about 14 kilometres from Maphumulo, they decided to outspan for the night. The district of Maphumulo was still considered to be perfectly quiet. No troops accompanied the wagons, only Sergeant Knox and Powell of the Natal Mounted Rifles travelled with them.³⁴

The wagons left the river early next morning and after proceeding for a couple of kilometres, they were attacked by Ndlovu's impi which had been at Thrings Post Store, looting the cattle. Sambela, Ndlovu's induna, was in charge of Ndlovu's impi.³⁵

³³. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 June 1906. cf. 1/MPO ADD 2/1/1: Information book - Magistrates' office - Maphumulo.

³⁴. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119. cf. D.J. Potgieter et al (eds): Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, Vol.1, P.69.

³⁵. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906. cf. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119.

Knox was on the first wagon and Powell on the last. On appearance of the impi, Knox jumped off the wagon and took out his rifle. Before he could use it he was hit on the head and knee with a knobkierrie and he broke through the rebels who threw their assegais at him. It was close to 7 a.m. when they were attacked.³⁶

Knox, being a powerful athlete ran the whole distance of five kilometres with assegai's wound on his arm and another through his leg and arrived at Maphumulo laager a few minutes after eight o'clock. Powell fell into the hands of the enemy and was killed.³⁷

After receiving the message, a patrol was ordered to the scene of attack. A woman who was standing on a mountain saw the strong dust of the galloping horses at Magqibagqiba and gave a warning shout to Ndlovu's impi that the Whites were attacking them.³⁸

Lieut-Col Ritchie who commanded the patrol of sixty Natal Mounted Rifles started by galloping to the scene of attack and found out that the wagons had been looted. He then followed on with his force to Ogilvies Store and

³⁶. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 June 1906.

³⁷. Shekela Khuzwayo, interviewed at his umuzi near Thukela river, 24 July 1994.

³⁸. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at the royal residence known as Ezintandaneni, 16 August 1994.

saw one rebel whom they hotly pursued.³⁹

They then came upon the tracks of a large impi. On arriving at the Otimati Mission Station they saw four rebel scouts on the hill to the left of the Mission Station, overlooking umuzi of inkosi Ndlovu kaThimuni. The dismounted scouts proved no match against the mounted troops who successfully cut them off and took the main impi, about 400 strong, gathered at the isigodlo, completely by surprise.⁴⁰

They were feasting on the looted cattle and also eating "ntelezi" (war medicine). Amongst the booty there was a deformed cow with a footlike outcrop at the back. Ndlovu told Majwabana Sabela to stab it and it ran away. For war medicine they had killed a black dog and had her eyes scooped out.⁴¹

Ndlovu's impi had been, according to war medicine's directions, instructed not to look back and that should it happen that you look back you were supposed to proceed backwards instead of advancing for you were going to

³⁹. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 1906/3750 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 23 June 1906. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119.

⁴⁰. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119.

⁴¹. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu. interviewed at his "isigodlo" (royal residence) known as Ezintandaneni, 11 July 1995.

be killed.⁴²

There were only two gun carrying men amongst Ndlovu's impi, Ndlovu himself and Lusontane Zulu. The Natal Mounted Rifles regiment came and lined themselves from the foot of Ndwendwe-mbili mountain over Qaqa ridge. They were accompanied and helped by inkosi Sibindi Ngubane's impi.⁴³

Colonel Ritchie's force opened fire at a range of 500 metres and the impi took to the line of the bush with the object of making a flank attack which, however failed. During the attack some of Ndlovu's men charged to within 10 metres of the troops. Mgcogcoma Zulu stabbed a white soldier to death and was thereafter allegedly haunted by his ghost that always came to ask why he killed it and he answered that it was at the battle field.⁴⁴

One of the Nodunga heroes who killed a white soldier was Mthembu. He surprised him and smashed his head with a knobkerrie while the soldier was squatting on the rock, busy re-loading his rifle. Instead of taking a gun and using it, he smashed it upon the rocks and continued fighting with his

⁴². Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at inkosi Bafanose's isigodlo - Ezintandaneni, 11 July 1995.

⁴³. P M 1906/826 Ref 61 R M Maphumulo -SNA, 12 July 1906.

⁴⁴. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119. cf. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at inkosi Bafanose's isigodlo - Ezintandaneni, 18 July 1994.

knobkerrie.⁴⁵

Lusontane, father of Siphakanyiswa Zulu, gave the troops tough time with the gun that he was using. The troops could not see where he was shooting from as he had taken cover, but at last he was spotted and shot.⁴⁶

When Lusontane realised that he was powerless to run, he cut one casualty's stomach open, took out his bowels and put them on himself as if he was dead and he threw the gun away in the bush. The white soldiers who were doing the finishing off duty came and kicked Lusontane, thinking that he was already dead. Lusontane softened his body as if he died long time ago. They then proceeded to others and Lusontane survived in that way until he died naturally.⁴⁷

When Ndlovu realised that his impi was overpowered he turned in his black overcoat and ran for dear life without looking back. They tried to shoot him but missed until he disappeared from the scene into the bush. Ndlovu

⁴⁵. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at his isigodlo - Ezintandaneni, 18 July 1994.

⁴⁶. P M 61 Ref 1906/826 Eshowe - P M, 12 July 1906. cf. F. Kendall: Let people govern, P.47. cf. SNA 1/1/358 Ref SNA 4154/906 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 12 November 1906.

⁴⁷. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni" (royal residence), 4 August 1994.

observed the directions of the war medicine (ntelezi) and consequently survived. His impi was scattered but had not yet accepted a defeat.⁴⁸

The number of Ndlovu's rebels killed and counted near his umuzi was 93 and subsequently reports indicated that quite 180 of his impi were killed in that battle. The Natal Mounted Rifles squadron spent the rest of the day on patrol in the direction of Thrings Post and returned to Maphumulo just before sunset.⁴⁹

Ndlovu was hiding with his wives in the bush. One of them, MaMhlongo (ukaMaphuyana), had a young girl by the name of Jabulile Zulu who later married to KwaNgcobo. Jabulile cried in the bush until Ndlovu told MaMhlongo that she be killed as they would still get some other children, but fortunately she was not killed.⁵⁰

On the following day i.e. 19 June 1906 the store at Thrings post was attacked by members of Ndlovu's impi at 5 a.m. Mr Robbins, the government stock keeper was at the store. On hearing voices Robbins went to open the door under the impression that it was his servant who came to

⁴⁸. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906, P.2. cf. Times of Natal: 24 September 1908.

⁴⁹. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119. cf. Rev. George Mngoma ka-Obed kaSehlasenyuka, interviewed at his umuzi next to Qaqeni store, 1 August 1996.

⁵⁰. The Times of Natal: 1 June 1906, P.3. cf. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at inkosi Bafanose's isigodlo - Ezintandaneni, 18 April 1906.

awake him.⁵¹

No sooner had he done so then a number of men sprang upon him and was assailed by knobkerries and assegais and was severely wounded. In the midst of the struggle he asked his attackers if they knew whom they were killing. He was at once recognised by three members of the party who ran to his assistance and saved him. He was then taken to the back of the store where he was no more molested.⁵²

On 9 July 1906 the intelligence received news that Meseni and Ndlovu kaThimuni had joined hands with the remnants of their impi in the Thukela thorny valley below Isiwa Sezimbuzi. Leuchar's column was instructed to leave for Maphumulo and Colonel Mckenzie at once ordered a general advance to Mati river to where it joined Masiwele stream.⁵³

Ndlovu and Meseni, realising that their lives were at stake, decided to flee to Dinuzulu in KwaZulu. They were accompanied by their followers. Before crossing Thukela river they slept at the umuzi of inkosi Msolwa Cele. Msolwa was later, on 14 May 1907 appointed as an inkosi over the isizwe residing within Ward 1 in Lower Thukela division. He was given Mashwili's

⁵¹. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 June 1906.

⁵². SNA 1/1/370 Ref 1906/617 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 12 July 1906. cf. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.137.

⁵³. S. Marks: Reluctant Rebellion, P.43.

land in reward for his desertion of the rebels and joining up the military camp at Thrings Post.⁵⁴

From Msolwa's umuzi, Ndlovu, Meseni and their followers crossed Thukela river in the direction of Showe. When they were in the vicinity of Showe they slept in one of the homes that belonged to the induna of inkosi Hhashi. One of the members of that family who worked at the Police Station advised them to surrender themselves to the police as they could not be able to reach Dinuzulu because of road blocks all over. Ndlovu and Meseni agreed to surrender and on the following day they were accompanied by the induna of Hhashi, together with their followers to the police.⁵⁵

On 12 July 1906 the magistrate of Showe district, A. Bouse, informed the Commissioner of Native Affairs, Mr Muller, that amakhosi Ndlovu kaThimuni and Meseni Gumede, accompanied by Zibhebhu kaNdlovu, Nongqayi kaThimuni, Mahedeni kaMshaba and Hloma kaLusontane (a boy nephew of Ndlovu) arrived at his office.⁵⁶

⁵⁴. P M 1906/826 Ref 61 R M Eshowe - CNC, 12 July 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/370 Ref 1907/617 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 13 July 1906. SNA 191 Ref 1915/14 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 15 November 1906. SNA 1/1/349 Ref 1906/2807 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 13 July 1906.

⁵⁵. P M 1906/826 Ref 61 R M Eshowe - CNC, 12 July 1906.

⁵⁶. SNA 1/1/370 Ref 1907/617 R M Stanger - SNA, 2 March 1907.

They had come to surrender in fear of the impi of the white people in Natal. They were afraid to go to the magistrate under arms because that would not give a clear picture of peace. The guns they carried were left at the umuzi of Msolwa. The magistrate then sent out the policemen to collect the arms and to search for the three men, Mshaba, Putshuputshu and Mashumi, the followers of Meseni who got tired and were left on the way. When the troops were taking their much-needed rest they received news from C.R. Saunders that Meseni and Ndlovu had surrendered at Showe.⁵⁷

On hearing the news of surrender there was extreme excitement amongst the troops because amongst the Maphumulo amakhosi, only Ndlovu and Meseni had not been caught. Mashwili Mthethwa, one of the strongest amakhosi along Zinsimba river had been killed together with his son, Langalibalele. Mashwili was Ndlovu's father-in-law. The "Izinsimba fight" against Mashwili resulted in 540 people killed by the troops of Col. Woods Sampson. The fate of Mashwili's impi was the severest blow dealt to any one isizwe during the rebellion.⁵⁸

After imprisonment at Showe amakhosi Ndlovu, Meseni and their followers were transferred to Maphumulo where they awaited their trial as prisoners

⁵⁷. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.157. cf. P M 1906/826 Ref 61 R M Eshowe - SNA, 12 July 1906. The Natal Mercury: 2 June 1906, P.5.

⁵⁸. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906, P.2 cf. SNA 1/1/355 Ref 1906/3763 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 11 July 1907.

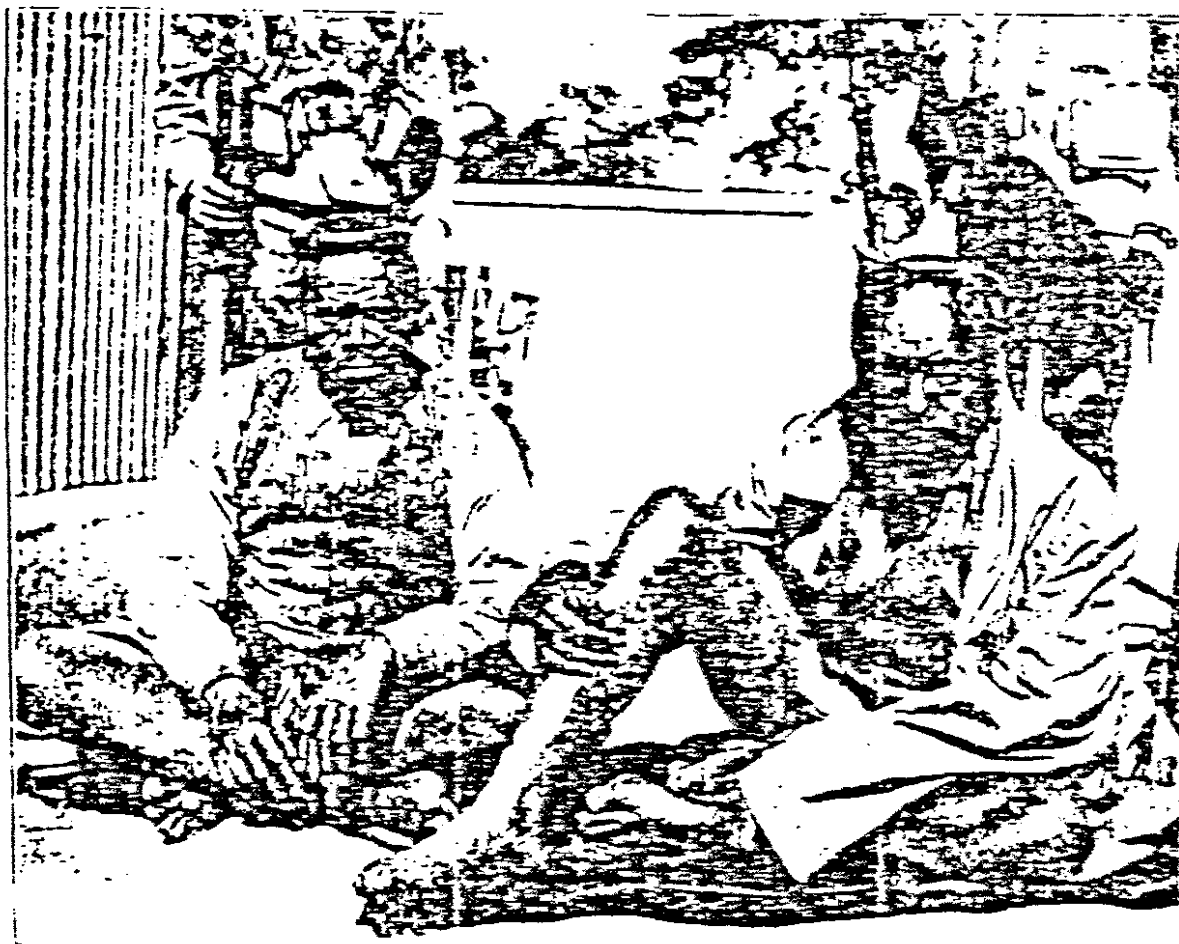
of the war.⁵⁹ The imprisonment of Ndlovu and Meseni did not mean the immediate surrender of their people. When Meseni's impi, estimated to 8000, had on 13 July 1906, suffered the final and decisive defeat, part of it went up to Thukela valley to help Ndlovu's people who were still resisting. The remnants of impi were put under the supreme command of Sambela, an induna of Ndlovu. Sambela moved his impi towards Mphise river which became the focal point for the fight.⁶⁰

On 16 July 1906 a court-martial was convened for the trial of Ndlovu and Meseni. To accumulate charges against them they were also informed about the death of Mr Smith, a white man who was repairing railway line near Zinkwazi river and who was, on 10 July 1906, caught, killed, thrown into the trench and deprived of his gun. According to the governor he should not have died if the two amakhosi did not incite people against the government. The two amakhosi were found guilty of high treason and the sentence of court commuted by His Excellency the governor to one of penal servitude for life.⁶¹

⁵⁹. NCP 8/5/13 Ref C1702/4. Rebellion, P.20. cf. P M 1906/826 Ref 61 R M Maphumulo - CNA, 12 July 1906.

⁶⁰. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906. cf. DMPO ADD 1/1/1: Intelligence book - Rebellion statements W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.161.

⁶¹. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906. P.161.

NDLOVU (LEFT) AND MESENI (RIGHT)

On 17 July 1906 Reuters Agent in Durban enquired from the secretary in Pietermaritzburg whether evidence in Court Martial of Meseni and Ndlovu kaThimuni might be published and the secretary informed Herbert Mullers that until government had seen the evidence in court martial of the two amakhosi, publication could not be allowed.⁶²

Sambela, who had been resisting with the remnants of impi was reported to have been caught and taken prisoner on 18 July 1906. That marked the end of resistance in Maphumulo area.⁶³ But the results of the uprising were sorrow arousing to contemplate. People who died at Nsuze, Mvoti and Maphumulo numbered 1200. That was the number of people who were counted. Many could not be found and they were decaying in the wilderness so much that the whole area of Maphumulo was full of bad smell of such rotting corpses. The vultures, greedy as they were, had overfed themselves on decaying corpses and were no more interested in them.⁶⁴

A warrior who had fallen in the battlefield was not described as ushonile, ubhubhile, ufile, all of which mean "he has died" nor ugodukile, which was applied to the death of very aged people, and meant "he has gone home,"

⁶². P M 61 Ref 1906/841 Reuters Agent, Durban - SNA, 17 July 1906. cf. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1906 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 June 1906.

⁶³. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.161.

⁶⁴. Ilanga lase Natal: 13 July 1906. P.2.

but was described as "usele," he is left behind.⁶⁵

John L. Dube had in 1906 warned Africans against what he called "folly of taking arms against the Whites." After the uprising he nevertheless asked the Africans to contribute money to help the bereaved families.⁶⁶ To M. Gandhi the uprising revealed the stark horrors of war and brought out the realisation to him that that form of violence was "no war, but man hunt." He tended to love non-violent methods of protest.⁶⁷

The intercommunication over the imprisonment of Ndlovu continued amongst the government officials. On 23 August 1906 H.D. Martin, the Minister of Native Affairs, sent a minute to the minister of justice in which he said he understood that the sentence passed by Court Martial on inkosi Ndlovu kaThimuni had been confirmed and would like to know what that sentence was, in order that he might deal with the appointment of the successor to ubukhosi of isizwe. He was informed that Ndlovu had been deposed, his deposition being confirmed by the Supreme Chief-in-council on November 1906.⁶⁸

⁶⁵. R.C.A. Samuelson: Long Long Ago, P.398.

⁶⁶. Ilanga lase Natal: 10 July 1906, P.2.

⁶⁷. B. Pochai: The Emergence of the Question of the South African Indian as International issue, P.75.

..

⁶⁸. F. Kendall: Let people govern, PP.44-5. cf. SNA 1/1/349 Ref 1906/2793 Minister of Native Affairs - Minister of Justice, 23 August 1906.

After sentence to life imprisonment, Ndlovu was sent to St. Helena. His isizwe was put under Mmleli Ngubane. Mmleli was the brother of the late inkosi Sibindi Ngubane, inkosi of Amabomvu. Sibindi helped the government during the uprising and was selected for the control of izizwe he was placed over, as a token of gratitude for the stand he took when practically the whole Natal Africans were in rebellion. The Nodunga people were loyal to Mmleli but still hoped that their real inkosi, Ndlovu kaThimuni would one day return to them as their inkosi and on that event they would all pay allegiance to him.⁶⁹

With the coming into effect of the Union of South Africa Ndlovu and many other political prisoners, like King Dinuzulu, were released. Ndlovu was, however, not allowed to return to his isizwe, instead he was exiled with his family to Mafunze around Pietermaritzburg. His child who was born in exile therefore became known as Mafunze.⁷⁰

Ndlovu lived in poverty at Mafunze. On 20 April 1911 inkosi Mveli Ngcobo, in whose territory he was living, applied on his behalf for a permission to go to Mpendle for two weeks to see his cattle at umuzi of Manatha kaGubhuza and to sell some on account of famine. He also wished to leave his

⁶⁹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 3 April 1919. cf. F. Kendall: Ler people govern, P.45. 1/MPO 3/1/1/4 Ref 2/11/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 1931.

