

THE NATAL GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TOWARDS AMAKHOSI

IN THE FORMER KINGDOM OF KWAZULU 1846 - 1910

BY

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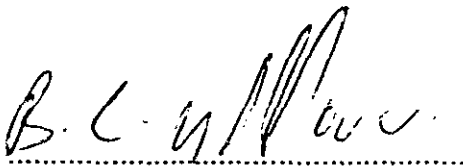
A QUOTATION

“Until the Lions have their own historians,
tales of hunting will always glorify the
hunter”.

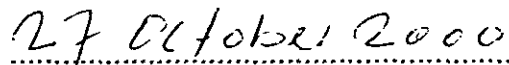
- Kgalushi Koka

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DECLARATION

I declare that *The Natal Government's policy towards amakhosi in the former kingdom of kwaZulu 1846 - 1910* is a product of my own effort, both in conception and execution, and all sources I have used have been appropriately acknowledged.



B.C. NDHLOVU



OSIZWENI

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CLARIFICATION OF TERMINOLOGY

Abanumzane	-	Homestead heads
Amabutho	-	Age-regiments
Amakhosi	-	Traditional leaders
Ibutho	-	Age-regiment
Imbongi	-	Praise singer
Indlalifa	-	Heir
Induna	-	Head of a ward
Ingonyama	-	King
Inkosi	-	Traditional leader
Isigodi	-	Ward
Isigodlo	-	Royal household / residence
Isigungu	-	Council
Isizwe	-	Nation, tribe
Izikhulu	-	Leaders
Izindlu	-	Huts
Ubukhosi	-	Institution of traditional leadership
Ukugqabuka kwegoda	-	Beginning of hostilities
Ukukhumelana umlotha	-	To reconcile
Ukukhothama	-	Death of a king or traditional leader
Ukukhonza	-	pay allegiance to ...

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I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all who have played a role, during my “seclusion” period, for this study to be a success.

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ABSTRACT

The policy of the Natal Colonial government towards amakhosi was overtly hostile. In 1843 the British forcefully took over a large territory, which formerly belonged to kwaZulu, from the Voortrekkers. They renamed their newly acquired land as Natal.

Three years later a Boundary Commission was instituted with a clear mandate to demarcate boundaries. The results were very unfavourable to the African people in Natal. Fertile land was given to white people, while Africans were crowded into eight land barren magisterial districts.

This meant that the Africans were deprived of land to live, plant and graze their livestock. It also meant the introduction of foreign administration, customs and religion to amaZulu. Furthermore it meant that African people were converted into a cheap labour force for whites in the territory which historically belonged to them.

This foreign rule greatly demolished amaZulu system of administration. Amakhosi, the institutions which formed the core of amaZulu bottom-up system of administration, were highly disregarded.

In an attempt to run kwaZulu without any cost and responsibility, the British government implemented its indirect rule policy in the kingdom. Here hereditary leadership was replaced by the British appointed amakhosi. As the description points out, the latter paid allegiance to the colonial government. To ascertain that laws promulgated by the Natal government were implemented in kwaZulu, a

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hierarchy of white officials was introduced over these appointed amakhosi. These officials were granted powers to appoint and demote amakhosi. Furthermore they had powers to confiscate lands and to define and re-define boundaries.

Following the defeat of amaZulu in 1879 by the British government, kwaZulu was further divided into thirteen "Chiefsdoms". The 1879 Settlement dealt a tremendous blow to hereditary amakhosi. The British tried to neutralize amakhosi who were loyal to the Royal House by exalting respected men in the former kingdom, abanumzane and complete strangers to the position of ubukhosi.

The main objective was to divide and rule the kingdom. This policy successfully worked for the Natal Colonial Government. The results were civil wars and faction fights. The kingdom witnessed a prolonged civil war between the royalists, supporters of the Royal House, and the loyalists, supporters of the Natal Colonial Government.

The loyalists strictly enforced their rule over the supporters of the Royal House, while the latter fiercely resisted the imposed order and were calling for the return of the hereditary and traditional amaZulu leadership. The government responded by supporting their appointed amakhosi against the supporters of the Royal House.