⁷⁰. I.R. Rothberg and A.A. Mazrui: Protest and power in Black Africa, P.218.

daughters at Manatha's umuzi for a month to reap food to bring back home.⁷¹

Manatha Phungula was Ndlovu's brother-in-law. Ndlovu still had three head of cattle and eight of his goats in Manatha's possession, the balance due to him for his sister. Ndlovu's aim of visiting Manatha was therefore to inspect his stock and also to bring members of his family to assist Manatha in reaping his crops so that they could receive some grain to carry back home. The magistrate of Mngeni division, to whom an application was made, informed the Under Secretary of Native Affairs who allowed Ndlovu to visit Pholela Division for two weeks.⁷²

On 12 July 1911 Ndlovu kaThimuni applied for an interview with the acting Chief Native Commissioner in view of being placed in a different locality. Unfortunately the Chief Native Commissioner told the magistrate of Mngeni Division to inform Ndlovu that no good purpose would be served by seeing him as he was not prepared to consider his application.⁷³

Ndlovu was already having grown up sons who were working in Durban. For this reason on 28 December 1912 he requested the assistant

⁷¹. CNC 9 Ref 349/1911 R M Pholela - R M Mpendle, 20 April 1911. cf. Ntombilezi Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at her umuzi, 18 June 1996.

⁷². CNC 9 Ref 349/1911 R M Umngeni - USNA, 21 April 1911.

⁷³. CNC 20 Ref 906/1911 CNC P M Burg - R M Umngeni, 12 July 1911.

magistrate, to allow him to visit Durban in order to collect money from his sons in order to buy food. The magistrate conveyed that application to the Chief Native Commissioner who allowed him for a period of one month on condition that he reported himself to the magistrate of Mngeni Division on arrival in and on departure from the Division. He returned on 26 February 1913.⁷⁴

Ndlovu was again willing to visit Durban on 15 October 1915. At that time an application was lodged through Miss Harriette Colenso and the Chief Native Commissioner had no objection.⁷⁵

Ndlovu and his family still lived under miserable condition in Mafunze. His sympathy was with his children who were starving. He wished to remove them from inkosi Mveli's territory due to the barren nature of that land which resulted in the scarcity of food.⁷⁶ He consequently asked the Chief Commissioner to allow him to visit Stanger in Lower Thukela Division. The aim was to negotiate with inkosi Martin Luthuli for the living space for his children. The Chief Commissioner told the magistrate to allow him under the same condition stipulated on his visit to Durban i.e. to report himself to

⁷⁴. CNC 103 Ref 2436/1912 Assist. R M Umngeni - CNC, 28 December 1912.

⁷⁵. A 204 142 Ref 1279/5: The issue of Poll tax. cf. CNC 1263/1915 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 15 October 1915.

⁷⁶. CNC 142 Ref 1913/1717 R M Umngeni - CNC, 15 October 1915.

the Stanger magistrate on arrival and on departure from the division.⁷⁷

Inkosi Martin Luthuli agreed to accommodate Ndlovu's family after which Ndlovu returned to Mngeni Division on 15 January 1914. On his arrival at his place of exile he renewed his application that the two wives and six children be permitted to return to the Lower Thukela Division on account of *scarcity of food and the permission was granted by the chief magistrate in Pietermaritzburg.*⁷⁸

On 17 June 1914 Harriette Colenso was also informed that her friend, Ndlovu, could reside under inkosi Martin Luthuli of Groutville but the Chief Native Commissioner, *after careful consideration turned it down.* By refusing the application Ndlovu said the government was punishing the children, not only himself, for it was for the sake of them that he made an application. He therefore asked that food for his family be supplied by the government.⁷⁹

Ndlovu later decided to see the Chief Commissioner in person on 31 July 1914 in connection with the resettlement. He repeated the complaint that he had been making for the past three years, viz that the ground allocated

⁷⁷. CNC 103 Ref 2436/1915 R M Umnjeni - CNC, 15 October 1915.

⁷⁸. CNC 217 Ref 1915/1368 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 15 January 1915.

⁷⁹. CNC 142 Ref 1913/1717: A letter from Miss Colenso to Chief Native Commissioner, 15 October 1913.

to him for gardens by the late inkosi Mveli, was unproductive, besides being insufficient for his family and that he was living in a state of semi-starvation.⁸⁰

The Commissioner observed the previous reports on the subject of that complaint and decided to send a Zulu constable and a European rifleman to visit Ndlovu's umuzi and gardens in order to give a full report on the state of affairs.⁸¹

The two constables were to report whether members of Ndlovu's family were emaciated and appeared to be suffering from the scarcity of food, whether Ndlovu really had insufficient land for cultivation as compared to imizi of the same size as his and to state to what extent was Ndlovu's statement as to the barren nature of the soil was correct. They also had to find out whether it was not a fact that Ndlovu's umuzi and gardens had been located as favourably as any in that neighbourhood as he understood that Ndlovu was a neighbour of inkosi Mggomo.⁸²

Apart from the foregoing questions the two constables should also state if there was any matter in regard to which Ndlovu had good ground for complaint. The chief commissioner held out no hope for Ndlovu concerning

⁸⁰. 1/MPO ADD 2/1/1: Information Book - Magistrates Office - Maphumulo.

⁸¹.. CNC 103 Ref 2436/1915 R M Umnjeni - CNC, 15 October 1915.

⁸². A204 142 Ref 1279/5: Colenso collection. The issue of poll tax.

his application to move to the Lower Thukela Division but promised to make a thorough investigation.⁸³

The findings of the two policemen proved Ndlovu's complaint true and the government was willing to remove his family. Unfortunately Martin Luthuli had changed his mind and was now against the settlement of Ndlovu's family in his area. Ndlovu, in great disappointment, informed the Chief Native Commissioner on 22 July 1915 that Martin Luthuli refused to welcome his family.⁸⁴

Martin Luthuli was an elected inkosi of Emakholweni at Groutville. He played important role in the formation of Natal Native Congress, later known as ANC and became its chairman for the first three years. He was the uncle of the famous inkosi A.J. Luthuli who succeeded him.⁸⁵

After the refusal of Martin Luthuli, inkosi Ndlovu wished to place his family under Dala ka-Chakijana. Dala was his nephew who lived on private lands on the Mvoti river and paid his taxes at Stanger.⁸⁶

⁸³. I/MPO 3/1/1/1: Magistrate's Correspondence File (Maphumulo).

⁸⁴. CNC 142 Ref 1913/1717: A letter from Miss Colenso to the Chief Native Commissioner. cf. CNC 142 1893/1916 CNC P M Burg - R M Maphumulo, 22 July 1916.

⁸⁵. F. Meer: Luthuli Albert, P.35. cf. J. Grobler: A decisive clash, P.24. cf. CNC 217 Ref 1915/1368 R M P M Burg - CNC, 27 September 1915.

⁸⁶. CNC 142 Ref 1915/1717: Ndlovu's report to Chief Native Commissioner, 22 July 1915.

The Chief Native Commissioner, like Martin Luthuli, also changed his mind and told Ndlovu that he was unable to recommend that members of his family be allowed to live in Lower Thukela Division and that Ndlovu should remain in Pietermaritzburg Division and expect the government to provide for him.⁸⁷

While inkosi Ndlovu was struggling for the resettlement of his family, his isizwe struggled for his return. The Nodunga isizwe showed signs of great dissatisfaction under Mmeleli Ngubane. That firstly became prominent when Ndlovu visited Durban. He got into contact with members of his isizwe who told him that even in exile they still loved him and who thereafter planned, through the lawyer, for his return to Maphumulo. Mmeleli misruled Ndlovu's isizwe. People were heavily charged for even minor cases.⁸⁸

At the end of August 1915 Ntshumo Ntanzi received a letter from Pietermaritzburg, calling upon himself, Jimu kaMbedu and Mqundane Zikhali kaMatoboza to meet their inkosi in Durban. Ndlovu informed them that he had been sent for by the lawyer, Mr Shutter, who told him to get money in order that his affairs could be put right.⁸⁹

⁸⁷. Ibid.

⁸⁸. CNC 1263/195 R M Maphumulo - CNC. 12 August 1915. cf. 1/MPO 2/1/2/2: Administration of Native Law.

⁸⁹. CNC 217 Ref 1915/1368 R M Umngeni - CNC. 15 August 1915.

He told them to subscribe and send £60 so that his lawyers could have him set free. Ntshumo requested their induna, Msindo, to accompany them to the court so that they could inform the magistrate and ask for the permission to summon the people of isizwe for the purpose of laying Ndlovu's wishes before them and ask them to subscribe the required amount.⁹⁰

According to Ntshumo they did not inform their chief induna who was loyal to inkosi Mmeleli before going to Durban because Mmeleli would not allow them to do so as it meant his overthrow.⁹¹

The chief induna, Mavovo Ngubane, was later told by induna Msindo that the two men had been in Durban with Ndlovu. Msindo was that time compelled by the fact that Mavovo, as the chief induna, had to accompany them to the court. Another reason was that they could not summon the whole isizwe together without the knowledge of the chief induna.⁹²

After discussion with members of Nodunga isizwe, the magistrate of Maphumulo division wrote a letter to Pietermaritzburg to the Chief Native Commissioner in connection with the call by inkosi Ndlovu to his people to

⁹⁰. Ntombilezi Zulu kaPiri kaNdlovu, interviewed at her home near Oqaqeni Trading Store, 15 May 1996.

⁹¹. CNC 1263/1915 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 12 August 1915.

⁹². SNA 191 Ref 1915/14 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 22 August 1915.

subscribe £60 for his release. He told the commissioner that if the government refused any demand they made, all they had to do was to go to a lawyer and the matter was given in their favour.⁹³

The Maphumulo magistrate also rumoured that there would be a general agitation amongst not only Ndlovu's, but also Gobizembe, Ngqokwana and Deliweyo's people for the return of their amakhosi or their sons. The magistrate said the late Mashwili's people in Lower Thukela were also threatening to agitate. He therefore warned the Chief Native Commissioner that if peace and good order was to be maintained, those agitations "should be nipped in the bud at once."⁹⁴

Following the magistrate's appeal, isizwe was allowed to meet and each member agreed to contribute a sum of R2.00. Mmeleli Ngubane realised that his days as an inkosi of isizwe were nearing the end.⁹⁵

In order to raise more funds inkosi Ndlovu applied for the permission to proceed to Johannesburg to meet members of isizwe who were working there. His application was lodged to the Chief Native Commissioner through Allison & Hime Solicitors. The Chief Native Commissioner told the

⁹³. 1/MPO 3/1/1/2: Magistrate's Correspondence File. cf. CNC 1263/1915 P M Maphumulo - CNC, 18 September 1915.

⁹⁴. CNC 1263/1915 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 18 November 1915.

⁹⁵. Shekela Khuzwayo, interviewed at his home near Thukela river, 17 August 1994.

magistrate to inform Allison & Hime Solicitors that if Ndlovu wished to apply for the authority to enable him to visit Johannesburg he should make personal application.⁹⁶

Ndlovu complied with the orders of the Chief Native Commissioner which resulted in the permission being granted for him to proceed to Johannesburg. After that fund raising tour Ndlovu decided to make an application to be allowed to return to his former isizwe and position. That matter was discussed between the Chief Native Commissioner and the Secretary for Native Affairs on 15 January 1916.⁹⁷

The Chief Native Commissioner explained that Ndlovu kaThimuni was formerly inkosi of Nodunga (Zulu) isizwe in the Maphumulo division who went into Rebellion in 1906 and was responsible for the murder of Sangefried at Thrings Post Store, he (Ndlovu) being personally in command of the impi. He also stated that Ndlovu was tried, convicted and sentenced to death, ultimately commuted to imprisonment for life. The Native Commissioner further stated that on his (Ndlovu) return from St. Helena in 1910 he was placed in the Mafunze (Zwartkop) location by orders of the Minister of Native Affairs.⁹⁸

⁹⁶. CNC 217 Ref 1915/1368 R M P M Burg - CNC, 27 September 1915.

⁹⁷. CNC 1916/1893 CNC P M Burg - SNA, 15 January 1916.

⁹⁸. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119.

The Maphumulo magistrate was reminded by the Chief Native Commissioner that the reason for Ndlovu's demotion was his involvement in the poll tax resistance of 1906 and that his isizwe was subsequently placed under inkosi Sibindi and Mmleli Ngubane. The Chief Native Commissioner recommended to the Secretary for Native Affairs to turn the application down.⁹⁹

Ndlovu decided to apply, on 2nd November 1916, to the Mngeni Court for his return to the Maphumulo Division and to be re-instated in his position prior to his deposition. He stated that he had already suffered for many years of absence away from his home and isizwe. He appealed for clemency of the government to be shown to him, and asked that the Chief Native Commissioner be approached on his behalf.¹⁰⁰

The Mngeni Court conveyed the application to the chief magistrate in Pietermaritzburg who advised him to find out from the Maphumulo magistrate if he approved of inkosi Ndlovu returning to his division.¹⁰¹ The Maphumulo magistrate, Mr Dove J.C. Hulley, replied by saying he was very much opposed to Ndlovu being allowed to return to that division. If

⁹⁹. CNC 191 Ref 1915/14 CNC Pietermaritzburg - R M Maphumulo, 18 November 1915. cf. 1 MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 1 January 1928.

¹⁰⁰. NCP 8/5/13 Ref C1702/4: Rebellion, P.20.

¹⁰¹. CNC 9 Ref 1916/1893: R M Maphumulo to CNC, 30 January 1916. cf. Shekela Khuzwayo, interviewed at his home near Thukela river, 25 August 1994.

necessary, he was prepared to report fully on "that man" (Ndlovu) before any action regarding his return was taken. He further suggested that the decision arrived at regarding the Qwabe application viz. that the time had not arrived for making any change in the arrangement, would hold good as far as Ndlovu kaThimuni was concerned.¹⁰²

On 10 November 1916 the Chief Native Commissioner Sgd. R.N. Addison, sent a minute to the Maphumulo magistrate to find out whether there would be any harm in allowing Ndlovu kaThimuni to return to his magistrate's division in the same position as he was in the Mngeni division i.e. under the jurisdiction of inkosi Mmeleli Ngubane. The Maphumulo magistrate replied on 20 November 1916 that if that was allowed, he was certain that it would be the beginning of endless trouble and the loss of control of that section of isizwe by Mmeleli. Ndlovu's influence over his isizwe would surely cause friction and uneasiness.¹⁰³

Ndlovu, however, pressurized the government through his lawyers, for the return to his isizwe. On 19 March 1918 the Chief Native Commissioner, C.A. Wheelwright told the additional magistrate of Mngeni division to inform Ndlovu that his application was receiving the consideration of the

¹⁰². CNC 1916/893 Ref 20 R M Maphumulo - CNC Pietermaritzburg. December 1916. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/2/7 Ref NE 78/1916 R M Stanger - SNA, 2 January 1917.

¹⁰³. SNA 191 Ref 1916/14 Chief Commissioner P.M. Burg - R M Maphumulo. 24 November 1916.

government.¹⁰⁴

On 25 May 1918 the Chief Native Commissioner recommended to the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pretoria that Ndlovu, in view of the clemency extended to other rebels, both White and Black, should be allowed to return to his old home in Maphumulo division, but as a commoner and that interference might lead to his removal.¹⁰⁵ He however noted that on his death agitation might arise for his son's recognition as an inkosi, but said that could be dealt with when time arrived. Inkosi Mggomo, in whose territory Ndlovu was living and who accompanied him to the magistrate's court for the last interview, was thanked for keeping Ndlovu.¹⁰⁶

He travelled via Stanger and reported himself to the Stanger magistrate on 3rd August 1918. The Stanger magistrate informed the Maphumulo magistrate that Ndlovu was with him on his way to Maphumulo and advised him to tell Mmeleli Ngubane to leave his umuzi known as Delabakubo. He feared for the life of Mmeleli that Nodunga people might rise against him when they saw their real inkosi.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴. CNC 20 Ref 1263/198 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 12 June 1918.

¹⁰⁵. 1/MPO 3/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 SNA P M Burg^e - CNC, 15 August 1918.

¹⁰⁶. W.M. Watson: Natal Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol39, P.44.

¹⁰⁷. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Stanger - R M Maphumulo, 3 August 1918.

Ndlovu, after many years of exile, returned to his isizwe. He arrived at Nodunga on 17 August 1918 on Saturday and was accompanied by Fitz Gerald who showed him his new site. Isizwe was summoned and the conditions of Ndlovu's return from exile were made known.¹⁰⁸ Isizwe thanked Fitz Gerald on behalf of the government for allowing their inkosi to return to them and asked him to convey their deep gratitude to the government.¹⁰⁹

When Ndlovu came back most of the male members of isizwe were out on the hunting campaign. When they heard that their real inkosi had come back the hunting party was called off and they all went to him instead of going to Mmeleli with the bucks. Mmeleli was then told to pack and go as inkosi was back. Mmeleli said "Hawu, nangishiyisa ububende behlanze" (You have made me leave beans). Mmeleli loved beans and it was growing luxuriantly where his umuzi was. He was therefore planting large fields of beans that he left before harvesting.¹¹⁰

On Ndlovu's return he sought shelter at his sister's umuzi, KwaKhuzwayo, and then built his new umuzi on the site where there is the present day Otimati school, now under Ntuli isizwe known as Hohoza. That time it was

¹⁰⁸. CNC 142 Ref 1893/1918 Fitz Gerald report - CNC, 17 August 1918.

¹⁰⁹. Ntombilezi Zulu, interviewed at her home² at Oqaqeni ward, 12 May 1996.

¹¹⁰. Skekela Khuzwayo, interviewed at his home near Thukela river, 11 November 1994. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/4 Ref 2/11/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 10 September 1931.

still part of his land which ended with Otimati river. Ndlovu became the neighbour of the Lutheran church, the building of which was authorized by him before the outbreak of the poll tax uprising.¹¹¹

Ndlovu was unfriendly towards the Lutheran church priest, Mr Nixon, because he joined the troops that fought against him and his isizwe. That priest was showing the troops where Ndlovu's impi was hiding. That added to Ndlovu's hatred of the Whites and he was always threatening to thrash them with sjambok even at Maphumulo magistrate's court.¹¹²

Inkosi Ndlovu kaThimuni became a famous hero inkosi amongst amakhosi of Maphumulo District for he even survived the poisoning by the government agents in gaol while many amakhosi who had rebelled against the government and imprisoned, died through that dirty game. The Indlovu Regional Authority, the supreme body of all amakhosi of Maphumulo at local level, was named after Ndlovu.¹¹³

In his utterances, Ndlovu showed great interest in formal school education, but his interest being in education for boys. He advocated firmer laws and

¹¹¹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/2 School and church sites. cf. NCP Ref 3A Grants of land, P.259.

¹¹². Rev. George Mngoma, interviewed in the veld near the Otimati Lutheran Mission Station, 28 July 1995.

¹¹³. No.22/3/2 (22): File from Maphumulo Department of Justice - Chiefs and Headmen (ubukhosi of Nodunga), 22 August 1972.

customs to enforce education so that boys would be able to read and write and also to understand their "masters" and "mistresses." His scheme of education however did not include conversion to christianity.¹¹⁴

Ubukhosi of Ndlovu was not immediately restored to him after the departure of Mmleli Ngubane who had been imposed upon Nodunga isizwe as a foreign inkosi. Isizwe could not exist without inkosi. The Chief Native Commissioner then made arrangements for the re-instatement of Ndlovu to his ubukhosi. His decision however depended on the approval of the Maphumulo chief magistrate, Mr Dave J.C. Hulley. Hulley declined to recommend Ndlovu. He described him as a disloyal inkosi who went into open rebellion against the government in 1906. Instead he recommended the appointment of his son, Ntabeni, to replace his father. He nevertheless feared that as Ndlovu enjoyed the full confidence of his isizwe he could easily usurp control if Ntabeni was appointed in his lifetime. The magistrate therefore had no alternative but to recommend Ndlovu's re-appointment.¹¹⁵

On 16 March 1925 Ndlovu wanted to thank the Chief Native Commissioner with an ox for releasing him from exile. The Chief Native Commissioner said

¹¹⁴. C. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): James Silar Archive, vol 4, P.201.

¹¹⁵. CNC 142 Ref 1893/1918 CNC Pietermaritzburg - SNA, 18 December 1918. cf. Maphumulo district record book - Magistrates and Commissioners, 1 July 1894 - 1996.

that ox should be slaughtered during the tax collection for his isizwe.¹¹⁶

The refusal of the Chief Native Commissioner to accept a gift from Ndlovu might have been influenced by the bad report by the Maphumulo magistrate who described Ndlovu as the most intolerant grumbler who was deeply suspicious of every act of the government and regarded all regulations such as those dealing with dipping, clipping of hair or ears and tails of cattle and destruction of Burr-Weed as oppressive. With all his faults Ndlovu commanded the respect of his people. He was not continually appealing for assistance in enforcing his authority.¹¹⁷

On 23 April 1925 Ndlovu lost his wife okaMaphuyana who had been ill for several years. OkaMaphuyana was Ntabeni's mother who had shared the rest of Ndlovu's suffering as from the day when the British troops attacked "Ezintandaneni," the king's royal residence.¹¹⁸

Shortly after the death of Ndlovu's wife, Ndlovu interviewed Maphumulo magistrate on 28 April 1925 in connection with the boundary issue. After the Bhambatha uprising, Ndlovu's area was further reduced. The eastern boundary which had been the Otimati river, became the Bhuzenge river. The

¹¹⁶. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 16 March 1925.

¹¹⁷. 1/SGR 4/2/2/3 Ref SNA 497/1916 R M Stanger - SNA, 4 May 1925.

¹¹⁸. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC Pietermaritzburg, 23 April 1925. cf. W. Bosman: The Natal Rebellion of 1906, P.119.

boundary between Golokodo and Bhuzenge streams cut through imizi of his late father, Thimuni.¹¹⁹

Ndlovu had lost eleven imizi to Nyakana Mkhize on the Mati boundary and six imizi on Otimati border to inkosi Maqhilimane. He told the magistrate that he was under the impression that when he was re-instated he would be restored to his late father's jurisdiction. Ndlovu was given patient hearing throughout his presentation and was thereafter told that he should be very grateful for what had been done for him and should not complain of boundaries that would not under any circumstances be altered.¹²⁰

The reduction of his area was still part of punishment for his participation in the uprising. Ndlovu had already served sentence for his involvement in the poll tax uprising, therefore the further reduction of his area was the great injustice shown by the Natal government.¹²¹

After the failure of the boundary issue Ndlovu applied for the African beer licence which was also refused. The magistrate stated that the system in locations whereby each umuzi brewed its own beer was totally different from that in towns where the Blacks were forbidden to brew at all and the

¹¹⁹. Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at his isigodlo known as "Ezintandaneni," 5 November 1995.

¹²⁰. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/10/20/8 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 28 April 1925.

¹²¹. The Natal Advertiser: 2 October 1925, P.10.

Municipality had the monopoly.¹²²

The successive disappointment that Ndlovu got from the magistrate made him to lose respect of the authority. He left the district without the magistrate's permission on his visit to Solomon kaDinuzulu. He had defied the magistrate's order that he should come to him and state the reason for his departure. Ntabeni also did not inform the magistrate that Ndlovu had gone to Mahhashini. That visit was in response to the summon by Solomon to all amakhosi in connection with a levy of tribute or "izimali zenkatha" as it was called in printed notice.¹²³

The magistrate said if Solomon was allowed to assume the attitude of paramount inkosi over all izizwe in Natal, Zululand and part of Transvaal, it would inevitably lead to trouble. He then suggested that Solomon should be relegated to his proper position of inkosi only over Usuthu section of AmaZulu and made to understand that he could not summon amakhosi from other districts without reference to the magistrates of the districts. The magistrate also objected to the levy demanded by Solomon. He said Solomon was well paid for the position he held and should not be allowed

¹²². 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 29 May 1926. cf. SNA 1/1/418 Ref 1925/3765 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 5 May 1925. cf.

¹²³. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 19 May 1927.

to raise money in that manner.¹²⁴

Ndlovu also defied the tax collection notice. He was duly notified of the day for the tax collection for his isizwe, a memorandum personally handed to him of the date and place e.g. 10 May 1927. A few days before the collection the magistrate received intimation from Mr Lello at Otimati Store that Ndlovu's people were enquiring of the date fixed for them to pay, stating that they had not been informed. The magistrate sent one of his constables to remind Ndlovu of the date of collection. The constable ascertained that Ndlovu was absent from the district without permission and would not be back for collection.¹²⁵

Ndlovu had gone to Groutville to meet Solomon ka Dinuzulu and the latter took him to Pietermaritzburg to be present at the hearing of the case of Solomon versus the editor of the Natal Mercury. On the tax collection day only a small muster of Ndlovu's isizwe appeared under one of his izinduna, who apologised for inkosi's absence, but offered no explanation. Induna was told to inform Ndlovu on his return to report himself to the magistrate without delay.¹²⁶

¹²⁴. Accession Ref AA 54 Inkatha founded by Solomon, 1928. cf. CNC 84A Ref CNC 58/7/4 Chief Solomon Zulu, 4 July 1928. 1/NGA 3/3/1/2 Ref 38/17/6 actions of Solomon Zulu, 8 August 1928.

¹²⁵. SNA 1/1/464 Ref 1688/1927 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 10 May 1927.

¹²⁶. 1/MPO 3/1/1/2 Ref 2/10/18 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 8 April 1928.

On 19 May 1927 Ndlovu went to the Maphumulo magistrate. When the magistrate required him to explain about his absence he merely said he had been called by "Umntwana" to Groutville and had accompanied him to Pietermaritzburg. When asked why he did not get permission before going he made the same reply that "Umntwana" had called him. The magistrate then imposed a fine of £5 on him and allowed him seven days to pay the fine.¹²⁷

The magistrate then notified the Chief Native Commissioner that Ndlovu was quite unfit for the position of inkosi. He was very old and feeble and found it difficult to move about. He was seldom able to appear personally when required and generally by reason of old age and infirmity was no longer capable of efficiently carrying out the duties of his office. He had no longer sense of responsibility and absented himself without leave for long periods from the district on the pretext of going to see his "child," Solomon kaDinuzulu, or going to collect debts and during such period of absence no provision was made for the performance of his duties.¹²⁸

It was common talk amongst his people that they had great difficulty in getting their cases heard by Ndlovu, who habitually procrastinated and put off litigends. The magistrate therefore suggested that Ndlovu be replaced

¹²⁷. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 19 May 1927.

¹²⁸. SNA 1/1/446 Ref 1927/3380 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 June 1927. cf 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 19 May 1927.

by a younger man and proposed the name of Ntabeni, Ndlovu's elder son.¹²⁹

Ndlovu was unwilling to be replaced by Ntabeni. He thought Ntabeni would dispute ubukhosi with his heir, Piti Zulu. He recommended the appointment of his chief induna Kheme Guma kaMjangwana, a man of about 45 years of age. Ndlovu personally introduced him to the magistrate on 24 November 1927. The magistrate promised that Ndlovu's emoluments and title would in no way be disturbed.¹³⁰

In no time Ndlovu was dissatisfied with Kheme Guma. Kheme tried cases at his umuzi instead of Ndlovu's and so gave impression that Ndlovu and his family were being eclipsed in so far as ubukhosi was concerned. He publicly insulted Ndlovu in the presence of isizwe by using the contemptuous exclamation "ARA" in regard to something Ndlovu had said. For these reasons Ndlovu had lost all confidence in Kheme.¹³¹

On 18 May 1928 Ndlovu went to the Chief Native Commissioner in Pietermaritzburg to express his dissatisfaction with Kheme. He should have consulted his own district magistrate first e.g. Maphumulo magistrate. The

¹²⁹. Sicebi Khuzwayo, interviewed at his hom at the foot of Ndwendwe-mbili rit, 21 July 1995.

¹³⁰. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 24 November 1927.

¹³¹. P M 20 Ref 1171/27 R M Maphumulo - Prime minister, 11 May 1928. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 18 May 1928.

Chief Native Commissioner apologised on his behalf to the magistrate that it was merely attributable to his advanced age and that it was not his intention to pass over his magistrate.¹³²

The Chief Native Commissioner still wanted to communicate with Maphumulo magistrate before Ndlovu's case could be considered. He wanted to make sure that Ndlovu was serious with his demand. He therefore told the magistrate to submit the name of the nominee should Ndlovu proceed with his application.¹³³

Ndlovu made similar complaints to the Maphumulo magistrate regarding Kheme. The magistrate felt there was no real foundation for Ndlovu's complaints which were the result of the attitude taken up by Ndlovu's wife Nomashwili and the headman Nkomozabantu Zulu supported by the official witness Bhunu. They were resolutely opposed to Kheme because they considered him to be too much of a government man. The magistrate described Kheme as an excellent man who was but unable to carry on in the face of opposition of inkosi and his family. Kheme, on the magistrate's advice, tendered his resignation.¹³⁴

¹³². 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 18 May 1928.

¹³³. 1/MPO 3/1/1/4 Ref 2/11/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 30 May 1925.

¹³⁴. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 27 May 1928.

Ndlovu insisted that Ntabeni should not be made an acting inkosi because he would dispute ubukhosi with his heir, Piti, as he did to him while in exile. Ntabeni had openly said that if he was appointed, he would not give up the appointment.¹³⁵

A mass meeting was convened on 29 May 1928 for the purpose of nominating an acting inkosi. It was held under the thorn trees outside inkosi Ndlovu's umuzi, "Ezintandaneni". Amongst the attendants was inkosi Mbango Zulu from Stanger district and the number of his people, people from inkosi Nonqandela Zulu from Eshowe district under the leadership of Lokoza Zulu, inkosi Sigcwelegcwele from Otimati and Maqumbi and inkosi Nyakana Gumede of the Nkanini isizwe, the remainder being those of inkosi Ndlovu who formed the majority of the attendants.¹³⁶

The meeting was presided over by inkosi Mbango Zulu kaChakijana who had great influence on the resolution taken. Mbango was against Ndlovu's opinion that Ntabeni should not be appointed. He said it was not proper that another person be appointed to act when inkosi's son was available.

He was supported by the other abantwana and the rest of the meeting. Ndlovu then had to surrender to the appointment of Ntabeni. On 29 May 1928 Nkomozabantu Zulu, accompanied by some members of isizwe went

¹³⁵. Rev. George Mngoma ka-Obed kaSehlasenyuka, interviewed at his home, 4 August 1996.

¹³⁶. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

to the Maphumulo magistrate to introduce Ntabeni Zulu, Ndlovu's elder son, as an acting inkosi.¹³⁷

The appointment of Ntabeni against Ndlovu's will tormented him (Ndlovu) that his health there and then rapidly deteriorated. On 2 July 1928 he was reported to be very ill and not expected to recover. He died on 20 July 1928. On the following day Kheme Guma sent Babili Zikhali to report that tragedy to the Maphumulo magistrate who in turn informed the Chief Native Commissioner in Pietermaritzburg.¹³⁸

Throughout Ndlovu's suffering, in no occasion was Chakijana close to him as his elder brother. Ndlovu planned for the uprising with Meseni Gumede and it was Meseni's impi that came up to help Ndlovu after its defeat at Mthandeni. No mention was made of Chakijana's people. That shows that the two brothers died having not come to reconciliation with each other.¹³⁹

¹³⁷. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 31 May 1928.

¹³⁸. Ibid.

¹³⁹. Thembinkosi Madlala kaNdabakazipheli, kaZibhebhu kaHaga, kaNtwela, interviewed at his home near the Nodunga Chief's tribal court, 8 January 1995.

CHAPTER 4

THE NODUNGA NO.2 TRIBAL AUTHORITY

Inkosi Chakijana had nine wives. His first wife was Makhwehle Mngoma alias Nhlambase, the daughter of Khwehle who was a headman of inkosi Mpunzi, the grandfather of the late inkosi Ngqokwana Khuzwayo of Maphumulo district.¹ Makhwehle had three sons, Maweni, Zidwedwe and Mbango. Maweni died at an early age before he could be appointed as the successor to his father. When Chakijana died on 25 April 1908, Zidwedwe was, according to Zulu tradition, appointed to succeed him. His appointment was confirmed on 15 June 1908.²

Shortly after Zidwedwe's appointment, his wife, MaSibiya died. It was a great blow to Zidwedwe that made him not to enjoy his new portfolio. He was a weakling with a deformed leg. He was therefore forced by the hereditary procedure to ascend the throne. After a very short time being an inkosi, he became very ill.³

¹. 1/SGR 4/2/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1929. cf. P. Ingrid: Dinuzulu and the Bhambatha Rebellion, P.48.

². N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. SNA 1/1/429 Ref 1909/1133 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 March 1909.

³. SNA 1/1/429 Ref 1909/1133 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 March 1909.

Zidwedwe's illness drew the attention of the Stanger magistrate, J.Y. Gibson who reported it to the Secretary of Native Affairs on 6 March 1909. In his report the magistrate also wished to know if it was necessary to obtain a medical report on Zidwedwe's condition.⁴ Despite all medical aid given to Zidwedwe, his health gradually deteriorated. On 31 March 1909 izinduna (headmen), Mlomo and Funwayo went to the magistrate to report that Zidwedwe was very ill and that they were, however, unable to give the nature of the illness.⁵

The magistrate consequently asked sergeant Rehmann to send out one of the policeman to visit Zidwedwe and to report upon his condition. When Rehmann came back, he informed the magistrate that inkosi Zidwedwe was in critical condition that he might die at any time.⁶ The observation and conclusion of Rehmann proved to be true because on 11 April 1909 inkosi Zidwedwe passed away. On 14 August the magistrate of Lower Thukela division informed the Under Secretary of Native Affairs about what had befallen isizwe of Nodunga. Zidwedwe had only ruled for 10 months 4 days, a period of less than one year, and died without male issue to succeed him.⁷

⁴. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1929.

⁵. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁶. SNA 1/1/429 Ref 1909/1133 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1909. cf. Zungezwayo Zulu kaMzinto kaMbango, interviewed at his umuzi next to Mvoti river, 22 June 1995.

⁷. SNA 1/1/353 Ref 3482/1909 R M Stanger - SNA, 11 April 1909.

The government officials were perplexed as to how to go about nominating the successor to Zidwedwe. The Stanger magistrate, J.Y. Gibson, suggested that it would be necessary to wait until izinduna present a name of the man they would look upon as entitled to ubukhosi after Zidwedwe.⁸

The arrangement on the issue of succession would emanate from the family in co-operation with izinduna and councillors of isizwe, after which the whole isizwe would be informed. It was then that izinduna would be delegated to the magistrate for his information. The magistrate, however, anticipated that the decision would be the nomination of Mbango Zulu, Zidwedwe's younger brother.⁹

The Under Secretary for Native Affairs was antagonistic towards the nomination of Mbango. He said Mbango was not a suitable person than the deceased one. Zidwedwe was regarded as a suitable inkosi because he was a weakling who did not, like his father, Chakijana, decide to rise against the government. In contrast, Mbango was reported by the magistrate to be a war-loving man. The magistrate was therefore afraid that the reign of

⁸. SNA 1/1/429 Ref 1909/1133 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 March 1909. cf. Lower Thukela District Record Book, 10 April 1946.

⁹. 1/SGR 4/2/2/1 Ref 16/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 July 1941. cf. CNC 145 Ref 1913/1832 R M Stanger - CNC, 18 March 1913.

Mbango would not be a peaceful one.¹⁰

While isizwe was still mourning and the family having not met to decide on the successor of Zidwedwe, the affairs of isizwe were under Dlodlongo Mthembu. Dlodlongo was the chief induna as from the reign of Chakijana, Zidwedwe's father. He was the son of Makhosana from Bathenjini isizwe.¹¹

The decision taken by the family proved the under secretary's anticipation true because when izinduna came to the Stanger magistrate they were bringing the name of Mbango as the successor to the late prince Zidwedwe Zulu. Mbango was then appointed on 1 May 1909 to act as inkosi over AmaZulu in Ward No.7, Lower Thukela division on twelve months probation. His real appointment was officially confirmed on 14 June 1913. The confirmation coincided with the passing of the 1913 Land Act which was to have adverse impact on his land.¹²

¹⁰. CNC 242 Ref 1916/974 R M Stanger - CNC, 20 July 1916. cf. CNC 269 Ref 1917/178 R M Stanger - CNC, 15 April 1917.

¹¹. CNC 242 Ref 1916/974 R M Stanger - CNC, 20 July 1916. cf. CNC 269 Ref 1917/178 R M Stanger - CNC, 15 April 1917.

¹². N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. J. Grobler: A decisive clash, PP.41-49. B.J. Thomas: AmaZulu: Their last history, manners, customs and language, P.2.

Mbango built his umuzi on a lowveld overlooked by a remarkable mountain called "insika" (pillar) whence the name Ensikeni came. He became a polygamist inkosi with a total of six wives altogether. His wives were MaMlunge, MaGumede, MaMthembu, MaDlamini, MaNxumalo and MaMdluli. He affiliated hut No.3 (MaMthembu) to hut No.1 (MaMlunge).¹³

Manukanuka was reported by Mbango to isizwe as his real successor, seeing that he was the son of the first and great wife. Isizwe was requested to collect money for his education so that they would have an educated inkosi. The sum of over £200 was collected and Manukanuka was sent to Mhlanga College in Phoenix. Mhlanga was the Phoenix settlement where Gandhi started the newspaper known as the "Indian Opinion."¹⁴

Mbango Zulu later became fond of MaNxumalo, who was the fifth wife. He moved over to that umuzi with all his stock, personal effects and his herd of 43 cattle. The 19 head of cattle, received as lobolo for his daughter, Benzile, of hut number 1, were also removed from the first wife to MaNxumalo, thereby depriving Manukanuka of the cattle due to him as the heir of that particular indlu. That was subsequently going to result in the dispute for ubukhosi between Manukanuka and Phomoliya, the elder son of

¹³. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1929. cf. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home, 18 May 1995.

¹⁴. B. Pachai: The emergence of the question of the South African Indian as international issue 1860-1961, P.75.

the fifth wife.¹⁵

Any political upheaval that erupted had bearing on the history of Nodunga. For example, the First World war which had nothing to do with the Africans, indirectly led to the additional suffering of Mbango's isizwe.¹⁶

When the government recruited the Black South Africans to join the Union Defence forces, it promised that it would reconsider the oppressive laws directed to them at the close of the war. Britain should do all in her power to help the Africans regain that justice and freedom to which, as loyal British subjects were justly entitled.¹⁷

Instead of justice, Blacks were compensated with more injustice. They lost their land which was given to ex-white soldiers. Some of this land was taken from Nodunga isizwe under Mbango Zulu. Sani, which was one of his wards was put under the direct control of the state and was called Sani Crown land. It was entirely occupied by the Ngiba section. The state was reserving it for more whites to come.¹⁸

¹⁵. N1/4/3 - 40/78: File from the Lower Thukela magistrate's office, 4 July 1978.

¹⁶. J. Pampallis: Foundations of the New South Africa, P.46.

¹⁷. Ibid.

¹⁸. 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 Ref 16/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 July 1941. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/11 R M Stanger - SNA, 1 June 1929.

Amongst the first foreign farmers that occupied Mbango's land were Essery (Lucingo), William Eric Collins, A.E. Foss, I.M. Loonat and Sjoblom. Loonat named his farm Sani Journ, also known as Lot E Umvoti, and Sjoblom became famous for the dipping tank he had on his farm.¹⁹

Mbango's period of reign was, as anticipated by the under secretary of Native Affairs, not a peaceful one. Now and again were some faction fights amongst his people.²⁰

Ngutshana Ngiba, the second son of inkosi Mlungwana and a full brother of Mehlwana Ngiba, wanted to be an inkosi. He was therefore the cause of faction fights in 1920 and 1923. Mehlwana, who was entitled to ubukhosi after his father Mlungwana, had a son by the name of Zwelibanzi. He was about 40 years and lived on the Sani Crown Lands under inkosi Mbango. Zwelibanzi did not fight for Ngiba's ubukhosi, but his junior father did.²¹

The Nxumalo section of Nodunga was also against being put under Mbango. They wanted to be independent under Mambuka Nxumalo as their inkosi. That resulted in a faction fight in February 1924. The magistrate of Lower

¹⁹. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1929.

²⁰. CNC 242 Ref 1916/974 R M Stanger - CNC, 20 July 1916. cf. CNC 269 Ref 1917/178 R M Stanger - CNC, 15 July 1917.

²¹. 1/SGR 4/2/211 Ref 16/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 July 1941. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1929.