As long as African people were fighting and killing each other, the Natal Colonial Government remained assured that a strong and united force against it would not be formed. It argued that if the African people in kwaZulu were divided, it would be easier to rule them.

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AmaZulu who were crowded in the reserves were also fighting each other in endless wars in an attempt to get more land. In the process livestock, crops and property that belonged to their perceived enemies were severely damaged. The governor, who had powers to intervene, was not prepared to do this. Fighting and killings continued. In 1910 when the whites only Union Government was formed, the aspirations of the African people were ignored.

Today the South African Government is still struggling with the inherited policies of the Natal government towards amakhosi. And the solution lies not only with the government but with all the role-players.

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INGQIKITHI

INQUBOMGOMO KAHULUMENI WAMANGISI KUMAKHOSI OBUKHOSI BAKWAZULU KUSUKA KU 1846 - 1910.

Inqubomgomo kaHulumeni wamaNgisi kumakhosi ohlanga yayingeyinhle neze. Ngonyaka we - 1843 umbuso wamaNgisi wathatha ngendlakadla izwe lamaZulu elabe selibuswa ngamaBhunu. AmaNgisi abe eseliqamba kabusha lelizwe, elibiza ngokuthi iNatali.

Emva kweminyaka emithathu abe eseqoka ikhomishana eyayizohlukanisa imincele. Imiphumela yalekhomishana yaba mibi impela kubantu base-Afrika ababehlala eNatali. Umhlaba onothile wanikezwa abamhlophe, kwathi abomdabu bona bagcwaliswa ezicagogwaneni eziyisishiyagalombili zomhlaba. Lokhu kusho ukuthi abantu baphucwa umhlaba wabo wokuhlala no wokutshala kanye namadlelo emfuyo. AmaZulu abe esebuswa ngendlela, namasiko kanye nangenkolo yezifika namthwalo. Phezu kwalokhu, lokhu kwakusho ukuthi abantu bomdabu benziwa izisebenzi, ezingaholi okutheni, zabamhlophe kodwa ezweni lokhokho babo.

Umbuso wezifika namthwalo wayidicilela phansi indlela uZulu ayebuswa ngayo. Amakhosi ohlanga, okwakuyiwo ayesebenza kakhulu nabantu, awanikwanga thuba.

AmaNgisi ayengafuni ukubusa uZulu wona mathupha. Ingani ayesaba izindleko zokwenza lokhu. Abe eseqokela amakhosi awo. Lamakhosi ayekhonza ngqo umbuso wamaNgisi, owawuseNatali. Ukuze umbuso wamaNgisi ube nesiqiniseko

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sokuthi izwe lakwaZulu libuswa ngendlela yawo, abe eseqoka abamhlophe ukuba baqaphe ukuthi imithetho yawo iyagcinwa yini kwaZulu. Labaphathi abamhlophe babephethe lamakhosi ayeqokiwe. Labaphathi abamhlophe babenamandla okuqoka futhi baxoshe amakhosi. Futhi babenamandla okudla izwe nawokunquma imincele.

Emva kokuhlulwa kukaZulu ngowe 1879, amaNgisi aphinde aqoka umakhosi awo eyishumi nantathu ukuba abuse elakwaZulu eNyakatho yoThukela. Lesisinqumo saphinde sawadicilela phansi amakhosi ohlanga. Ukuze uMbuso wakwaZulu ungaphinde ube isithiyo kumaNgisi, avele nje aziqokela abamnumzane, ezinye zezikhulu ezazihlonishwa kwaZulu kanye nabantu ababengaziwa ukuthi babe ngamakhosi.

Inhloso kwakuwukuwahlukanisa amaZulu. Leliqhinga lasebenza ngempumelelo. Kwabakhona ukuvukelana phakathi kwesizwe kanye nezimpi zombango. Ababeseka umbuso wobukhosi wamaNgisi babhekana ngeziqu zamehlo nababeseka uMbuso wobukhosi bakwaZulu.

Amambuka azama ukubusa ngesankahlu, ephoqa abantu ababengahambisani nawo ukuba bakhonze wona. Kwathi laba ababeseka ubukhosi bakwaZulu, bala baphetha. Babethi bafuna ukubuswa ngamakhosi ohlanga. UHulumeni wamaNgisi wavele wachema nalamakhosi ayeqokwe nguye.