Thukela division, Mr Foxon, was aware of the brewing trouble emanating from the dissatisfaction of the Nxumalo people long before the faction fight started, but did nothing to bring about the solution.²²

The negligent action of the Stanger magistrate made Mbango not to report the faction fight to the police when it started and that discredited him. On 28 February 1925 the District Commander of the police informed the Chief Native Commissioner about the failure of inkosi Mbango to report the incident. He also made the Chief Native Commissioner aware that inkosi Mbango was showing preference to certain portions of his people, thus indirectly blaming Mbango for the prevalent violence.²³

It was not for the first time that Mbango was blamed for violence in his area. In 1913 he proved to be partial when the fight occurred in his isizwe. He obtained council for one section and not the other. The magistrate had therefore suggested on 30 January 1925 that if the Nxumalo people could be put under the control of Mambuka Nxumalo, that would have a beneficial result. He informed the Chief Native Commissioner that Mambuka had already recently effected a contract of the purchase of farm Lot "E" Armstrong which was situated at Mbango's ward. Mambuka was with no

²². N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi). 2 May 1973. cf. CNC 252 Ref 1919/840 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 August 1919.

²³. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his umuzi near Insika mountain, 11 May 1994.

doubt prompted by the influence he wielded there.²⁴

Mambuka, in his act of disobedience, erected umuzi in Lot E without the consent of inkosi Mbango. Mbango reprimanded him for not consulting him and his izinduna for whatever he wanted to do. Inkosi Mbango reported Mambuka's action to the Stanger magistrate who in turn informed the Chief Native Commissioner, Mr Norton.²⁵

Disturbed by Mambuka's activities, Mbango called "imbizo" (national convention) at his umuzi for the purpose of discussing the matter and to inaugurate an isivivane. Mbango succeeded to bring the Nxumalo section under control. They started referring to him as a pleasant fellow to meet and one who was of courteous demeanour. Mbango had however not carried the confidence of all his people as the Ngiba section was still not satisfied.²⁶

The disturbances in Nodunga made Mr Norton, the Chief Native Commissioner to be interested in the history of ubukhosi of Nodunga. He

²⁴. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1929. cf. SNA 1/1/181 Ref 1926/1894 R M Stanger - SNA, 30 June 1926. 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 Ref 16/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 5 September 1929.

²⁵. CNC 57/305 Ref 2/13/7 R M Stanger . CNC, 30 June 1925. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/31 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M - SNA, 14 March 1929.

²⁶. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. SNA 2/13/1 Ref 4084/1929 R M Stanger - CNC, 1 February 1929.

wanted to know more about the order of seniority in the family status of Mudli's descendants. According to the records in the magistrate's office, the genealogy was as follows:

Malandela		
Qwabe	Zulu	
	Mageba	
	Phunga	
	Ndaba	
	Jama	Nkwelo
	Mudli	
	Sgwebana	Thimuni
	Ndlovu	Chakijana
	Piti	Mbango ²⁷

Mr Norton asked the magistrate to consult Mbango for the verification of the genealogy. He was supposed to make a statement to the Stanger Commissioner as to the relative status and rank of Sgwebana and Thimuni in Mudli's family and similarly the relative family status of Ndlovu and Chakijana.²⁸

²⁷. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1929.

²⁸. SNA 2/13/7 Ref 4084/1929 R M Stanger - CNC, 1 February 1929.

For further investigation Mr Norton also wrote a letter to the Native Commissioner of Eshowe on 11 February 1929 saying that he should be very obliged to him if he would kindly obtain a statement from Lokoza Zulu, who, as he understood, lived in the ward of inkosi Nonqandela Zulu. Lokoza should place those men in the order of their seniority according to their family status and in relation to one another as he understood the situation.²⁹

Lokoza himself ranked as a son of Sigwebana kaMudli. He was begotten vicariously by Thimuni, his mother being okaMagubane, the widow of Thimuni's elder brother, Sigwebana Zulu. He should therefore be in a position to give an authoritative information.³⁰

Lokoza was that time very old and would not walk properly. Mr Norton suggested that the Eshowe Native Commissioner might send a reliable black man to him for that information. He also pointed out that a messenger to Lokoza should be accompanied by another African to act as a witness.³¹

The Chief Native Commissioner further recommended that the one to be sent to Lokoza should be able to write and that the statement should be

²⁹. CNC 3/73/72 Ref 4083/1927 R M Stanger - CNC, 11 February 1929.

³⁰. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. Shekela Khuzwayo, interviewed at his home near Thukela river, 29 October 1994.

³¹. CNC 260/53 Ref 1/71/5 CNC P M Burg - Native Commissioner, 11 February 1929.

recorded in Zulu and sent to him in the original form so that translation could be done in his office. Mr Norton did not wish that Lokoza be called to Eshowe unless he could manage to walk easily without inconveniences.³²

If Lokoza could manage to walk to Eshowe, he might, according to the Chief Native Commissioner, be given beef rations of 5 tins per day for a period not exceeding four days. It should be explained to Lokoza that the Chief Native Commissioner sought information on his behalf.³³

While Mr Norton, the Chief Native Commissioner, was waiting for the response from Lokoza through the Native Commissioner of Eshowe, the Stanger magistrate sent him a confidential minute in connection with inkosi Mbango where he verified the fact that Mbango was a son of the late inkosi Chakijana Zulu who was descendant from Nkwelo of the Zulu Royal house through the elder brother of Senzangakhona named Mudli. The Stanger magistrate sent the following genealogical tree to the Chief Native Commissioner:

³². CNC 2/13/7 Ref 4084/1929 R M Stanger to CNC, 1 February 1929. cf. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

³³. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

	Mageba		
	Phunga		
	Ndaba		
Jama	Nkwelo		Sojiyisa
	Mudli		Maphitha
	Sigwebana	Thimuni	Zibhebhu
	Chakijana	Ndlovu	Bhokwe
	Mbango	Piti ³⁴	

Another dissatisfaction amongst Mbango's subjects was observed in 1937. On 15 July 1937 Ngutshana Ngiba, the second son of Mlungwana and Sikhehle Ngiba, both being members of Mbango's isizwe, went to the Stanger magistrate, Mr G.V. Essery alias Mbabhama, and stated that they had been delegated to speak on behalf of the Ngiba section.³⁵

They stated that whenever they were together beerdrinking or otherwise, other members of isizwe came and molested them and that in some instances they had been assaulted by "Battle axes" (izizenze). They further said when inkosi Mbango was approached with regard to the matter he merely ignored it.³⁶

³⁴. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 20 February 1920. cf. D.B.K. Mhlongo: Ilanga laseLangeni, PP.13-48.

³⁵. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

³⁶. 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 Ref 16/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 July 1941.

The magistrate was also made to understand that one day the Ngiba section approached inkosi in connection with the assault and that the izinduna Mhlazana Gumede and Hlaba Mdanda openly declared in the presence of inkosi that a member of the Ngiba section had no right to come to the Nxumalo's or vice versa and that when that happened it was up to the member upon whom such a visit was paid to behead the visitor with a "Battle axe" and throw his body in an antbear hole.³⁷

Although that was said in the presence of inkosi, he said nothing. When Ngutshana pressed inkosi for comment he simply said he would put matters right, but since then many people of the Ngiba section had been injured. Some had received head injuries, one losing an eye, one his hand and another received a severe cut in between his fingers. All that was, according to Ngutshana and Sikhehle, caused by "Battle axes."³⁸

They proceeded by saying that it was clear that their inkosi favoured the other members of his isizwe, especially the Nxumalo section who resided close to him, and that they, the Ngiba section, were not favoured by him at all.³⁹

³⁷. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 30 February 1929. cf. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundu), 2 May 1973.

³⁸. CNC 2/13/7 Ref 37/305 R M Stanger - CNC, 15 August 1937.

³⁹. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 25 September 1937. cf. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home near Insika mountain, 13 October 1994.

Ngutshana and Sikhehle repeatedly begged the authorities to investigate the matter to avoid bloodshed, as some of their people had been willing to retaliate, but had been warned by them and promised that the matter would be reported to the Native Commissioner.⁴⁰

Mr G.V. Essery decided to arrange for a meeting in Mbango's area between the two rival sections for thorough investigation. It was held at the Glendale Police Post on Thursday, 16 September 1937. Inkosi Mbango and izinduna like Mhlazana Gumede, Mvuyana Mthethwa, Hawuyana Mshaba, Mansunsu Ncube and Alamu Ngiba attended the meeting. Ngutshana Ngiba and two hundred others, mostly the elders of isizwe, were also present.⁴¹

When the magistrate approached the venue of a meeting he realised that the two rival sections had gathered apart from one another. Mbango and members of the Nxumalo section gathered under the shade of some trees, two to three hundred metres from the station while Ngutshana and the men of the Ngiba section had collected close to the station buildings. They remained aloof even when the magistrate had called them together.⁴²

⁴⁰. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁴¹. CNC 2/13/7 Ref 37/305 R M Stanger - CNC, 23 September 1937. cf. Mjakuja dube. interviewed at his house near Insika mountain, 30 August 1994.

⁴². 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 23 September 1937.

Ngutshana Ngiba gave public utterance to the grievances of the Ngiba section. Makhongco Manzi blamed the Native Commissioner for not have personally spoken to Mbango with regard to the ill feeling existing amongst the members of isizwe. The magistrate was informed that the Ngiba's were then ready to fight if the molestation continued. All the Ngiba people said they did not want Mbango as their inkosi because he did not like them.⁴³

When Mbango was required to respond to charges against him he told the meeting that the source of all that trouble was Ngutshana Ngiba who wanted to be an inkosi, not that he was against the Ngiba people. Mbango was supported by Alamu Ngiba, Mhlazane and Mvuyana Mthethwa.⁴⁴

The findings of the Chief Native Commissioner was that the complaints regarding alleged attacks had been exaggerated with a view of securing a division of isizwe and the appointment of a Ngiba as inkosi. Mbango, although sluggish by nature, was regarded as one of the best amakhosi in the district. The magistrate therefore had no reason to believe that favours were shown towards the Nxumalo section.⁴⁵

⁴³. CNC 3/13/7 Ref G D 17/1/38 R M Stanger - CNC, 7 January 1938.

⁴⁴. CNC 2/13/7 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 15 August 1938. cf. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁴⁵. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 23 September 1937. cf. Zawisa Zulu kaMagulensi kaChakijana, interviewed at his home near Mvoti river, 9 October 1994.

The Chief Native Commissioner urged that efforts be made by the izinduna and elder members of the isizwe on both sides to restore peace. He pointed out that Mbango was a recognised inkosi and that not only should they regard him as such but give him their moral as well as active support. He, however, promised the Ngiba section that their complaints would be brought to the notice of the government and call them together again at a later date to inform them of the reply. He, however, held out no hope that isizwe would be divided and an inkosi appointed to govern the Ngiba section.⁴⁶

Mbango said that problem could be solved by removing Ngutshana and all other members of the Ngiba family from his area. That was however a drastic step to be taken particularly in view of the fact that little or no land was available in the district for occupation purposes.⁴⁷

When the Stanger magistrate informed the Chief Native Commissioner about the grievances of the Ngiba section he said he was altogether opposed to the creation of an additional ubukhosi in the Stanger district. He further promised to come personally to Glendale Police Station at a later date to tell isizwe and to warn the Ngiba section to cease forthwith their agitation to have isizwe divided.⁴⁸

⁴⁶. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁴⁷. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 29 March 1938.

⁴⁸. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/11 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 1 January 1938.

On 11 November 1937 Mr H.C. Lugg, the Chief Native Commissioner left for the Glendale Police camp via the Stanger magistrate with the aim of holding a meeting with the two rival sections of the isizwe of Nodunga. There were 150 people including the elders of isizwe from both sections.⁴⁹

Ngutshana Ngiba complained that his section had been the victim of unprovoked assaults from the part of the Nxumalo section and that no reason could be given for that hostile attitude. He then suggested that the remedy would be to separate them from the rest of isizwe in order to revive ubukhosi of the Ngiba section. They claimed the Sani Crown lands which was occupied entirely by the Ngiba section and also the adjoining farms on the Glendale heights.⁵⁰

Mbango denied the allegations made against the Nxumalo section and asserted that the whole trouble was due to the Ngiba people claiming to be recognised as a separate isizwe. He repeated that the solution would be the removal of Ngutshana from his area or to remove him (Mbango) and make Ngutshana inkosi over both sections of Nodunga.⁵¹

⁴⁹. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 5 December 1937.

⁵⁰. CNC 57/305 Ref 2/13/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 29 November 1938. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 26 February 1938. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home near Insika mountain, 29 May 1995.

⁵¹. 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 Ref 16/1/3/3 R M Stanger - CNC, 26 February 1938. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 3 April 1938. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

The Chief Native Commissioner failed to solve the problem and promised to consult the minister for Native Affairs. The relations between two sections remained bitter although no serious occurrences took place. The minister of Native Affairs was not prepared to accede to the request of Ngutshana. The Stanger magistrate, Mr Baxter, informed the Glendale Post Commander to request inkosi Mbango and Ngutshana to report at his office on Saturday, 5 January 1938 at 10 a.m. They should also bring so many of their followers as they might feel disposed to accompany them to the meeting. They were to be told about the ruling of the minister of Native Affairs, that he was anti-division of Nodunga isizwe.⁵²

The chaos prevalent in Mbango's area came to the notice of the Zulu royal house that showed great concern about it. Prince Mshiyeni Zulu consequently sent Prince Enock Zulu to Nodunga to find out what exactly the source of trouble was. Enock arranged his visit with the Stanger magistrate, Mr T.H. Green, through his attorneys Pullin & Low. The magistrate had no objection as long as he reported to him upon his arrival.⁵³

Enock came on 7 September 1938 and was welcomed by all Nodunga people at umuzi of inkosi Mbango Zulu. He was informed that the hostile attitude from the Ngiba section had deteriorated as the government was

⁵². 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 5 September 1938.

⁵³. NI/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

against their wishes. Enock therefore went back with good news to report to the Royal House.⁵⁴

On 11 October 1938 Mbango was selected by the Stanger magistrate to represent all the Lower Thukela district amakhosi at a meeting which would be addressed by the minister and secretary of Native Affairs at Eshowe. although he was at that time not feeling well he promised to honour the request of the magistrate and attended that meeting.⁵⁵

While away Mr William Eric Collins, a farmer on Lot D Umvoti, which was part of Mbango's area, decided to remove Mbango's people from the farm. They appealed for magistrate's assistance but the magistrate, G.A. Whitelow, quoted Section 3 of Ordinance (Natal) 2/1855 which authorised Mr Collins to remove such people from his farm. When Mbango came back, the magistrate told him that his people should bow to the eviction orders. That might arise suspicion that the aim of delegating Mbango to Eshowe was to rob him of his land while away.⁵⁶

⁵⁴. Mahulana Mbokazi kaNkubela kaDlozi kaNyathela, interviewed at Mjakuja's umuzi next to Mvoti river, 8 october 1994. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 11 September 1938.

⁵⁵. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 13 September 1938.

⁵⁶. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/11 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 July 1939. cf. NCP 7/1/3 Ref 34 Agriculture and Grants of land, PP.249-259.

When the magistrate favoured Collins in his evil act of removing the indigenous people of Nodunga from his farm, Mr I.M. Loonat, one of the farmers in Mbango's area, decided to follow suit. Loonat had bought the farm Wellvale, formerly owned by the late Badul and he in turn sold it to seven other Indians. He therefore wanted to remove the Black people from it so that they would not be a problem to the new owners. The new owners had commented that they were buying the farm, not the people.⁵⁷

Malalephenduka Nxumalo and Jeremiah Nxumalo, both representatives of the victims of eviction orders proceeded to the clerk's office of the Native Commissioner on 4 July 1939 to ask the magistrate to intercede on their behalf, seeing that Mgawuli Nxumalo and 17 other members of isizwe had already been ejected from the farm. They requested if Loonat could not give them places to reside upon on his adjoining farm, Sani Journ, because otherwise they did not know where to go to. That was their place of birth, they knew no other place. The magistrate told them to come again on the following Tuesday morning, 11 July 1939, to hear what conclusion had been reached between him and Loonat.⁵⁸

⁵⁷. J.J. Anderson: The Natal Land and colonisation in Colonial Natal. P.182. cf. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home near Mvoti river, 29 October 1995.

⁵⁸. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 5 October 1939. cf. Papana Zulu kaMbango kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his umuzi next to Mvoti river, 2 July 1995.

When they called in Mr Loonat allowed them to reside on Sani Journ (also known as Lot E Umvoti). He told them to live there free for one year, after which they could pay rent. The other condition was that they were only restricted to the plateau (nkangala) portion of the farm, not in the valley where Indians resided. They could also graze their stock which could be dipped at Sjoblom's dipping tank near by. Mr Loonat also offered to purchase their existing huts on the farm Wellvale. The plateau to which that section of Mbango's people was restricted was inexplicably barren and not used for farming while the Indians were given the fertile low lying area near Mvoti river. That was part of human victimization.⁵⁹

On the following day (12 July 1939) the Native Commissioner invited inkosi Mbango to his office to explain what arrangement had been arrived at between him and Mr Loonat regarding the 18 people evicted from the farm. The invincibility of the Whites left inkosi Mbango with no option but submission to the state of affairs.⁶⁰

The land problems in Mbango's area accumulated day by day. Mr Collins had sold part of his land to two farmers, Umlaw and Mr Dunn, the former being an Indian. Umlaw fenced the farm and closed the road leading to Hlawukana's dipping tank where members of isizwe were dipping their

⁵⁹. NDR 5/22 Ref 288/1939 R M Stanger - CNC, 15 September 1939.

⁶⁰. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

cattle.⁶¹

Ndleleni Mdletshe and five other members of inkosi Mbango Zulu went to the magistrate to report that they had nowhere to dip their cattle because Sjoblom and Suleman Hoosen, other farmers that had been given Mbango's land, required dipping fees for each dipping and that they did not allow their cattle to graze when being driven to and from the dipping tank. The magistrate asked Mr Pike, the stock inspector, to induce Sjoblom, to allow Mbango's people to use his dipping tank without payment, which he successfully did.⁶²

The dipping tank problem was followed by the critical civil case against inkosi Mbango. It was centred around Mashishi, the widow of Mlilwana Mnyandu and pivoted between Mbango and Mabhulana Xulu. Mashishi was Mabhulana's intended wife for which he had paid three head of cattle. She jilted Mabhulana and was always seen at Mbango's umuzi. Mabhulana accused inkosi Mbango of living in immorality with Mashishi. The case was tried by Mbango's two izinduna, Mvuyana Mthethwa and Makhosana Mthembu. They found Mabhulana guilty of having slandered inkosi and claimed a beast from him which was taken to Madlaka Mdluli, Mbango's

⁶¹. 1/SGR 4/1/2 Ref SNA 41/1941 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 August 1941. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 15 September 1939.

⁶². CNC 1/1/333 Ref 28/41 R M Stanger - CNC, 8 February 1941. cf. Papana Zulu kaMbango kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his home, 21 June 1995.

brother-in-law.⁶³

Mabhulana appealed to his solicitor, Maurice Christopher Smithers who in turn informed the Native Commissioner to investigate the matter. The investigation took place on 27 February 1940 at the magistrate's office. The magistrate was not impressed by the behaviour of Mabhulana who persisted in laughing while inkosi was addressing the magistrate that he went to an extent of rebuking him to desist such conduct. Mbango and Mabhulana eventually came to reconciliation before the magistrate. Mabhulana was allowed by inkosi to continue residing in his ward. That was against the step that Mbango had decided to take, to chase Mabhulana away from his area.⁶⁴

Instead of gratitude, Mabhulana further displayed discourtesy towards inkosi Mbango. He moved his umuzi from one place to another in inkosi's ward without notification thereof to inkosi or his induna. By so doing he contravened the Native Law and Custom. Mbango decided to send Mabhulana a message that because he did not honour him he should move out of his ward. Mabhulana informed his solicitor who told the Stanger

⁶³. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 5 October 1932. cf. Zawisa Zulu kaMagulensi kaChakijana. interviewed at his umuzi near Mvoti river, 21 May 1995.

⁶⁴. Lower Thukela District Record Book (Magistrates and Commissioners), 10 April 1996. cf. CNC 315 Ref 1942/464 R M Stanger - CNC 28 April 1942.

magistrate to tell Mbango that he had no authority to make such an order.⁶⁵

When Mbango was still confused by the disobedience of Mabhulana, an issue of the anonymous letter from abakwaNgiba emerged on 15 May 1941. They complained about Desai, an Indian storekeeper at Glendale who brewed illicit liquor known as "isiqatha." To aggravate matters that Indian invited girls to partake of it until they were intoxicated. In their intoxication they misbehaved themselves at the store. That was said to take place on Sundays.⁶⁶

The Nodunga people could not take legal steps against that Indian for he was a friend of a sergeant of South African Police at Glendale. The Africans were dissatisfied because they were not allowed to brew "isiqatha" and they asked that to stop. Isizwe would have alternatively reported that matter to the Native Commissioner at Stanger, but feared that their names would be taken down and that the Indian would eventually get hold of them, pass them to the sergeant and find themselves molested by the police.⁶⁷

⁶⁵. CNC 215 Ref 1941/468 R M Stanger - CNC, 18 May 1941. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 13 October 1939.

⁶⁶. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁶⁷. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 12 May 1941. cf. SNA 1/1/22 Ref 709/1941 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 July 1941, Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home near Nsiken mountain, 19 September 1995.

Mbango kept Desai's store under observation. His official witness who resided within three kilometres thereof reported that no liquor drinking and dancing of girls when drunk since 15 June 1941. It was then obvious that no liquor was then supplied from Desai's store.⁶⁸

The catastrophe that befell inkosi Mbango on June 1941 was the passing away of his child. On 10 June the Lower Thukela Native Commissioner expressed his office's deep condolence with inkosi Mbango in his loss.⁶⁹

On 21 July 1941 inkosi Mbango leased the land called Lot 14 Umvoti from Sulliman Hoosen. That land was not in a prescribed "Native area." Mbango stated that there was very little, if any suitable arable land on the Glendale commonage.

Inkosi Mbango had been shifted by the Indian farmer from the fertile land to the one which practically all consisted of stoney ridges. His councillors and members of isizwe told Mbango that inkosi could not exist upon that land.⁷⁰

⁶⁸. SNA 1/1/418 Ref 1941/3765 R M Stanger - SNA, 13 June 1941.

⁶⁹. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 13 June 1941. cf. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his umuzi next to Nsikeneni mountain, 28 July 1995.

⁷⁰. N1/1/3 (40): File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/2/7 Ref NE 78/1941 R M Stanger - SNA, 19 July 1941.

The Stanger magistrate, M.B. Snyman sympathised with inkosi Mbango. He tried to influence the provincial representative in Pietermaritzburg to stop the Indian infiltration into Mbango's area. In his motivation he stated that Mbango Zulu had no land and was unable to obtain any under lease from any private owner in the Lower Thukela district. As one of the most important amakhosi of the Zulu nation he could not enter into occupation of land as a squatter labourer and perform such work. The South African Native Trust unfortunately owned no land in Mbango's ward. The magistrate recommended that he at least be provided with land on condition that he cultivated not more than 12 acres of it and grazed only the limited number of cattle.⁷¹

While Mbango was still pre-occupied with the land issue, the acting Paramount inkosi Mshiyeni Zulu, requested the Stanger Native Commissioner to authorise inkosi Mbango to attend a meeting in Pietermaritzburg on 13 November 1941. Mbango represented 11 Lower Thukela amakhosi. He was accompanied by induna Maphuphu Dube and his matbearer, Nyoni Dube. The Stanger magistrate told him to report his arrival to the Native Commissioner of Pietermaritzburg.⁷²

⁷¹. 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 Ref 16/1/3/5 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 July 1941. cf. T.G. M'Call: South Africa, P.297. B. Pachai: The International Aspect of South African Indian Question 1860-1971, P.3.

⁷². Ilanga lase-Natal: 18 November 1942, P.9. cf. 1/MPO 1/1/10 Ref 2/45/2 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 22 July 1942 NTS 249 Ref 78/53(3): Acting chief Mshiyeni Zulu, 1 August 1941. URU 1619 Ref 3032: Mshiyeni Zulu, 5 December 1941.

In December 1941 Mbango ordered a pair of handcuffs from Pinetown but instead of being sent to Stanger it was sent to Tongaat. After deep investigation it was discovered at Tongaat Police Station, sent back to Pinetown so that it was re-posted to Stanger on 6 March 1942. Mbango wanted to detect especially cases of isishimeyane.⁷³

On 4 April 1944, Mbango went to the Commissioner's office to arrange a will in terms of Section 104(3) of Native Code. He affiliated MaMthembu to MaMlunge Mabaso, MaMdluli to MaGumede and MaDlamini to indlu of MaNxumalo. Mbango stated that in the event of MaNxumalo and MaDlamini leaving no male issue the heirship to ubukhosi would devolve to his indlunkulu wife's son, Manukanuka and his children.⁷⁴

That will was against the first arrangement whereby the son of the first wife, Manukanuka, was reported by Mbango to be his real successor and made isizwe to pay for his education. According to the first arrangement Manxumalo and her affiliated hut would only succeed to his own indlunkulu and its affiliated hut after the ikhohlo and its affiliated hut had failed to provide an heir. Mbango was congratulated by the Chief Native Commissioner and wished that other amakhosi could follow his excellent

⁷³. CNC 242 Ref 1942/974 R M Stanger - CNC, 4 April 1942. cf. 1/SGR 4/1/7 Ref PVS 245/1903 R M Stanger - SNA, 13 October 1903. 1/SGR 4/1/5 Ref LTD 1404/1946 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 October 1946.

⁷⁴. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 5 May 1944. cf. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

example.⁷⁵

On 17 August 1946 the Stanger magistrate, Mr K.J. Mumbrauer, sent a letter to inkosi Mbango where he threatened to take steps against the Sani Crown Lands residents for having failed to pay rent for several years. He would be at the Glendale Sugar Mill on 28 August 1946, therefore Mbango's people should come for payment. Mbango told izinduna to warn the defaulters.⁷⁶

In 1947 Mbango was bed-ridden and could not attend to his duties properly. His people who occupied Sani Crown Lands took advantage of his ill health and did not pay rent. According to figures he had 807 taxpayers of whom 554 were in arrears. On 23 March 1947 the Chief Native Commissioner had recommended that Mbango be given half bonus for the financial year 1948/49 in terms of the Native Affairs General Circular No.28 of 1947. The reason being that his people did not pay accordingly.⁷⁷

The illness of inkosi Mbango cost his life on 4 November 1948. He died at his umuzi at Nodunga at 7 p.m. Madwala Cele went to the Native

⁷⁵. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1972.

⁷⁶. W.M. Watson: Debates of the Legislative Council, Vol VI, P.582. cf. NCP 7/1/31 Ref 2N: Taxes, P.4. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 29 August 1946.

⁷⁷. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 18 September 1947. cf. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

Commissioner's office on the following day to report the death of Mbango. Madwala was Mbango's official witness who lived near Mvoti river at Glendale.⁷⁸

Mvuyana Mthethwa became a regent after the death of Mbango. He had been Mbango's chief induna and his appointment was recommended by the Stanger magistrate, W.H. Martin.⁷⁹

There were two claimants to ubukhosi, Phomoliya and Manukanuka. On 29 November 1949 Mvuyana sent a report to the office of the Station Commander about people preparing for a fight at Nodunga. After consultation with the magistrate, the Station Commander proceeded to Nodunga to investigate the report of Mvuyana. He interviewed several of the elderly people of the isizwe who told him that the unrest emanated from the intended appointment of Phomoliya, being the son of the fifth wife. They threatened that serious bloodshed would occur if Phomoliya was appointed as inkosi. Many people were determined to fight.⁸⁰

⁷⁸. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁷⁹. Papana Zulu kaMbango kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his umuzi near Mvoti river, 30 June 1995.

⁸⁰. N1/4/3 Ref 40/78: File from the Lower Thukela Magistrate's Office, 4 July 1978. cf. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home near Nsikeni mountain, 11 October 1995. N1/1/3(40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

The members of isizwe were also dissatisfied with the interference of a solicitor in their tribal affairs. That solicitor supported the appointment of Phomoliya. They asked the Station Commander to bring that problem of a solicitor to the attention of the Native Affairs Authorities. The rivalry for ubukhosi was a matter that had to be considered by the Native Affairs Department rather than a solicitor. The majority of isizwe wanted Manukanuka to be inkosi. They argued that it was the "Native custom" that the first son of the first wife be appointed as inkosi. The Station Commander was also informed that Manukanuka's education was sponsored by isizwe.⁸¹

Those who supported Phomoliya argued that his mother, MaNxumalo's lobolo was paid by Mbango with Zidwedwe's cattle and many years after the marriage to Domolo Nxumalo, Mbango announced that Phomoliya should become inkosi as Zidwedwe had no children. That announcement occurred after Manukanuka had already been declared Mbango's heir.⁸²

The Station Commander proposed that Manukanuka be appointed as inkosi as it was obvious that he was a rightful successor to Mbango. The final decision should, however, be taken by the Department of Native Affairs.

⁸¹. N1/2/7 Ref 57/302: File from the Lower Thukela Magistrate's Office, 6 November 1978. cf. SNA 1/1/217 Ref 57/305 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 July 1950.

⁸². CNC 315 Ref 1918/464 R M Stanger - CNC, 11 September 1918. cf. N1/1/3 (44) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

The Department sent the magistrate to Nodunga to make isizwe decide who they wanted to be their inkosi. He told Manukanuka and Phomoliya to go and stand far apart and said "those who want Manukanuka should go to him and those who want Phomoliya to do likewise." All but one went to Manukanuka. The magistrate announced there and then that the whole isizwe of Nodunga would be under Manukanuka as their inkosi.⁸³

After having been appointed as inkosi, Manukanuka took back all the cattle that his father, Mbango, had taken to umuzi of MaNxumalo, Phomoliya's mother. They were returned to okaMabaso, Manukanuka's mother, who was the first wife of inkosi Mbango Zulu.⁸⁴

Manukanuka's first wife, MaDube, did not have a boy and heir to ubukhosi, the same with the second wife, MaMdletshe. The boy came from the third wife, MaGumede. MaGumede was affiliated (ngenisa) to indlunkulu (great hut) and her son became known as Qedisono Zulu.⁸⁵

Educationwise Manukanuka achieved Std 9 and he was the first inkosi amongst the descendants of Mudli to have achieved such standard of

⁸³. SNA 1/1/217 Ref 57/305 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 July 1950. cf. Zawisa Zulu kaMagulensi kaChakijana kaThimuni, interviewed at his home near Mvoti river, 2 October 1995.

⁸⁴. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

⁸⁵. SNA 1/1/4073 Ref 57/305 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 July 1950. cf. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his home, 15 September 1995. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

education. He wished to end illiteracy in his isizwe by opening his own private night school at his umuzi where he educated members of isizwe. There were only two schools in his area, i.e. Island Farm School and Bhidakhona C.P. School. These schools were very far apart and that made the majority of his people not to receive education at all.⁸⁶

Manukanuka maintained the ward system in order to facilitate administration. Each ward was put under the control of induna. The induna could even be appointed for the members of isizwe on white farms. The izinduna were divided in the following order according to different wards:

<u>Induna</u>	<u>Ward</u>
1. Jalifane Makhathini	Glendale
2. Mshikashika Dlamini	Mzumbe
3. Philemon Dube	KwaSathane
4. Mzini Dube	Esane
5. Magazini Mfeka	Ncumbane
6. Ndoda Mhlaba	Mgigimbe

Izinduna formed part of the tribal council and court. They heard minor cases in their wards. The important ones were referred to inkosi.⁸⁷

⁸⁶. SNA 1/1/217 Ref 411/50 R M Stranger - SNA. 18 August 1950. cf. F. Wolfson: Some aspects of Native Administration in Natal, P.6. The Natal Advertiser: 2 October 1925, P.10.

⁸⁷. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

The Nodunga isizwe was amongst others consisting of the following main surnames, namely Gcwensa, Ntanzi, Khuzwayo, Nxumalo, Ngiba, Mthembu, Dube, Gumede and many other small groups of Zulu people. What concerned their language and culture should be viewed against the background of their connections with their inkosi. As the sign of acknowledgement of their inkosi, the Zulu customs were followed.⁸⁸

Religiouswise, the Nodunga isizwe under Manukanuka as inkosi was strongly traditional orientated and observed ancestral practices, even those that belonged to one of the many missionary churches or sectors like Lutheran and Roman Catholic church. The followers of the sectorial Zionists and Shembe groups also appeared, though not in big numbers. Manukanuka was a member of the United Ethiopian Holy Baptist Church and also a dedicated ancestral believer.⁸⁹

Economically the Nodunga isizwe cultivated mealies, corn, pumpkin, madumbe and lemon. The cattle had dramatically decreased during the reign of Manukanuka. Only inkosi still kept a large herd of cattle. An important source of income was obtained through the offering of labour to the neighbouring White and Indian sugar farms as well as the neighbouring

⁸⁸. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 22 August 1950. cf. B.J. Thomas: AmaZulu: Their history, manners, customs and language, PP.2-145.

⁸⁹. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. Inkanyiso yase - Natal: 3 January 1894.

towns and cities like Durban and Johannesburg.⁹⁰

Socio-economically the cattle continually remained the important factor in life especially with regard to the religion, lobolo, socio-ceremonial life and agriculture. The traditional social structure was maintained with particular emphasis on the patrilineal principle, exogamy and taboo-regulations with closely related families. The use of cattle for lobolo had diminished due to the fact that white farmers had discouraged black people from keeping cattle which they thought made people to be economically independent.⁹¹

Where lobolo was paid with money, as it is common nowadays, the value of money per cow varied in general between R30.00 and R40.00 and could even be higher depending on the girl's education. As part of marriage negotiation, *imvulamlo* or *ingqamazinyo* was still made use of during Manukanuka's reign. The *ingquthu* cow remained a sign of virginity.⁹²

In socio-ceremonial life the *ukuqoma* which was accompanied by the important role of *amaqhikiza* was generally practised whereas the application of *ukungena* and *ngenisa* customs was no more generally practised. The *ukweshwama* or feast of the first fruit was also only practised on local basis

⁹⁰. N1/2/7 Ref 57/305: File from the Lower Thukela Magistrate's Office, 6 November 1978.

⁹¹. I/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - CNC, 29 October 1950. cf. Mjakuja Dube, interviewed at his umuzi near Nsikeneni mountain, 13 September 1995. I/SGR 4/1/13/1 Ref LTD 30/6996 R M Stanger - SNA, 13 August 1970.

⁹². NCP 8/5/13 Ref C1702/4: Native Law (Limits to number of cattle), P.18.

and no more tribally practised.⁹³

During Manukanuka's reign the *ukuhlobonga* or *ukusoma* custom (external sexual intercourse) was busy disappearing with the result that the extra-marriage births took place. The disappearing of this custom was caused by the girls of *isizwe* who went to work in cities where they became corrupted as they mingled with the location dwellers who misled them.⁹⁴

The traditional attire for men as well as women with reference to all age groups was sporadically noticed in daily life and generally seen during traditional ceremonies like marriage ceremony.⁹⁵

The eviction of Nodunga people reached climax during the reign of Manukanuka. In May 1971 all the few remaining inhabitants of Ncumbane ward were given one month notice to evacuate and were not given the alternative living space. They were only told that by the end of July they should have gone.⁹⁶

⁹³. N1/1/3 (40) 7: file from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. SNA 1/1/217 Ref 392/53 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 July 1950.

⁹⁴. N1/2/7 Ref 57/305: File from the Lower Thukela Magistrate's Office, 6 November 1978.

⁹⁵. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. CNC 2/13/7 Ref 4073/1955 R M STanger - CNC, 18 November 1955.

⁹⁶. Themba Madlala kaNdabakazipheli kaZibhebhu, interviewed at his home at Qoqa ward, 18 September 1994.

It was then that the people scattered all over in search of better living space. The majority went to Ndwedwe, some to Maphumulo, some to KwaZulu, some to Mnyundwini next to Groutville and some sought shelter in slummy areas around Stanger like Ntshawini, Mawowane and Madanishini.⁹⁷

By 1973 inkosi Manukanuka Zulu had himself been told to leave his land and settle at Maphumulo. He appealed in vain to the British government. Manukanuka was settled by the Cele people under inkosi Phangindawo Cele. After that he tried in vain to purchase the Langespruit farm for his isizwe. The evidence showed that the Cele people were the victims of eviction orders from that area. Therefore the Cele's should be the legal claimants of that land.⁹⁸

In 1975 inkosi Manukanuka became ill. That became the continuous ailment that cost his life in July 1977. He had arranged with the Sathane ward people under the leadership of Samuel Ngiba, to pressurize Ulundi for the return of his land, starting with that part known as the Crown land.⁹⁹

⁹⁷. NCP 7/1/3 Ref 3A: Grants of Land, P.259.

⁹⁸. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 December 1957. cf. MaGumede Zulu, interviewed at her home near Thrings Post, 11 May 1995.

⁹⁹. N1/2/7 Ref 57/305: File from the Lower Thukela Magistrate's Office, 6 November 1978. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/2/7 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 April 1948.

Although the two families of both Nodunga izizwe had come closer to each other at Maphumulo, the re-union between the two factions was still impossible. There was always an argument as to who the indlunkulu was. Ndlovu's faction at Maphumulo was totally prepared for the amalgamation if inkosi Manukanuka Zulu surrendered his ubukhosi. The latter was not prepared to relinquish his ubukhosi, his argument being that he was an indlunkulu and would therefore not be subjected.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰. N1/4/3 Ref 40/78: File from Lower Thukela Magistrate's Office, 4 July 1978. cf. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu kaThimuni, interviewed at his royal residence known as "Ezintandaneni", 14 November 1995.

CHAPTER 5***THE ACTIVITIES OF NDLOVU'S DESCENDANTS***

In this chapter we will discuss the activities of Ndlovu's descendants viz. Piti, Ndoda and Bafanose. Piti was one of Ndlovu's sons. He was born in 1914 while Ndlovu was at Mafunze where he had been exiled to after his release from St. Helena and Pietermaritzburg gaol. He was the son of Ndlovu's third wife, MaMthethwa.¹

Ndlovu kaThimuni had nine wives viz. MaNqungwe, MaMhlongo, MaMthethwa, MaSokhulu, MaNgema, MaMnyandu, MaSokhulu, MaNgobese and MaMthembu. His indlunkulu (chief wife), MaNqungwe, had a son by the name of Zibhebhu. He died while still very young and his mother died shortly thereafter. Ndlovu then decided to take the third wife, MaMthethwa, who was affiliated to indlunkulu.²

MaMthethwa was the daughter of Mashwili, an inkosi of the Mthethwa isizwe of Oyengweni under Maphumulo Magisterial district. This isizwe occupied the area along Zinsimba river, which is the tributary of Thukela river. MaMthethwa's father, Mashwili, was one of the descendants of

¹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 2/45/3 R M Maphumtalo - CNC. 3 May 1938. cf C-8782: The Marques of Ripon to Governor Sir W.F. Hely - Hutchins, 18 November 1899.

². NI/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi). 2 May 1973.

Dingiswayo, an inkosi of abakwaMthethwa in KwaZulu where Shaka grew up. His father was Mgoye kaDingiswayo.³

The son of his second wife, MaMhlongo, was called Ntabeni. He could not become an inkosi for various reasons. He was from "ikhohlo" (the non-ruling house). His mother was not affiliated to indlunkulu and he was also not from the royal family as MaMthethwa was. However, Ntabeni proved to be a great rival to Piti. He wanted to be made an inkosi as he was older than Piti.⁴

He therefore disregarded the traditional procedure of hereditary succession bequeathed by the forefathers. The squabble he caused was symbolic of disobedience and discourtesy not only to his father, but also to the whole isizwe which had tried in vain to convince him.⁵

Ndlovu, realising that Piti's life was at stake, decided to adopt "ukufihla custom", whereby an heir is reared by other relatives not in his father's umuzi so that their enemies would not kill him. Piti was therefore taken to

³. SNA 1/1/335 Ref 3769/06 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 July 1906. cf. C. Webb and J.B. Wright: Stuart James Archive, Vol 4, P.200.