LoHulumeni wawungenandaba nokufa kwabantu. Phela lokhu kwakuwunika isiqiniseko sokuthi uZulu ngeke aze ahlangane bese elwa nawo. Phela kwakwenza kube lula ukuthi wona abuse izwe.

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UZulu lo owawufuhlekwe ezicagogwaneni wavukelana.

Phela indawo yayilugwadule, umhlaba ungemuhle neze. Leso naleso sizwe sasifuna umhlaba othe xaxa. Ngesikhathi salezimpi, imfuyo, amasimu kanye nemizi yalaba ababeqophisana nabo kwalinyazwa. UMBusi wamaNgisi eNatali, owayenamandla okulamula, wawuhlaba inhlali. Baqhubeka abantu nokulwa, bafa beqedana bodwa. Kwathi ngowe 1910 amaNgisi namaBhunu enza umbuso wobumbano. Kulombuso izidingo nezifiso zabomdabu zabukelwa phansi.

Namuhla uHulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika usabhekene nensila yenqubomgomo kaHulumeni waseNatali ekuphatheni amakhosi. Kodwa isixazululo asikho kuHulumeni kuphela, bonke abathintekayo kumela babambe iqhaza.

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this work is the policy of the Natal government towards amakhosi in kwaZulu between 1846 and 1910. The study reveals an unfair and inhumane treatment of amaZulu by the Natal government and its appointed officials, whether in the form of amakhosi or its white authorities who were appointed to overlook the other and to see to it that the kingdom is ruled according to Natal laws.

This is one of the painful periods in the history of amaZulu. It is highly characterised with grief and civil strife. White rule was introduced to the detriment of the institution of amaZulu traditional leadership. Poverty and “Black on Black” violence was the result. The Zulu Ruling House was divided into camps, and as a result isizwe sakwaZulu was also divided into the respective camps. Usuthu supporters were engaged in a war with the Mandlakazi supporters.

Making a living in the reserves was extremely difficult. Fertile land was given to whites. Africans became squatters in the land of their birth. They were forcefully given three options. Firstly to reside on barren reserves, secondly to reside on Crown lands and lastly on white owned land either as labourers or as tenants. This way of living interfered greatly with amakhosi way of leading.

Primary sources, and more especially archival material, were of great assistance during the study. They provided some basic information into the study. A number of scholars have criticised the archival sources for their one-sided approach in

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documenting events. All of them were written by whites and most of them were government authorities. Therefore their perspective on African is Euro-centric and bureaucratic.

Another criticism of these sources is that, in a number of them Africans were only mentioned by first names and their surnames were rarely documented. This has been a greatest challenge in trying to identify that people who share the same name should not be confused. In some instances names of their forefathers and fathers were useful to identify them. But this strategy has been partly successful.

Furthermore to overcome this problem, amakhosi were identified through the names of their izizwe. Yamela, for example, who was appointed head of the government created "Shange Tribe", would obviously be a person of the same surname. However the use of such a strategy should be applied with criticism. The fact that Shepstone established amaQamu, during his term of office under the Natal Colonial Government, does not mean that Ngoza Majozi, the head of the new isizwe - was of the same name.

Furthermore secondary sources were also used during the course of study. Many supported and justified the policies of the Natal Colonial government and very few scholars and writers really understood the plight and misery of African people under the Natal Colonial government. Be that as it may, the study explored the uBukhosi - Bottom - up system of leadership. Before the white-rule in the territory which was renamed Natal, all components of the Zulu Society actively part-took in decision making of the kingdom. A legacy which they were later deprived of, by the Natal Colonial government.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EFFECTS OF THE 1846 LAND BOUNDARY COMMISSION ON AMAKHOSI

In 1843 the British Government forcefully took over the kwaZulu territory, south of the Thukela River. It also ousted the Voortrekker governed Republic of Natalia, out of power. The Voortrekkers had invaded kwaZulu in 1838. Their invasion was strongly resisted by amaZulu and this culminated in the war of eNcome, which was renamed the “Battle of Blood River” by the Voortrekkers. By renaming Ncome as Blood River the Voortrekker were imposing their white supremacy power over amaZulu and thus distorting the Zulu people’s history by trying to perpetuate the myth that this river was without a name before the invasion of their territory by Voortrekkers¹. Under the Voortrekker administration, amaZulu were harshly treated.²

When the British invaders took over kwaZulu territory (renamed Natal) they argued that they wanted to protect amaZulu or “natives” from ill-treatment from the Voortrekkers. Furthermore they pointed out that their course was for strategic (to contain the Voortrekker population in the interior of the continent) and humanitarian reasons.³ However the British Government soon revealed its real purposes in 1846 when it appointed the settler-dominated Boundary Commission.

1. C.M. Nangoli: No more lies about Africa, pp 1 - 7

2. T.R.H. Davenport: South Africa: A Modern History, p.110

3. A. Durning and B.Guest (eds): Natal and Zululand: from earliest times to 1910, A new history, p.125;
T.R.H. Davenport: South Africa: A Modern History, p.110.

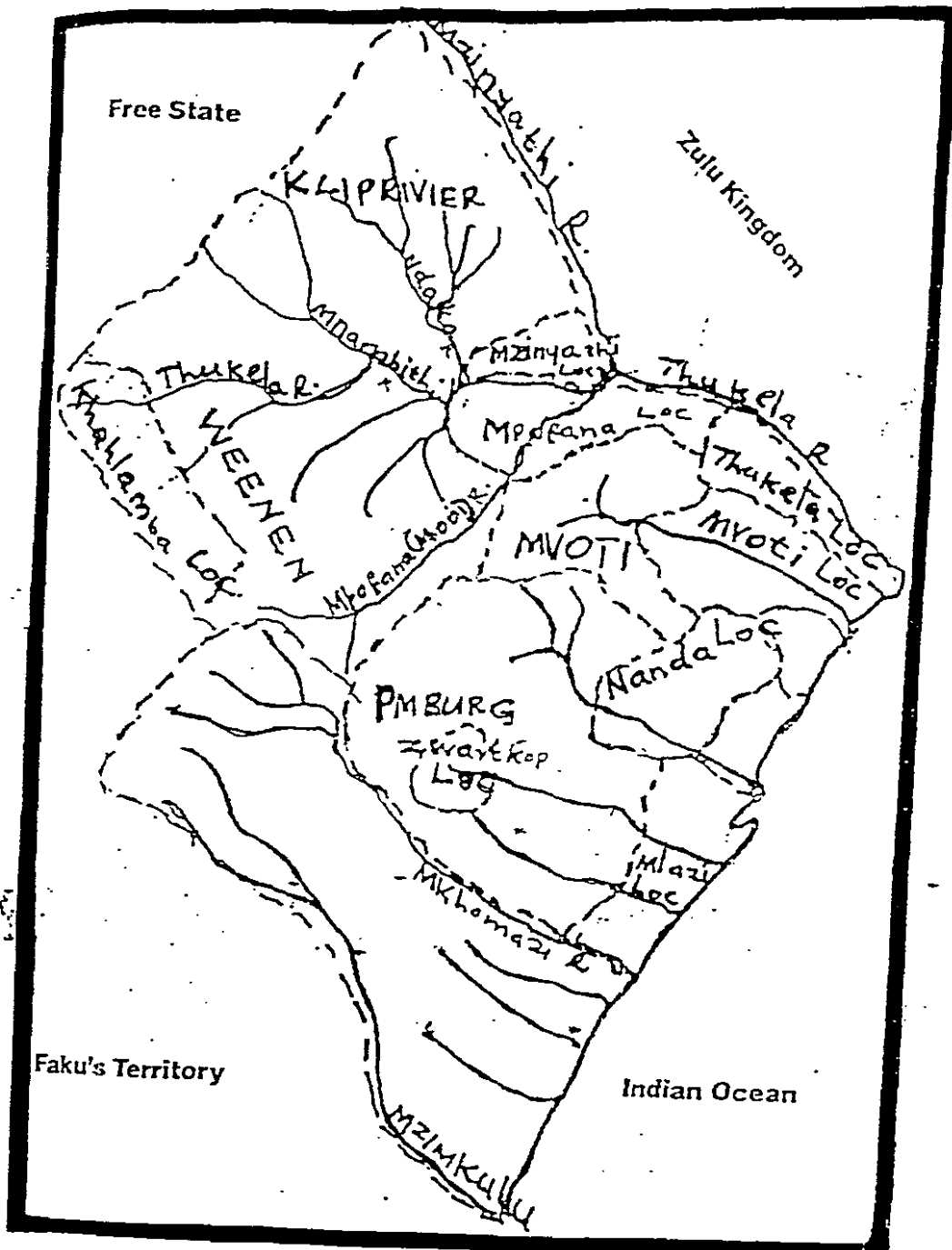
The Commission recommended the division of the territory South of the Thukela river into eight magisterial districts: namely; Msinga, Mzinyathi, iNanda, Mpofana, New-Hanover; Mvoti, Swart-Kop and Mlazi. All amaZulu living south of the Thukela river were placed in these barren districts which were also known as reserves or locations.⁴ (map one). It shall be noted that after the British invasion of 1879 the Zulu territory north of the Thukela River was further divided into thirteen different appointed amakhosi by the British government of Natal.⁵