⁴. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at his isigodlo known as "Ezintandaneni." 15 September 1995.

⁵. Maroboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni" (the royal residence). 17 June 1994.

his mother's people, to Mashwili's isigodlo, when he was still very young. Therefore instead of growing up at his own home, Piti was reared up by Mashwili's people.⁶

As he grew up he was herding cattle with the future famous traditional doctor, Khekhekhe Mthethwa, his cousin. He was older than Khekhekhe and therefore became his "ingqwele" (a hero boy at the grazing fields) who taught him some skills of stick-fighting.⁷ When Piti reached the school-going age he was taken to Ongoye for schooling. From there he went to Durban where he worked as a municipality police known as "black jack."⁸

Piti's father, Ndlovu, grew up until he was very old and weak to fulfil his daily routine work. Isizwe, with the great influence of inkosi Mbango Zulu, decided to appoint Ntabeni, as a regent. Ntabeni did not want to be regarded as a regent, but as a real inkosi, still basing his argument on the fact that he was older than Piti and therefore deserved ubukhosi.⁹

⁶. No.22/3/2(22): File from Maphumulo Magistrate's office, 20 March 1973. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 December 1926.

⁷. J. Clegg: Ukubuyisa isidumbu, P.10. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/20/11 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 14 October 1928.

⁸. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/21 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 14 December 1946. cf. Maroboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni" (royal residence), 17 June 1994.

⁹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 30 May 1928. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 Ref 16/1/3/3 R M Stanger - SNA, 21 July 1941.



SHEKELA KHUZWAYO

His father, Ndlovu, decided to demote Ntabeni and even went to an extent of going to Pietermaritzburg to inform the Secretary of Native Affairs that Ntabeni was not entitled to ubukhosi, but Piti. People of isizwe were also not satisfied with Ntabeni. He maltreated them, threatening them with a big knobkerrie that he was always carrying.¹⁰

Ndlovu said the government should, however, allow him to carry that knobkerrie wherever he went and should not be harassed by the police as it was the case with people who carried knobkerries whose heads could not fit in one's mouth. Ntabeni went to Johannesburg, with his knobkerrie, where he worked as an ordinary man.¹¹ He later built his umuzi and called it "Ekwaphucweni," meaning place of the deprived. He said he was unfairly treated and deprived of his privilege to be an inkosi after his father.¹²

After Ntabeni, Mbecane Zulu became a regent. Mbecane was from Eshowe Magisterial district. He was the son of Lokoza Zulu who was one of Thimuni's sons. Therefore relationship wise Mbecane was Piti's father as

¹⁰. 1/SGR 4/1/8 Ref P M 1171/03 R M Stanger - SNA, 6 July 1903. cf. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni" (the royal residence), 11 August 1994.

¹¹. 1/MPO 3/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 30 July 1928. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/1 Ref 2/1/8 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 18 April 1932.

¹². Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at "Ezintandaneni" (royal residence), 21 August 1994.

he was his father's brother, from another umuzi called "Ngwegweni."¹³

On 18 April 1932, the Maphumulo amakhosi and their izinduna were invited by the Secretary of Native Affairs. He told them that according to Bantu Affairs Commissioner they were no more supposed to give sites for church buildings, schools and business areas in the reserves. They had to get authority from the government. Inkosi who would violate that ruling would face charges.¹⁴

Mbecane was a very weak regent. He was indifferent towards the important affairs of isizwe, instead incited people against one another which resulted in sporadic fights in Nodunga area. Isizwe of Nodunga consequently suggested that Mbecane be replaced by his brother, Nompalaza Zulu, who was exhibiting good leadership qualities. His family refused, presumably fearing that, that might result in enmity between Mbecane and Nompalaza.¹⁵

The fiasco of isizwe to gain Nompalaza led it to a unanimous decision that Kheme Mjangwane Guma be made a regent. Like Mbecane Zulu, he was

¹³. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at Ezintandaneni royal residence, 28 August 1994. C - 5892 P.494: Mr Osborn to Sir A. Havelock, 19 June 1890.

¹⁴. 1/MPO 3/1/1 Ref 2/1/8 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 April 1932. cf. Shekela Khuzwayo kaBabana, interviewed at his home next to Thukela river, 24 May 1994.

¹⁵. Shekela Khuzwayo kaBabana, interviewed at his home next to Thukela river, 17 August 1994.

also very much unsuitable for that position. He was forced to resign in favour of Madilaya Ntshumayelo Zulu.¹⁶

Madilaya was one of Ndlovu's sons and therefore brother to Piti. He subjected himself to the laws of the country and always wanted to get permission from the government for whatever he wished to do. On 9 August 1933 he applied for the authority to hold a two days hunt. The authority was given by the Chief Native Commissioner through the magistrate.¹⁷

Madilaya Zulu did not attend ceremonies organised for the white people. He knew that the aim was to enhance white supremacy. On 16 July 1934 King George visited Pietermaritzburg and all amakhosi were invited. Amakhosi like Phunqu Ndimande, Dingumuzi Luthuli and the acting inkosi Mavutshwa Gumede from Maphumulo attended, but Madilaya refused to attend.¹⁸

Again on 27 July 1934 all amakhosi were invited to Showe to grace the visit of the Governor General. Amakhosi like Maqhilimane Ntuli and

¹⁶. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 11 January 1928. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/1 Ref 2/1/8 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 18 April 1932.

¹⁷. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

¹⁸. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 2/10/4 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 27 July 1934. cf. 1/SGR 4/2/2/10 Ref 2/13/2 R M Stanger - SNA, 15 March 1934.

Mavutshwa Gumede from Maphumulo attended, but not Madilaya Zulu.¹⁹

When the King George Jubilee celebration was held on 9 October 1935 at Boffa and Boffa Store in Maphumulo area, everyone expected to see Madilaya amongst the Maphumulo amakhosi because it was nearer to Nodunga where he was an inkosi. The people were surprised to discover that Madilaya preferred staying at home rather than attending the celebration.²⁰

When Piti was just about to take over as an inkosi Madilaya decided to hold a huge hunt that would last for three days. On 16 July 1936 he requested the Maphumulo magistrate to allow him to hold a hunt within the limits of his ward on 25 July 1936. That was the last hunt held under ubukhosi of Madilaya Zulu.²¹

Madilaya safeguarded the position of his brother until Piti was ready to be installed as the real successor to his father, Ndlovu kaThimuni. He was loved by the whole isizwe and the eventual handing over of power to Piti

¹⁹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 16 July 1935.

²⁰. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 2/10/4 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 27 July 1934. cf. Shekela Khuzwayo kaBabana, interviewed at his umuzi next to Thukela river, 21 May 1994.

²¹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 3/8/3 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 25 July 1935. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 27 July 1935.

was a smooth and peaceful one.²²

Piti, like his father, was a polygamous inkosi. He had eight wives altogether and they were MaNgubane, MaMthembu, MaBhengu, MaCele, MaNkwanyana, MaDladla, MaXulu and MaZikode.²³

Inkosi Piti made a grievous mistake by marrying MaNgubane, the daughter of Sibindi Ngubane who assisted the British troops against Piti's father, Ndlovu, during the Bhambatha uprising. Ndlovu died having cursed Sibindi. He said there would be no relationship between him and the Ngubane people before reconciliation. Before reconciliation Piti married Sibindi's daughter. It was alleged that their marriage therefore did not enjoy the blessing of the ancestral spirits.²⁴

Piti maintained the original division of his land into different wards and each ward had its own induna. Sondlo Mathaba was made "undunankulu"

²². Shekela Khuzwayo kaBabana, interviewed at his home next to Thukela river, 15 June 1994.

²³. N1/1/3 (40)7: File from Chief Minister's office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. No.22/3/2/22: File from Maphumulo magistrate's office, 22 March 1973.

²⁴. Rev. George Mngoma ka-Obed kaSehlaŝenyuka, interviewed at his umuzi next to Qaqeni Store, 28 August 1996. cf. Ilanga lase-Natal: 3 April 1906, P.2. P M 1906/826 Ref 61 R M Maphumulo - Prime Minister, 12 July 1906. The Natal Mercury: 2 June 1906, P.5.

(premier) of inkosi Piti.²⁵

Inkosi Piti was in constant contact with the regent in the Zulu royal family, Prince Mshiyeni Zulu. Mshiyeni acted as the king in the place of Nyangayezizwe Zulu who was a minor. Sondlo Mathaba therefore, used to accompany inkosi Piti on his way to KwaZulu. They sometimes travelled long distances on foot, together with inkosi Mbango Zulu of Nodunga No 2, from Maphumulo to Mahhashini in order to discuss matters of interest with the Zulu royal family.²⁶

Ndlovu and Chakijana had brought about full reconciliation between the Zulu royal house and its own "ikhohlo" (the non-ruling house). Reconciliation was bolstered by the co-operation they showed during the Bhambatha uprising. Their sons consequently communicated freely with the royal house and they were in very good terms with it.²⁷

²⁵. 1/MPO 2/3/2/1 Ref 3/8/5 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 6 April 1939. cf. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunza kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 18 June 1994. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 18 June 1994.

²⁶. S. Marks: Natal, the Zulu royal family and the ideology of segregation. (*Journal of Southern African Studies* vol.3-4 1976-78 P.172). cf. 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 Ref 2/10/20 R M Stanger - SNA, 8 April 1939.

²⁷. SNA 1/1/354 Ref 1906/35 R M Stanger - SNA, 18 June 1906. cf. *Times of Natal*: 24 September 1908. A204 1279/5: The Peril in Natal - by Gebhuza, 1906.

Apart from the ward induna Piti had to see to it that there were regiment induna in all wards.²⁸ AMambedu and Mvumase wards were under the same regiment induna, Zayibhinqa Yengwa, who was of Mambedwini ward. The shortage of the regiment induna at Mvumase ward was the result of the inactivity of Matshikida Zungu as the ward induna. It was his duty to see to it that the young men were having their own regiment induna.²⁹

On 3 May 1938 inkosi Piti was part of the deputation headed by inkosi Jana. That deputation lodged an application to the Maphumulo magistrate pertaining a permission to build a house for the use by members of the Zulu royal house when visiting Maphumulo district. The house had to be erected in inkosi Maqhilimane's ward on the Nyamazane mountain. When the general attitude of the people was tested by the Maphumulo magistrate, one said the suggestion emanated from Prince Mshiyeni Zulu, who acted for king Nyangayezizwe, father of king Zwelithini. The magistrate saw no need for that house.³⁰

²⁸. N1/1/3 (40) 7: file from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

²⁹. 1/MPO 2/3/2/2 Ref 3/8/5 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 11 February 1940. cf. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 28 June 1994. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 28 June 1994.

³⁰. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 2/45/3 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 3 May 1938. cf. S. Marks: Natal, the Zulu royal family and the ideology of segregation (Journal of Southern African Studies, vol.3-4 1976-78 P.172). 1/MPO 3/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 30 May 1938. CNC 58/7/4 Ref 84/A Actions of Solomon Zulu, 3 January 1933. NTS 249 Ref 78/55 93) Mshiyeni Zulu - acting chief of Zulu people, 3 May 1938.

Towards the end of 1938 inkosi Piti Zulu felt that his area should be enlarged. He communicated with inkosi Maqhilimane Ntuli and presented his request of recovering the part that Ndlovu was robbed of after the Bhambatha uprising. That part was given to the Ntuli isizwe. Inkosi Maqhilimane had no objection. Both Piti and Maqhilimane thereafter informed the Maphumulo magistrate, H.P. Braatvedt about their agreement. Braatvedt decided that a meeting of the two izizwe be held in order to get the general opinion. The meeting was held on 14 October 1938 on top of the ridge immediately above the Norwegian Mission Station at Otimati.³¹

The dignitaries present comprised of H.P. Braatvedt who was nicknamed Mqangabhodwe, inkosi Maqhilimane Ntuli of Ntuli isizwe, inkosi Piti of Zulu isizwe and the ex-inkosi Ntshumayelo Zulu. Maqhilimane was accompanied by his izinduna like Nkantolo Masinga and George Myeza. Piti was accompanied by Molo Ntanzu, Makhala Khuzwayo and Mgcogcoma Zulu.³²

Inkosi Piti Zulu told the meeting that he was making no claim to the land in question, but as he had a small ward, he would like it to be enlarged. They had agreed that the boundary should be up the Golokodo stream to its source on a narrow ridge on which stands the Norwegian Mission house,

³¹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/20/11 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 14 October 1938. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 28 May 1928. R.C.A. Samuelson: Long Long Ago, P.33. Maphumulo District Record Book (Magistrates and Commissioners 1 July 1894-1996.

³². 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 12/45/3 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 3 May 1938.

then down this stream to its junction with Otimati stream and down Otimati to Thukela river. Maqhilimane was also willing to agree on Matihlophe - Otimati boundary.³³

The Native Commissioner informed inkosi Piti that he was not there for the purpose of establishing new boundaries. Both amakhosi assured the magistrate that there was no dispute about the boundaries. The magistrate said to grant the Zulu people further Ntuli territory would lead to disturbances. He, however, promised that he would report that matter to the Chief Native Commissioner. H.P. Braadvedt did not give any report back until he was transferred to Nongoma on 31 March 1943. Ndlovu had also tried in vain in 1925 to regain that portion of his land.³⁴

In the case of Piti the magistrate should not have interfered with the arrangement of amakhosi, the custodians of the land, if they had agreed with each other to adjust their boundaries. There would be no disturbances because Maqhilimane had already discussed the matter with his isizwe. Maqhilimane was also, amongst others, accompanied by his izinduna who represented isizwe. The action of the magistrate should be viewed as the perpetuation of hatred and punishment over the Nodunga isizwe for the part

³³. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/20 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 28 March 1938. cd. Matoboza kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 17 July 1994.

³⁴. Maphumulo District Record Book (Magistrate and Commissioners, 1 July 1894-1996. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 12/43/3 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 2 December 1938.

it took in the Bhambatha uprising. But Ndlovu had served that punishment for more than ten years imprisonment.³⁵

After the boundary issue inkosi Piti Zulu, together with Maqhilimane, Ndleleni, Majulumba and Sigoga insisted on 2 December 1938 that the magistrate should agree to the establishment of inkosi Mshiyeni's house on Nyamazane mountain. Ndleleni said it should be a proper place, for inkosi could not "live amongst the pigs." The magistrate feared that the collection of money from people towards the erection of that house would be resented. He reminded amakhosi that there was a strong agitation amongst the Africans against taxes they were called upon to pay.³⁶

Different faction fights were fought during the reign of Piti kaNdlovu. The first one is up to date known as EyakwaNomagaliga (the battle of Nomagaliga). Nomagaliga was the name of a woman. There was a traditional Zulu marriage at her home and the fight broke out. It resulted in many people sustaining bad injuries.³⁷

³⁵. SNA 1/1/370 Ref 1907/3783 R M Stanger - SNA, 28 June 1906. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 12/45/3 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 3 May 1938.

³⁶. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/21 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 14 December 1946. cf. URU 1619 Ref 3032: Mshiyeni Zulu, 19 October 1940.

³⁷. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 23 May 1994.

The second fight is known as EyakwaMbuthu (the battle of the place of Mbuthu). It was a fight that started between Mzulwini and Mambedu wards at Mbuthu's umuzi. The Nodunga regiments fought on the Mambedu side. Unlike EyakwaNomagaliga (the battle of the place of Nomagaliga), no one was blamed and fined by inkosi Piti because it did not fight within Nodunga tribal authority.³⁸

Inkosi Piti distinguished himself with wisdom. He was a prominent figure amongst other amakhosi when they were holding their quarterly meetings under Indlovu regional authority. His opinion always enjoyed the approval of all amakhosi. They always said "sivuma elika-Piti" (we all agree with Piti).³⁹

In the meeting that took place on 24 March 1941 Piti blamed the Veterinary Department. That department had given instruction that the injured cattle that could not go to the dip for two dippings should be destroyed. Piti was against that ruling and he was supported by all the Maphumulo amakhosi. They thereafter resolved to take action by asking the Maphumulo magistrate to interview that department on their behalf.⁴⁰

³⁸. 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 Ref 2/43/3 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 13 March 1945.

³⁹. Shekela Khuzwayo kaBabana, interviewed at his home next to Thukela river, 17 July 1994.

⁴⁰. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/21 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 24 March 1941. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/7 Ref 2/13/8/5 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 4 April 1941.

On 25 February 1942 Piti Zulu held a mass meeting with his isizwe. The government had increased stock rate and people strongly objected to it. Piti supported his people in that the rates were too high. It would mean that people would be impoverished and sell their cattle. Piti proposed that the government better increase poll tax and leave their cattle alone. The Nodunga people complained that they already paid poll tax and dog tax and that they were unable to pay more. They suggested the reduction of the staff dealing with dipping because Europeans were employed at high salaries. That idea infiltrated through all amakhosi of Maphumulo district who supported Piti and his isizwe.⁴¹

Another quarterly meeting was held on 15 December 1944. Piti suggested that amakhosi should discourage girls from working in towns. He said the boys would not get work. He also complained of the cattle dipping cards. The authorities had suggested that people should discard old cards and buy new ones. Piti had suggested that the government should supply dipping cards.⁴²

Piti did not believe much in formal school education for girls. He adhered to the traditional belief that education corrupted the girls. He said that the

⁴¹. E. Anderson: The Natal Land and Colonisation in Colonial Natal, p.14. CF. F. Wolfson: Some aspects of Native Administration in Natal, p.5. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/20/11 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 25 February 1942. 1/MPO 3/1/1/9 Ref.

⁴². The Natal Advertiser: 2 October 1925, p.10. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/20/11 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 15 December 1944.

educated girl tended not to respect her husband in marriage because she claimed to be equal to him. Hence he regarded formal school education as a major weakening factor in marriage relationship. Piti was very much concerned about the disappearance of respect due to the western influence.⁴³

Another characteristic of Piti's reign was the absence of tribal court building. *The cases of isizwe were heard in open air under Mthombe tree near inkosi's home.* That tree made Nodunga people reminiscent of the Bhambatha uprising as Ndlovu's warriors were feasting there when they were fallen upon by the British troops.⁴⁴

In trying to improve his area, inkosi Piti asked for irrigation works, on 13 April 1946, to serve his ward. He pointed out that his area was very dry, that no life could go on properly without irrigation.⁴⁵ Samuel Ntuli, an inkosi of Ntuli isizwe, advised Piti that people in dry areas should plant more corn.⁴⁶

⁴³. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/21 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 25 February 1942.

⁴⁴. SNA 1/1/339 Ref 1906/1101 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 31 May 1906. cf. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 18 June 1994.

⁴⁵. 1/MPO 3/1/1/8 Ref 2/13/9 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 16 May 1946.

⁴⁶. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/20/8 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 13 April 1946.

Inkosi Piti had a deep love for horses as it was the only fast type of transport easily accessible to the blacks. His horses were cared for by a reliable Madlala man who trained them to be ready for riding. Madlala was related to Piti in that Piti's sister, known as Gethi, married Madlala and they had their home on a hill near the Norwegian Mission Station of Otimati. Piti's love for horses culminated in a tragedy because it was through a horse that his life came to an end.⁴⁷

One day he was invited to Zungu's umuzi at Mthombeni ward where there was "umemulo" (initiation ceremony) for Zungu's daughter, Ngedlele. On his way back he fell off his horse and hit a sharp stump of wood which stabbed him to death.⁴⁸ His death sent shock waves not only amongst his isizwe, but throughout KwaZulu-Natal. That tragedy occurred on 10 March 1957.⁴⁹

When Piti died he was to be succeeded by his elder son and heir to ubukhosi, Ndoda Zulu. Ndoda was born in 1933. His mother was Ester Ngubane, Piti's great wife. Ndoda went to Mahhashini, the Bhekuzulu College, for schooling and the highest standard he achieved was Std 8.

⁴⁷. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 25 November 1994.

⁴⁸. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at zintandaneni royal residence, 28 August 1994.