The decision to settle Zulu people on reserves had far reaching effects on ubukhosi, the institution of Zulu traditional leadership, and Zulu people. It meant the fencing-off land previously belonging to them. Zulu people were converted into cheap labour force for whites. They were deprived of land to live, plant and graze their stock on. The introduction of foreign rule over Zulu people, like the payment of many taxes to the government and the abolition of Zulu religion in favour of western culture and Christianity were the issues which had far-reaching effects on ubukhosi and Zulu people.

In settling amaZulu in reserves the British colonial government of Natal deprived them of their arable land which was given to white colonists. This meant that amaZulu could not own better dwelling places, that they were deprived of fertile land to plant and graze their livestock and that the Zulu people were converted into

4. T.N. Madlala: *The role of Prince Thimani: kaMudli ka Jama in Zulu history with special reference to the activities of his sons, Ndlovu and Chakijana and their descendants, 1842 - 1980*, p.xii; T.R.H. Davenport: *South Africa: A modern history*, p.111; A.Duming and B.Guest(eds): *Natal and Zululand: from earliest times to 1910*, A New History, p.125.

5. G.H. 1562: Sir Grant Walsefy: *Address to Zulu Chiefs*, p.2



MAP 1

Sketch map illustrating the beginning of the location system in 1849.

E.H. Brookes and C.De Webb: A History of Natal. p. 301

a white man's cheap labour force.⁶ To both the white land owners and the British colonial government of Natal the recommendations of the Commission meant more land and cheap labour force. However the Commission did amakhosi (renamed chiefs) and their people (renamed natives) irreparable damage.

The division of land into reserves and white owned meant that white farmers or property owners had to fence-off their usurped land with barbed wire , according to the western system of land demarcation, to mark the place where their land begins and ends. The erection of these fences was a source of great annoyance to the Zulu people.⁷ It interfered greatly with amaZulu communication system in that it forced them to abandon footpaths they had been using for years in favour of new and long ones.⁸ This meant that an inkosi could not quickly pass-over a message to his people. The new white farms broke down the effective communication channels between imizi, imindeni (extended families), izigodi and izizwe of amakhosi. It should be borne in mind that amaZulu deeply relied on the word of mouth for messages. Thus izithunywa, the message bearers either from amakhosi or abanumzane and izinhlabamkhosi, the clarion callers, could not use their traditional footpaths due to fear of punishment for trespass from the new white land owners.

Fences technically divided inkosi and his people. The lack of proper communication or delayed communication between him and his people could result

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6. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction Fighting in Msinga District from 1874 to 1906*, pp:344; T.N. Madlala: *The Role of Prince Thimuni ka Mudli Ka Jama in Zulu History*, p1.
 7. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in: C.de Webb & J.B. Wrights (eds): *The James Stuart Archives*, vol.3:p157
 8. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in C de Webb & J.B.Wrights (eds): *The James Stuart Archives*, vol3, p.157

in communication breakdown or misunderstanding and disunity. This demarcation of land with fences enforced the British strategy of divide and conquer. Fences technically divided people and their leaders. This, it can be argued, contributed to the breakdown of unity between isizwe and leaders. Mkhando ka Dlova Luthuli puts the point of unity thus in 1902:

“I regret that we native people have no fit spokesmen, for there is no unity amongst us. What we want is to live a comfortable existence. Long we have konza’d” (pay respect to, eg, inkosi).⁹

It was such disunity that enabled the colonial government of Natal to impose its foreign rule over the African people and also to undermine the authority of amakhosi. The reserves did not only compel amaZulu to live in barren lands and to work for white farmers and government, but they also disempowered amaZulu system of litigation. Ubukhosi consisted of different levels of problem-solving. It was always bottom-up with members of umndeni being the first people to debate issues affecting their family.¹⁰ This was litigation at family level and no outsider was permitted to parttake in dispute resolution. The pivotal role of chairing such family meetings was the responsibility of the family heir, ifidlalifa. However it should also be noted that family members co-operated in the protection of their members.¹¹ It was their collective responsibility.

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9. Mkhando ka Dlova's submission in: C de Webb & J.Wrights (eds): *The James Stuart Archives*, vol.3; p155; Doko, Malcom, Sikakane & Vilakazi: *English -Zulu, Zulu-English Dictionary*.
 10. S.J. Maphalala: *The History of amakhosi (renamed chiefs) and the constitution of South Africa*, paper presented at amakhosi: Conference "Amakhosi and rural government in the 21st century: A Challenge for South Africa", at Durban Holiday Inn- Marine Parade, 24-26 September 1997; C.Williams: *The Destruction of African Civilisation: Great issues of race from 4500 B.C. to 2000 A.D.*, pp. 168 - 171
 11. C.R.M. Dlamini: *The role of customary law in meeting social needs*, in T.W. Bennet: *at al: African Customary Law*, p.73

Should the members of Umndeni fail to resolve a dispute, the matter was referred to induna yesigodi. At this level of ubukhosi the dispute was debated by experienced men until a consensus was reached.¹² However a person was entitled to appeal to inkosi yesizwe if he was unhappy about the decision taken by isigungu senduna. At this level the case was debated by experienced izinduna, ie. inkosi-in-council, from different izigodi under inkosi's jurisdiction. But it should be noted that Zulu people had the right to appeal at the fourth and final level. uMlomo ongathethi manga (the mouth that utters no lies); the king, who was closest to uMveli- ngqangi, God ¹³. In the King's Court, the dispute was resolved or debated by experienced amakhosi of the Zulu nation.

The case of ilobolo, for example was never brought before inkosi. The parties involved, both abakwamkhwenyana, the groom's party and abakwamakoti, the bridal party, always managed to settle disputes between themselves outside any interference by constituted authority.¹⁴ This was litigation at umndeni level. Mkhandu further argues that where an umnumzane had died, and his wives and daughters had scattered, going with children to others, the matter did become one requiring inkosi's interference. Similarly, a case of dispute as to heirship.¹⁵ This is an example of litigation at third level.

From the foregoing argument it is clear that under the African form of government every member of the state had a right of appeal from the lowest level to the highest

12. S.J. Maphalala: The history of amakhosi and the constitution of South Africa pp. 5 - 8

13. Ibid., pp 8 - 14; M.M. Fuze: The black people and whence they come, p.97

14. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in: C.de Webb & J. Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives, vol.3:p.148

15. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in: C de Webb & J. Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives,vol.3. p.148

level in the court¹⁶. But the advent of the white colonial government of Natal and its Boundary Commission's recommendations drastically altered this position. The commission had argued that thousands of Zulu people in Natal were living without any law operating effectively among them.¹⁷ The implication being that a new system of government must be imposed over amaZulu. And later on what was referred to as "Native Customary Law" was imposed over the Zulu territory. In fact the Native Customary Law was the colonial government's interpretation of what it referred to as native customs.¹⁸ The Natal government introduced a top-down approach which was different to the bottom-up approach used by amaZulu. They were deciding what was law, and not the people, and amaZulu were expected to obey.

In 1856 Natal became a Representative Government. In this government Africans were only indirectly represented by four white nominated members of the sixteen members whites-only-legislative council. The Zulu King was replaced by the lieutenant - governor in whom was vested in theory ultimate control over the administration of Africans.¹⁹

This clearly undermined ubukhosi system of governance. Imindeni, izinduna, amakhosi and isilo were not represented in the new system. Furthermore the government introduced a strict system of monitoring amakhosi using them to channel colonial orders to their subjects. And as a result a number of them became

16. C. Williams: *The destruction of African Civilisation*, p. 171.

17. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction Fighting in Msinga District from 1874 to 1906*, p.1.

18. T.R. Nhlapo: *The African Family and Women's rights: Friend or Foes?* in : T.W. Bennet, et al: *The African Customary law*, p.137.

19. P. Harries, "Plantations, passes and proletarians: Labour and colonial state in nineteenth century Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13,3 1987. p.374

afraid of speaking out their feelings. However some prominent Zulu leaders revolted against this type of British administration.²⁰ To strengthen its position the British colonial government of Natal continued its divide and conquer by introducing a system of appointed legal amakhosi. Maylam explains the new system as follows:

“ The newly appointed artificial chiefs (sic) were essentially intended to serve as agents of colonial administration. The traditional chiefly powers were severely circumscribed and recalcitrant chiefs (sic) could be punished under the Shepstonian system”²¹ (my own underlining)

The fact that the British government had large control of land meant it could strictly enforce its laws and regulations, and amaZulu really felt the yoke of British rule. By 1857 the settler population stood at 8000 and a large portion of arable land was owned by this settler minority, while the majority of the population lived in barren reserves. The large portion of land was in settler minority because the British government allotted 3000 hectares of land to an individual settler.²² This means that in 1857 more than 24 000 000 hectares of land was in possession of the settler minority. These calculations exclude land, which was referred to as the Crown Land. Although the Zulu people outnumbered the settlers at a ratio of almost ten is to one, the Natal administrators through brutality forced Zulu people to reside on reserves, and to seek employment with white farmers.

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20. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in : C. de Webb & J.Wrights (eds): *The James Stuart Archives*, vol.3, p.157; M.M. Fuze: *The Black people and whence they came*, p.p. 112-104.
21. P.Maylam: *a history of the African people of South Africa*, p.84 cited in B.I. Mthembu: *Faction Fighting in Msinga district from 1874 to 1906*, p.5.
22. G.McMall Theal: *The Republic of Natal*, pp. 1-2; P.Harries, "Plantations, passes and proletarians: Labour and Colonial State in nineteenth century Natal", p.372; A.Duning and B.Guest (eds): *Natal and Zululand: from earliest times to 1910, A new history*, p.125

Zulu people who found themselves residing on farms belonging to absentee landlords lived under very difficult conditions. They were forced to pay rents, imprisoned or evicted if they could not pay.²³ Mkhando Luthuli vividly stated the following:

“ We are in trouble about farms. A man comes along and says the land is his, and yet he does not even live on it, being an absentee even from quite another part of the country. How can we give praise, seeing that practically the whole land is in possession of various individuals who have purchased it with money” ²⁴

It should be noted that in case of a dispute between the landlords and rent-tenants, the state defended the right of white landlords to extract rent from Africans living on land which now the colonisers claimed as their own. ²⁵ This type of landownership was foreign to customary property relations of the Zulu people. AmaZulu regarded land as a sacred heritage. It was indivisible and once given to a family it was never taken away, it remained the family's property for ever and was passed from generation to generation.²⁶ Individual land tenure, therefore, meant the dispersion of ubukhosi and isizwe. ²⁷

Although some Africans managed to buy inferior land not wanted by the colonial government, many white people argued that it was very detrimental to the white man to allow the “kaffir” to either lease or buy land.²⁸ They suggested a system which

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23. Mkhando ka Dlova's submission in: C. de Webb and J. Wrights (eds): *The James Stuart Archives*, vol.3, pp. 155 - 156
24. *Ibid.*, p.156
25. H.Slater, "Land, Labour and capital: The Natal land and Colonisation company, 1860-1948", *Journal of African History*, XVI,2,1975, p.265.
26. C.Williams: *The destruction of African Civilisation*, p.171
27. S.N.A. 2/4/1: Land, not dated.
28. *Ibid.* p.7.