⁴⁹. Gugu Mdletshe, interviewed at her home near Nodunga tribal court, 18 June 1995.

Inkosi Ndoda, according to his sister, Zimisile Zulu, did not use the opportunity opened by his father to him, to attend school until he achieved the highest standard of education.⁵⁰

"Ukufihla custom" (whereby an heir is reared by other relatives not in his father's umuzi so that their enemies could not kill him) was not practised with Ndoda as it was the case with his father, presumably because his life was not threatened by rivals to ubukhosi. He was fortunately the elder son of the great wife who was also from the royal family. Therefore no one could dispute ubukhosi with Ndoda.⁵¹

After standard 8, Ndoda went to Durban where he worked for the Durban Municipality as a Municipality police officer at Dalton Station. He was easily employed because people of the royal blood enjoyed priority for employment as Municipality police officers. Ndoda could not immediately ascend ubukhosi as he was to be fully matured first⁵²

⁵⁰. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/21 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 28 April 1946. Zimisile Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at her home at Dpringkop, 20 July 1994.

⁵¹. No.22/3/2/ (22): File from Maphumulo office of Department of Justice, 20 march 1973. cf. Induna Sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward, 18 June 1995.

⁵². Induna sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward, 20 August 1995. cf. No.22/3/2/ (22)): File from Maphumulo office of Department of Justice, 20 march 1973.

Although Ndoda was grown up and already having three children when his father passed away, there was a need for a regent. Vakasha Ngema, who had been his father's induna, was appointed to act as an inkosi in Ndoda's position. He did not tolerate crime and made efforts to eradicate it. The last person charged in 1963 was Mboni Biyela. His case was reported to the Maphumulo magistrate and was allocated No.111.⁵³

The strictness of Vakasha made Nodunga people to respect him as the real inkosi and the Zulu family became suspicious that he might usurp Ndoda's position. A sudden decision was taken that the installation of Ndoda should take place immediately. Izinduna and councillors were invited and informed about the family's decision. According to undunankulu (premier) Sicebi Khuzwayo, it was resolved that each induna should contribute a sum of R10.00 or a cow and each and every umuzi to contribute R5.00 or a goat.⁵⁴

The whole isizwe was then informed and approved of the arrangements. The approval of King Nyangayezizwe Zulu was also sought. He also

⁵³. No.22/3/2 (22): File from Maphumulo office of Department of Justice, 20 March 1973. cf. 1/MPO 1/1/5/34 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 1 July 1966.

⁵⁴. Induna Sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his home at Qoqeni ward, 2 August 1995.

supported the idea of the installation of Ndoda.⁵⁵

After isilo's approval the magistrate of Maphumulo district was informed and was also favourable of the wishes of isizwe. Invitations were then sent out to other amakhosi and relatives. By the day of the ceremony about 10 cows had been contributed. Amongst them there were two oxen which, in accordance with Zulu custom, were to be slaughtered in honour of young men and women.⁵⁶

Amongst the VIP's present were princes Sithela Zulu, Layton Zulu ka-Isaac kaMzingeli kaDabulamanzi (the councillor at Mlazi location) and prince Bhayisikili Zulu. The Maphumulo magistrate, Mr W.J. Schweepers, was also present. What was remarkable was the Zulu king's absence. He had apologised and sent prince Sithela Zulu, his representative of Mbelebeleni palace at KwaMashu, to represent him. He also accepted presents on behalf of the king.⁵⁷

⁵⁵. Induna Sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward, 11 September 1995.

⁵⁶. Induna Sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward, 11 September 1995.

⁵⁷. Ilanga lase-Natal: 22 July 1972. cf. Induna Sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his umuzi at Qaqeni ward, 11 November 1995.

Inkosi Ndoda, like his predecessors, was installed in a traditional manner. The proceedings were as follows: From the great hut to the kraal, where the regiments were waiting, he was led by Ntabeni, his senior uncle. In the meantime there was the singing of inkondlo which was followed by Ntabeni's praising of his ancestors and all amakhosi of the Zulu royal family of which he was also a member.⁵⁸

Ntabeni introduced inkosi Ndoda to his isizwe. He asked Nodunga people to give him respect they had been showing to Ndoda's predecessors. This was followed by the long awaited event of oxen killing by the young men. The first one to be slaughtered by Zimpohlo regiment was for the young men and the second cow was for the young women. Both were slaughtered bare-handed by Mfana Samboza Zulu.⁵⁹

It was after the completion of the slaughtering of two cows that inkosi Ndoda and dignitaries went to his hut. All the regiments who were in their full traditional attire remained behind and continued singing while the women were ululating. This marked the end of the installation of Ndoda Zulu.⁶⁰

⁵⁸. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 13 July 1994.

⁵⁹. 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 Ref 2/10/17 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 11 December 1964.

⁶⁰. No.22/3/2/ (22): File from Maphumulo office of Department of Justice, 20 March 1973.

INKOSI (CHIEF) NDODA ZULU



Ndoda married four wives, one of whom, MaKhumalo, was a great wife i.e. her lobolo was provided through the contribution of isizwe (nation). But as the time went on MaKhumalo was expelled by Ndoda. According to Section 32 of Proclamation No.2 of 1887, Ndoda could chase his wife. MaKhumalo left with her young son, Qedezakhe and remarried among the Mthethwa people. Qedezakhe was also fully adopted by the Mthethwa people.⁶¹

Ndoda was able to build more projects for his isizwe of Nodunga. He erected the court of isizwe where his people could gather when deliberating on important issues. Secondly he installed telephone which made it easy to communicate with the outside world. Furthermore a road linking the highveld and Thukela river area was constructed. This road provided lowveld people with proper transportation while another road to Mbulwini area was built.⁶²

Having built roads, inkosi Ndoda encouraged the construction of schools. He saw the advantages of education as a solution to the rife problem of illiteracy. Through his untiring efforts, Mbulwini Lower Primary school and Mvumase Higher Primary school were built. He also suggested that the communal grazing land should be divided into camps to free the herdboys

⁶¹. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973. cf. No.22/3/2 (22): File from Maphumulo office of Department of Justice, 20 March 1973.

⁶². 1/MPO 1/1/5/34 Ref C1/1/1 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 18 December 1965.

to go to school. However inclination to learn was low among his people.⁶³

One of the development projects that Ndoda achieved was the building of dams to provide water for both people and cattle. One dam was built next to the present day Ezithabeni High School at Oqaqeni ward and the other one built across the Mshaba river at Emambedwini ward. The stock dam programme had already started at inkosi Zubane's area on Masiwele river on 28 December 1935. Those dams did not last long because there was no strong committee for social development. The Ezithabeni dam, though in poor condition, is still of help to the community. Cattle still get drinking water from it and people also use it for washing and domestic purposes.⁶⁴

For the economic development of his area he also led to the establishment of Imbokode Community Garden which was to produce vegetables and other different crops for his people. Pipes and the water pump for sprinkler irrigation were brought. That water pump of isizwe unfortunately broke before his death and was taken to Eshowe for repairs. Most unfortunately after his death no one cared for its return up to date. That was evident of

⁶³. 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 Ref 2/12/21 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 8 September 1966. cf. 1/MPO 3/1/1/5 Ref 2/12/20 R M Maphumulo - CNC, 23 March 1945. Ilanga lase-Natal: 19 August 1972.

⁶⁴. 1/MPO 1/1/5/34 Ref C1/1/1 R M Maphumulo - SNA, 18 October 1967. cf. Rev. George Mngoma ka-Obed kaSehlasenyuka, interviewed at his home next to Qaqeni store, 15 September 1996.

poor administration after his death.⁶⁵

In 1970 Ndoda asked his isizwe to buy him a car. Each umuzi contributed R10.00. In November 1970 he went to Stanger to buy a car and he was accompanied by Mapipi Khuzwayo, Sibangani Nxele and Mthandeni Khuzwayo. When they came to Stanger they decided to buy a red van. Ndoda met a man he knew while still working in Durban. That man was driving a taxi that was hired to take Ngobese's children home. He invited the taxi man to his home to feast with him in his mini party of extending a word of gratitude to his ancestors for having enabled him to get hold of a car. The man accepted the invitation and Ndoda got into the taxi to drive home with him.⁶⁶

When they were about six kilometres from home, the taxi in which they were travelling lost control at a sharp bend, sped off the road and rolled down the cliff towards Otimati river. When people reached the scene of accident, inkosi and the driver had passed away on the spot. He died accidentally, the same way as his father, inkosi Piti Zulu, who was dropped

⁶⁵. Induna Sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward, 21 July 1995.

⁶⁶. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 15 May 1994. cf. MaBhengu Zulu (wife of late inkosi Ndoda Zulu), interviewed on her way back from Otimati Lutheran church, 20 July 1995.

by his own horse.⁶⁷

When Ndoda died, his heir, Qedezakhe, who was now registered as Mthethwa, was still very young to be an inkosi of isizwe. The question of surname would still be a nightmare to him as it had not been changed to Zulu. The family resolved that Ndoda's brother, Bafanose Zulu, should act as inkosi. He was informed and was willing to ascend the vacant throne of his brother on behalf of his son.⁶⁸

Isizwe was made aware of the arrangement and was happy with the conferment of jurisdiction on Bafanose. Subsequently the Maphumulo magistrate was informed and he in turn sent a minute No 8/2 (Zulu B), to Ulundi, to inform the Director of Authority Affairs.⁶⁹

On 21 August 1972 the Director of Authority Affairs and Finance, Dr F.T. Mdlalose, told the magistrate, K.V. Muggleston, that there was no objection to carrying out the wishes of isizwe in that connection. He further asked the magistrate to advise him of the date of the assumption of duty or whether he had already done so. Dr F.T. Mdlalose said inkosi Bafanose would be paid the same stipend as his predecessor, referring to inkosi

⁶⁷. Matoboza Zulu kaMafunze kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 15 May 1994.

⁶⁸. No.22/3/2/(22): File from Maphumulo magistrate's office, 20 March 1973.

⁶⁹. No.11/3/3/(22): File from Maphumulo magistrate's office, 20 March 1973.

Ndoda. The magistrate responded by saying inkosi Bafanose Zulu assumed duty on 21st April 1972 and that more or less thirty followers were present, including three councillors and three family members.⁷⁰

Inkosi Bafanose had deep love for his isizwe. In 1974 he visited Johannesburg where some of the members of isizwe worked. While still in Johannesburg he suddenly became ill and on 9th April Mr J. Mlambo, who was working in the magistrate's court, was informed telephonically by Alfred Ngema about the illness of inkosi. Mlambo informed the magistrate who was to convey the message to inkosi's family. However, on the following day the magisterial office was re-informed that inkosi was showing signs of speedy recovery and that he was returning from Johannesburg.⁷¹

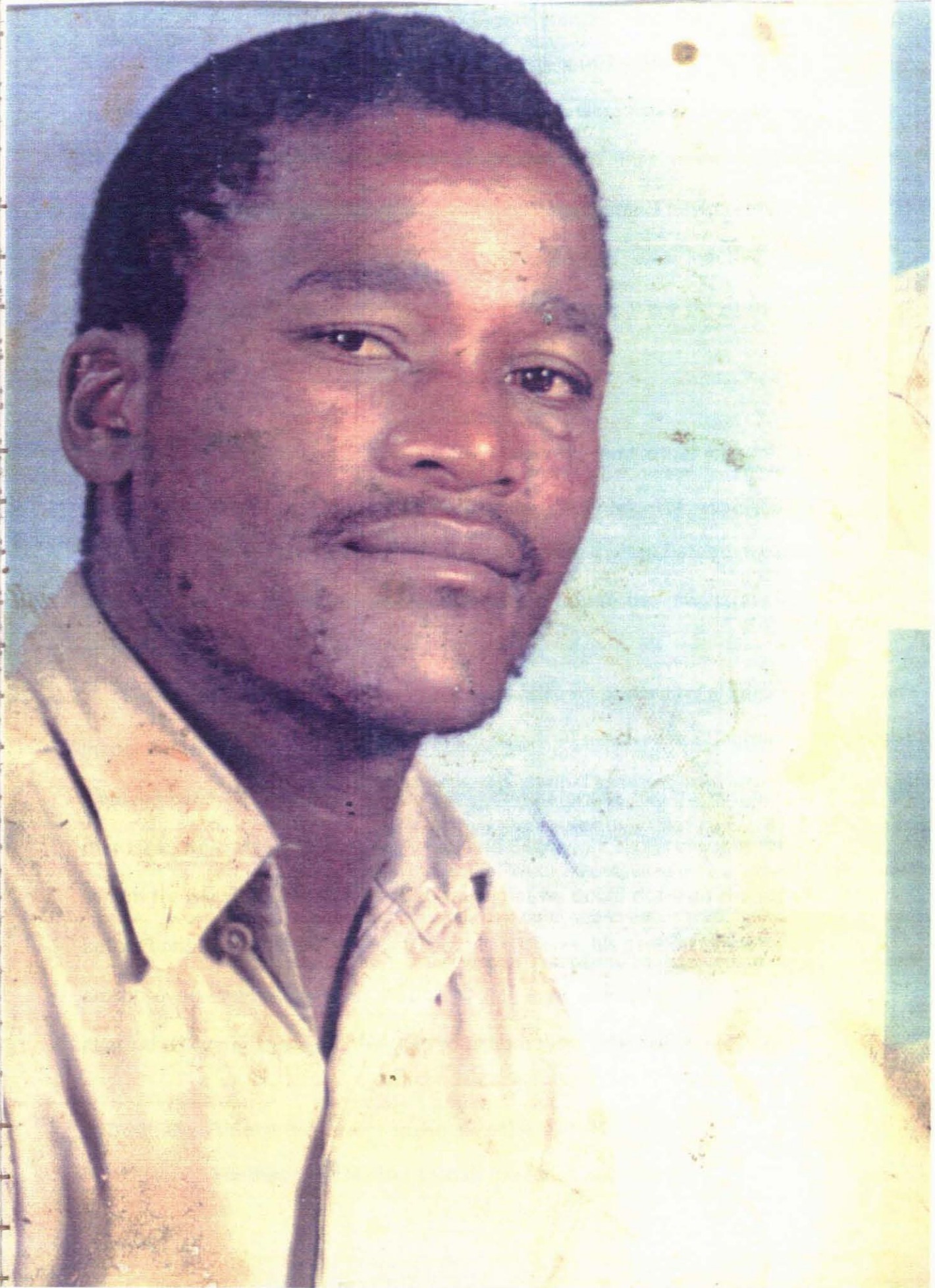
The most important event that took place after Bafanose became an acting inkosi was the application by members of isizwe to plant sugar cane. That occurred on 7 November 1980 when Tobias Guma, the chairman of Cane Growers Association submitted a long list of names to the magistrate. According to Guma those people were applying on behalf of the Nodunga tribal authority. He requested that their application be approved by the magistrate.⁷²

⁷⁰. No.2/2/16/1: File from Maphumulo magistrate's office, 20 March 1973.

⁷¹. No 22/3/3/22: File from Maphumulo's office of Department of Justice, 20 March 1973.

⁷². Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at zintandaneni royal residence, 15 November 1995.

INKOSI (CHIEF) BAFANOSE ZULU



The Maphumulo magistrate did not respond to that application until 14 March 1982 when a follow up letter was again sent by Tobias Guma and members like Isaac Khuzwayo, Mfiseni Khuzwayo, Christian Khuzwayo and Sibangani Nxele. They expressed disappointment that there was no progress regarding their application to cultivate sugar cane. They threatened to proceed to other departments if the magistrate was inactive and requested to get a reply before month end. No steps were taken by the magistrate.⁷³

On 26 May 1982 Tobias Guma, G.M. Khuzwayo and other committee members informed the magistrate that inkosi Bafanose was unwilling to have sugar cane planted in his area. The magistrate invited Bafanose to his office on 20 October 1982. Inkosi missed the bus to the magistrate and only arrived on 21 October.⁷⁴

Inkosi Bafanose and the magistrate planned for a meeting to take place on 9 November 1982. On the day of the meeting Bafanose told the magistrate that isaac Khuzwayo, Mboniseni Guma and Silwayiphi Nxele brought forms to him for his signature and he told them that he could not sign the forms before consulting isizwe. When he consulted isizwe, his people unanimously disapproved of sugar cane cultivation in their area. Inkosi was also worried about the Mvumase people that had to be removed. It would be his task to

⁷³. N22/3/2/(22): File from Maphumulo magistrates office, 20 March 1973.

⁷⁴. N1/1/3 (40) 7: File from Chief Minister's Office (Ulundi), 2 May 1973.

re-locate them and he did not know where to place them because of the scarcity of land. The idea of planting sugar cane failed.⁷⁵

After the sugar cane problem members of isizwe approached Bafanose with a request to plant cotton. Bafanose told them to be trained first in order to produce first grade cotton. When they brought a white man to convince him, inkosi Bafanose became suspicious that the involvement of whites would result in the loss of land. He therefore did not want to listen to him. He refused to sign the forms, saying that he could not sign for the sale of his land to cotton companies.⁷⁶

Inkosi Bafanose Zulu was very particular about the history of AmaZulu and did not want it to be distorted. He contradicted the allegation that Nandi (Shaka's mother) was killed by inkosi Shaka. In support thereof he told the story of Zihlandlo, father of Gcwabe Mkhize, who was saved by Nandi when Shaka wanted to kill him for having killed Mashukumbela. According to inkosi Bafanose, Zihlandlo used to send gifts to Shaka, and Shaka, as a token of gratitude sent a herd of cattle to Zihlandlo through Mashukumbela. Mashukumbela retained the cattle for himself and Shaka asked Zihlandlo why he failed to return thanks to him. He answered that no cattle reached him. Mashukumbela tried to kill Zihlandlo to end evidence but he himself was unfortunately killed by Zihlandlo. Shaka wanted to kill Zihlandlo for

⁷⁵. No.2/2/16/6: File from Maphumulo magistrate's office, 20 March 1973.

⁷⁶. No.22/3/2/ (22): File from Maphumulo magistrate's office, 20 march 1973.

having taken law into his hands but was saved by Nandi and that showed that Shaka respected his mother.⁷⁷

Towards the end of 1995 inkosi Bafanose Zulu reported continuous headache and became epileptic. It complicated at the beginning of 1996 when it was coupled with the bleeding of gums and the loss of power. Different doctors and traditional doctors were consulted, but instead the illness aggravated. On Thursday, 21 march 1996 the author T. Madlala, sent inkosi to Maphumulo hospital. It was a rainy day. Inkosi stayed there for only 8 days and passed away on 30 march 1996 at 17h30. The night vigil held in his honour was disturbed by soldiers who came at dawn on 5 April 1996 and arrested many males for having found guns in the room they occupied. Most of the victims were the sons of the late inkosi. That incident added to the extreme grief that people had for the loss they had suffered.⁷⁸

Inkosi Bafanose Zulu was traditionally buried on 6 April 1996. isizwe suffered a great loss by losing such a sociable inkosi.⁷⁹

⁷⁷. Inkosi Bafanose Zulu kaPiti kaNdlovu, interviewed at Zintandaneni royal residence, 11 November 1995.

⁷⁸. Induna Sicebi Khuzwayo kaMasokhwebu kaKumakwawo, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward, 3 June 1996.

⁷⁹. Themba Madlala kaNdabakazipheli kaZibhebhu kaHaga kaNtweba, interviewed at his home next to the chief's tribal court, 7 June 1996.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted to analyse the history of Prince Thimuni and his descendants and pointed out that his migration across the Thukela river into the British colony of Natal made things worse for him in that forced eviction of Zulu people was the order of the day ever since the 1846 Boundary Commission whose main aim was to open large hectares of arable land for the white colonists. Therefore, Thimuni's eviction from Ntwashini where he first settled after the Ndondakusuka Battle on 2 December 1856 must be understood against the background of forced evictions.

Although Thimuni eventually managed to build his homestead at the Maphumulo district, this district has always been mountainous and neither suitable for livestock grazing nor agricultural purposes. This was one of the main reasons for the Zulu people at Maphumulo taking a prominent role in the Poll Tax uprising of 1906. In that uprising Prince Ndlovu, son of Thimuni and Meseni Qwabe were arrested, placed into the Maphumulo gaol and eventually exiled from Maphumulo. It must be stressed that the Poll Tax uprising in Maphumulo was the fiercest one being the last to be crushed by British troops on 27 June 1907. The leadership of Ndlovu and his relationship to King Dinuzulu who was rumoured to be supporting the uprising inspired the people of Maphumulo into sacrificing their lives.

The Natal government's main aim ever since the introduction of Sir Theophilus Shepstone's policy of indirect rule was to instal what it termed "loyal chiefs" in its areas of jurisdiction. For this reason after the banishment of Ndlovu, the leader of the uprising in Maphumulo, it became necessary to instal someone in his place who was to be "loyal". The Natal government was aware that after the death of Thimuni there was a dispute concerning his successor and the fact that he had many wives. At that time two of Thimuni's prominent sons; Ndlovu and Chakijana claimed heirship to the throne. Ndlovu eventually won the dispute. But after his banishment the Natal government thought all would be well in the Maphumulo district. This was not to be the case when Ndlovu's followers took legal action demanding Ndlovu's return to his Nodunga homestead.

The legal battle resulted in Ndlovu's return from Mafunze near Pietermaritzburg where he was banished by the government. But the return of Ndlovu was characterised by other disputes involving ubukhosi, i.e. chieftainship in Nodunga. Ndlovu showed his statesmanship by allowing Mbango, son of Chakijana to act as a mediator in Nodunga No.1. Mbango's mediation resulted in Ntabeni, one of Ndlovu's sons being elected to represent Ndlovu as inkosi, i.e. the chief. Mbango's mediation also meant that enmity which had previously existed between Nodunga No.2 under Chakijana and Ndlovu's Nodunga No.1 was outlawed.

Following these diplomatic activities between Thimuni's descendants, the disputes over ubukhosi, i.e. chieftainship, became chaotic as the economic situation deteriorated in Maphumulo and confidence of the people in chieftainship being overstretched. When the late KwaZulu government was established, confidence among the rural Maphumulo community was once again raised and Thimuni's descendants received respect and confidence they deserved.

A clear picture has, therefore, been painted of Prince Thimuni fighting the wars of Zulu kings Shaka and Dingane until his flight after the Ndongakusuka battle. What happened in the Natal colony was not directed at him as a person but was the plight of all the Zulu inhabitants due to colonisation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Unpublished Archival Sources and Historical Manuscripts Archives

Natal Depot Pietermaritzburg

(a) Secretary of Native Affairs (SNA)

- SNA/1/1/183 : Thimuni and his arrival at Maphumulo, 1885.
- SNA/1/1/474 : Section 32 of Zululand Proclamation No.2, 1887 -
The Zulu law, 1887.
- SNA 1/1/198 : Death of Sothondose, 1895.
- SNA 1/1/187 : Debate on land ownership between the Secretary
of Native Affairs and the Stanger Magistrate,
1895.
- SNA 1/1/221 : Mashobana requested that judgement on
Shimeyane case be amended, 1896.
- SNA 1/1/194 : Mlungwana's application to be appointed as chief,
1896.
- SNA 1/1/278 : Thimuni: Chief of AmaZulu, 1897.
- SNA 1/1/124 : Ndlovu's application for a licence to hold a gun,
1897.
- SNA 1/1/292 : Mashobana and the boundary between him and
Ndlovu, Chakijana and Tshingumuzi, 1901.

- SNA 1/1/319 : Complaint of Mashobana that Chief Mahlombe sent a body of men to raid his fields and kraal, 1903.
- SNA 1/1/299 : Report on faction fight between people of Mashobana, 1903.
- SNA 1/1/325 : Reports on African reaction to Poll tax, 1905.
- SNA 1/1/353 : The fragment tribes united by Chief Chakijana, 1906.
- SNA 1/4/15 : Defiance of Poll tax Ordinance by Meseni, Ngqokwane, Mashwili and Ndlovu, 1906.
- SNA 354 : Allegation - Mahlombe, Mlungwana and Chakijana took part in Rebellion, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/353 : Complaint of Chakijana to Secretary of Native Affairs, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/358 : Compensation for the loss incurred by Chakijana during rebellion, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/339 : Final decision by amakhosi not to pay Poll tax, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/349 : Court martial sentence on Ndlovu, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/335 : Chief Makewu's participation in Rebellion, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/915 : War medicine fetched by Chief Chakijana and Mlungwana from Meseni, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/426 : Msolwa's appointment as chief over the Natives residing within Ward No.1, Lower Thukela

division, 1907.

- SNA 2/13/7 : Chakijana appointed to act over Mlungwana's section, 1906.
- SNA 2/3/5 : Members of the tribes of Mlungwana, Chakijana and Mahlombe to Mthandeni to help Meseni, 1906.
- SNA 1/1/362 : Unfulfilled promise of Njubanjuba and his charge, 1907.
- SNA 1/1/370 : Tribes of Chakijana and Tshingumuzi under arms, 1907.
- SNA 1/1/181 : Sothondose's annual subsidy reduced, 1907.
- SNA 1/1/363 : Mbango applies for a short gun, 1907.
- SNA 1/1/446 : Application by Tshingumuzi to reside in Mthunzini, 1909.
- SNA 1/1/429 : Illness of Zidwedwe, son of Chakijana, 1909.
- SNA 1/1/464 : Maphumulo Mission reserves' cases, 1910.
- SNA 1/1/191 : Mavovo's plan to convene a meeting for the return of Ndlovu, 1915.
- SNA 1/1/418 : Ndlovu applies for the African beer licence, 1926.
- SNA 1/1/325 : Summary of reports of Magistrates on African reaction to Poll tax, 1905.

(b) Chief Native Commissioner (CNC)

- CNC 111 : Thimuni and the wives of his brother, Sigwebana Zulu, 1897.
- CNC 3/13/7 : Chakijana appointed to act over Mlungwana's section, 1906.
- CNC 9 : Ndlovu and permission to visit Impendle, 1911.
- CNC 20 : Ndlovu applies for interview with Chief Native Commissioner, 1911.
- CNC 103 : Ndlovu and permission to visit Durban, 1912.
- CNC 142 : Miss Colenso and Ndlovu's permission to visit Durban, 1913.
- CNC 181 : Mahlombe and Manephu's gun, 1914.
- CNC 162 : Msolwa's application for a gun, 1914.
- CNC 1263 : Ndlovu asks his isizwe to contribute £60 for his release, 1915.
- CNC 217 : Ndlovu applies for permission to visit Johannesburg, 1915.
- CNC 191 : Lobolo claimable by regent Mmoleli, 1915.
- CNC 263 : The meeting of Nodunga people over Ndlovu's return, 1915.
- CNC 195 : Ndlovu struggling for the resettlement of his family, 1915.
- CNC 242 : Mbango applies for a pair of handcuffs, 1916.

- CNC 1893 : Maphumulo magistrate's refusal to allow Ndlovu back to his isizwe, 1916.
- CNC 269 : Lobolo fund claimed by Chief Mbango, 1918.
- CNC 252 : Mbango asks if he can claim lobolo for his daughter, 1918.
- CNC 84/A : Chief Solomon Zulu, 1933.
- CNC 2/1/2/7 : Family tree - Late Mbango Zulu, son of Chakijana, 1953.

(c) Natal Colonial Publications (NCP)

- NCP 7/1/3 : Education, agriculture, grants of land, 1854.
- NCP 8/5/18 : Report upon Indian immigrants from Madras, 1881.
- NCP 8/5/22 : Correspondence relative to the eviction of Native occupants from Crown land, 1883.
- NCP 7/1/31 : Legislation, grants of land, taxes, fees and civil establishments, 1883.
- NCP 8/5/11 : Administration of native law - Zulu king and the right to rule, 1887.
- NCP 8/5/13 : Native law - King and the power to dispose of his property, 1887.
- NCP 8/5/12 : Owners of land in Natal, 1889.

(d) Colonial Secretary Office (CSO)

- CSO 1521 : Stanger magistrate, Enery applies for leave, 1897.
- CSO 1727 : F.P. Shutter, Stanger magistrate, applies for leave
of absence, 1903.

(e) Prime Minister (PM)

- PM 61 : Surrender of Ndlovu, Meseni and Zibhebhu at
Eshowe, 1906.
- PM 20 : Reuters agent and the publication of the Court
Martial, 1906.

Accession (AAS)

- AAS 4 : M.G. Buthelezi and Inkatha institute, 1928.

(f) Sekretaris van Naturelle Sake (NTS)

- NTS 249 : Acting Chief of the Zulu people. Mshiyeni Zulu
kaDinuzulu, 1953.

(g) Maphumulo (1/MPO)

- 1/MPO 5/1/5 : Ukungena case by surviving brother, 1890.
- 1/MPO 4/1/1 : Magidi's case tried by Ndlovu kaThimuni, 1900.
- 1/MPO 3/1/3/1/1 : Maphumulo chiefs addressed by Secretary of Native Affairs on the condition for granting sites for church buildings, schools and businesses, 1903.
- 1/MPO 4/2/4/2/2 : Bantu Taxation, 1905.
- 1/MPO ADD 2/1/1 : The Upper Mushane people doctored at chief Ndlovu kaThimuni kraal, 1906.
- 1/MPO 3/1/1/2 : Struggle by Nodunga tribe for Ndlovu's return, 1915.
- 1/MPO 2/1/2/2 : Ndlovu struggles for the resettlement of his family, 1915.
- 1/MPO 4/2/4/1/1 : Protection of children, 1917.
- 1/MPO 3/1/1/4 : Ndlovu and his return to his tribe, 1918.
- 1/MPO 3/1/1/3 : Ndlovu kaThimuni and his death at Zintandaneni, 1928.
- 1/MPO 3/1/1/1 : The Secretary of Native Affairs addressing Maphumulo chiefs, 1932.
- 1/MPO 3/1/2/8 : Stock dam construction programme, 1935.
- 1/MPO 3/1/3/1/1 : G.T. Schruer's application for permission to erect a building in Ndlovu's ward, 1935.

- 1/MPO 3/1/1/7 : Natives suspicion on the establishment of bull camps, 1939.
- 1/MPO 3/1/2/1 : Location boundaries, 1940.
- 1/MPO 3/1/1/9 : Piti Zulu discouraging girls from working in towns, 1944.
- 1/MPO 3/1/1/10 : Piti Zulu and the suggestion for the erection of the Zulu Royal House (Mshiyeni kaDinuzulu), 1945.
- 1/MPO 3/1/1/6 : Piti Zulu and the quarterly meetings for chiefs and headmen, 1946.
- 1/MPO 1/1/5/34 : Chief Ndoda Zulu and civil cases, 1965-67.

(h) Government House (GH)

- GH 1561 - 1562 : Zululand after 1897.

(i) Government House Zululand (GHZ)

- GHZ 804 : A Native Rebellion, 1906-07.

(j) Nongoma (1/NGA)

- 1/NGA 3/3/1/2 : Actions of Solomon Zulu, 1930.

(k) Defence (NDR)

- NDR 5/22 : Sjoblom commanding mounted rifles, 1912

(l) Uitvoerende Raadsbesluite (URU)

URU 16/9 : Mshiyeni Zulu, 1951.

(m) Colenso Collection A 204

A 204 1278/2 : The Native Problem in Natal, 1894.

A 204 142 : The issue of Poll tax, 1905.

A 204 1279/5 : The Peril in Natal - by Gebhuza, 1906.

A 204 1280/1 : Amazwi kaSobantu, 1920.

A. Durban Intermediate ArchivesStanger (1/SGR)

1/SGR 4/1/4 : List of chiefs submitted to the Secretary of Native Affairs by Stanger magistrate, 1881.

1/SGR 4/1/2 : Declaration of Thimuni regarding disposal of his property, 1885.

1/SGR 4/1/1 : Petition of Mlungwana to be appointed as chief, 1890.

1/SGR 4/1/5 : Clash between Chakijana and his cousin, Mbobo over property ownership, 1894.

1/SGR 4/1/6 : Invitation of Ndlovu to Stanger magistrates' court to settle the boundary question, 1897.

1/SGR 4/1/7 : Words used by chief Makewu Dube, 1902.

- 1/SGR 4/1/8 : Ndlovu applies for the return of W.R. Gordon, Maphumulo magistrate, 1903.
- 1/SGR 4/2/4/2/2 : Recruitment of labour from tribal farms and plots, 1913.
- 1/SGR 4/2/2/7 : Maphumulo magistrate's refusal to allow Ndlovu back to his tribe, 1916.
- 1/SGR 4/2/1/1 : The death of Lumbo Ngcobo of chief Mmoleli, 1917.
- 1/SGR 4/2/1 : Officer's complaint of Anthrox infection, 1917.
- 1/SGR 4/2/2/10 : The clash between Mbango and the Nxumalo section under mambuka, 1925.
- 1/SGR 4/1/3 : The eviction of Cele people from Nonoti lands, 1925.
- 1/SGR 4/2/2/3 : Refusal of the Chief Native Commissioner to accept a gift from Ndlovu, 1925.
- 1/SGR 4/2/3/8 : Lease of privately owned farms, 1925.
- 1/SGR 4/2/2/1 : Estate of the late people, 1926.
- 1/SGR 4/2/2/2 : Estate of deceased people, 1927.
- 1/SGR 4/2/3/5 : Estate of the late people, 1927.
- 1/SGR 4/2/3 : Chief Msolwa Cele, seeking permission to erect a house in Langespruit farm owned by Mrs C.S. Thrings, 1927.
- 1/SGR 4/2/3/1 : The death of Chief Nyakana of Nkanini Section, 1929.

- 1/SGR 4/2/3/2 : Mazinyane as ruler over people formerly belonging to Mdletshe tribe, 1929.
- 1/SGR 4/2/2/6 : Mandofona Qwabe, son of chief Nyakana, 1932.
- 1/SGR 4/2/4/23 : Removal of black people from indigenous land, 1935.
- 1/SGR 4/2/2/11 : Native owned tribal land leased to Indians, 1941.

C. British Parliamentary Papers

Correspondence, reports, conventions and maps regarding affairs in Southern Africa General.

C - 850 (1854)

C - 8782 (1890)

C - 6684 (1899)

C - 5331 (1894)

C - 5892 (1872)

D. Files from Government Offices

N1/1/3(40)7 : File from Chief Minister's office (Ulundi), 1973.

H.C.8/1/53(2) : File from Department of Regional and Land Affairs office, 1996.

No.22/3/2(22) : File from Maphumulo office of Department of Justice, 1973.

- N1/4/3-40/78 : File from the Lower Thukela Magistrates' office, 1978.
- N1/2/7 : File from the Lower Thukela Magistrate's office, 1978.
- DTR/SA/191.04 : File from the Department of Regional and Land Affairs office, 1996.
- N8/2 (Zulu B) : File from Maphumulo magistrate's office, 1973.

D. Magistrates' Record Books

Maphumulo District Record Book

Lower Thukela District Record Book

E. General Literature

- Anderson J.J. : The Natal land and colonisation in Colonial Natal, University of Natal, 1991.
- Ballard C.C. : The career of John Dunn in Natal and Zululand, University of Natal, 1980.
- Bosmon W. : The Natal Rebellion of 1906, London, 1907.
- Bulpin T.V. : Natal and Zululand Country, Cape Town, 1966.
- Clegg J. : Ukubuyisa isidumbu - Bringing back the body, Johannesburg, 1979.
- Davenport T.R.H. : South Africa (A Modern History), Johannesburg,

1977.

- Davis P. : Debate of the Legislative Council, vol V, Pietermaritzburg, 1895.
- Duminy A and Guest B.: Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910, Pietermaritzburg, 1989.
- Edley A. : The Natal land and colonial Natal, University of Natal, 1991.
- Engelbrecht S.W.B.: Education III (Second Edition), Goodwood, ND. et al.
- Fage J.D. : A History of Africa, London, 1978.
- Grobler J. : A decisive clash, Pretoria, 1959.
- Guest W.R. : Langalibalele: The crisis in Natal - 1873-75, Pietermaritzburg, 1979.
- Haasbroek D.J.P. : Natal's opposition to Separate Representation for Coloureds during 1950-1956, University of Natal, 1990.
- Ingrid P. : Dinuzulu and the Bhambatha Rebellion, University of Zululand, 1960.
- Kendall F. and Louw L. : Let the people govern, Bisho, 1989.
- Lamb R.H. : Hard Times in Natal, Durban, 1992.
- Marks S. : Reluctant Rebellion, Oxford, 1970.
- Meer F. : Luthuli Albert, Durban, 1991.
- Meredith M. : In the name of apartheid, London, 1988.

- Mhlongo, D.B.K. : Ilanga laseLangeni, Pietermaritzburg, 1990.
- Mhlophe G. : Nokukhanya, Braamfontein, 1989/1993.
- Msimang C.T. : Kusadliwa ngoludala, Pietermaritzburg, 1975.
- Muller C.F.J. : 500 Years, Pretoria, 1986.
- Omer-Cooper J.D. : History of Southern Africa, London, 1987.
- Pachai B. : The International aspect of the South African Indian Question 1860-1971, University of Natal, 1991.
- Pampallis J. : Foundations of the New South Africa, Cape Town, 1990.
- Parsons N. : A new history of South Africa, London, 1983.
- Plawmann G.T. : The Natal Civil Service List, Pietermaritzburg, 1895.
- Potgieter D.J. et al.: Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Cape Town, 1970-76.
- Ritter E.A. : Shaka Zulu, New York, 1953.
- Rotberg J.R. and : Protest and Power in Black Africa, New York, Mazrui A.A. 1970.
- Russel R. : A history of the Zulu Rebellion, Durban, 1972.
- Thomas B.J. : AmaZulu: Their history, manners, customs and language, Durban, 1970.
- Van Wyk A.J. : Buthelezi chocolate-boxed (Book reviews) (Historia) JRG 21-22, 1976-77.
- Watson W. : Natal Blue Book, Pietermaritzburg, 1899.

- Webb C. and : James Stuart Archive, Vol 1-4, Durban, 1986.
- Wright J.B.
- Wolfson F. : Some aspects of Native administration in Natal,
University of Witwatersrand, 1946.

F. Periodical Publications

The Natal Mercury, 1857

Inkanyiso yaseNatal, 1894

Ilanga laseNatal, 1903-06

Iphepha lohlanga, 1906

Imvo Zabantsundu, 1907

The Times of Natal, 1908

The Natal Advertiser, 1925

G. Interviews

Mjakuja Dube, a senior member of Nodunga No.2, interviewed at his home
next to Nsikeneni mountain, 8 June 1994.

Shekela Khuzwayo, a senior member of Nodunga No.1, interviewed at his
home next to Thukela river, 25 July 1994.

Sicebi Khuzwayo, a senior member and the premier of Nodunga No.1, interviewed at his home at Qaqeni ward, 11 September 1995.

Themba Madlala, a senior member of Nodunga No.1, interviewed at his home next to the chief's tribal court, 4 April 1995.

Mahulana Mbokazi, a senior member of Nodunga No 2, interviewed at Mjakuja's home next to Nsikeneni mountain, 28 July 1994.

Rev. George Mngoma, a senior member of Nodunga No 1, interviewed at his home next to Qaqeni store, 11 September 1996.

Bafana Nxumalo, a senior member of Mkhonto Tribal Authority, interviewed along the road at Nyamazane ward, 18 June 1994.

Inkosi Bafanose Zulu, an inkosi of Nodunga No 1, interviewed at Zintandaneni Royal Residence, 25 November 1995.

Ntombilezi Zulu, a senior member of Nodunga No 1, interviewed at her home next to Qaqeni store, 28 July 1995.

Matoboza Zulu, a senior member of Nodunga No 1, interviewed at Zintandaneni Royal Residence, 16 June 1994.

Zawisa Zulu, a senior member of Nodunga No 2, interviewed at his home next to Mvoti river, 27 July 1995.

Zimisile Zulu, a senior member of Nodunga No 1, interviewed at her home at Doringkop, 7 April 1994.

Gugu Mdletshe, a senior member of Nodunga No 1, interviewed at her home next to the chief's tribal court, 25 December 1995.