converted Africans to the position of labourers.²⁹

AmaZulu living on white owned land were not allowed to build permanent dwellings on it because they could be evicted anytime.³⁰ This was contrary to ubukhosi system of governance whereby umnumzane was allowed to build as many amaxhiba as he wished. When umnumzane's wish to build was not granted, which was rare, he was entitled to his democratic rights to splinter-off to other regions "to see what the life to be got there was like".³¹ But under the British arrangements Africans were required to get passes from their masters to move from one place to another.³² In this way the government and individual white farmers tried to control amaZulu and to impose their rule over them. However many Zulu people were conscious of this, and hence the following comment:

"Let that land which is government appear, and let us black people build and dwell, thereon, and enjoy some security and rest. The natives belong to one ruler, and may not be owned just by one and anyone".³³ (my own underlining).

To a degree, it was a strong consciousness like this that enabled Zulu people to defend ubukhosi, and to endure many hardships. Abelumbi, those who do wonders, indulge in occult practices, practise witchcraft; invent stories continued to introduce foreign activities to amaZulu.³⁴

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29. H.Slater, "Land, labour and capital: The Natal land and colonisation company, 1860-1948, p.272.
30. Mkando ka Dlova's submission: C.de Webb and J.Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives_vol.3, p.156
31. Ibid; C.Williams : The destruction of African civilisation, p.172
32. S.N.A. 2/4/1: General ~ 38225, not dated.
33. Mkhando ka Dlova's submission: C. de Webb (eds): The James Stuart Archives, vol.3, p.156.
34. Doke et al: English-Zulu, Zulu - English dictionary

After the 1846 Land Boundary Commission, successive Natal colonial governments introduced and enforced isibhalo. Isibhalo was a forced labour system whereby the government compelled Zulu men and young, immature boys living in the reserves and the jurisdiction of amakhosi but without the latter's approval to dig roads free of charge. All people were compelled to do service for the state. Children and homes were left unattended and this meant "no one picks medicine herbs for children to drink". Their fathers and brothers were also compelled to cut down wild forests for sugar plantations and towns. 35

The Natal government argued that the system of forced labour was not foreign to the Zulu people. It maintained that amaZulu had worked for the King free of charge. However this was not the case. The Zulu people had fought wars, captured cattle and hunted under the name of the king and not for him, but for their nation. These cattle, were held in community of property by the king for the nation, and were given to needy families for relief purposes in difficult times.³⁶ King Mpande, for example, is known for the way in which he gave needy people through ukusisa a number of cattle. It should also be noted that such cattle were given to the king to enable him to pay for the services of izinyanga zesizwe, who usually treated amabutho before and after a war.³⁷

The Zulu expression: Inkosi yinkosi ngabantu means that a traditional leader is the leader through the people. This clearly states that amakhosi and kings are under the

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35. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in: C. de Webb and J. Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives, vol.3. pp.153,155 &156; P.Harries, "Plantations, passes and proleterians: Labour and colonial state in nineteenth century Natal, p.375
36. C.Williams: The destruction of African Civilisation, p.171
37. A. Duminy and B.Guest (eds): Natal and Zululand: from earliest times to 1910, A new History, p.100; M.M. Fuze: The Black people and whence they came. p.41

law of the people and not above it. They were the custodians of the property and not the owners.³⁸ But the British system undermined and destroyed this ubukhosi system of government. It forced people to work and to pay allegiance to it. AmaZulu were now not working for the love of their ubukhosi. Under amakhosi they were not forced to pay allegiance to the administration. But under the British rule "men would get thin whilst konzaing"³⁹ Their labour was considered more important than their lives. Furthermore this system did not honour Zulu women and children. Zulu women and children living on farms, for example, were ordered to eradicate weeds from the farms free of charge. Through forced labour system the government and farmers were assured of labour supply which became the central factor in the development of an export economy.⁴⁰

In spite of this many farmers were calling on the government to change the boundaries of the reserves in order to provide them with more land and labour.⁴¹ It was partly through such calls that the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 was fought. In July 1879 King Cetshwayo argued that the war was about land and that Whites wanted to take Zulu land and nothing else.⁴² However the king did not mention the significance of labour in the declaration of the war against his kingdom. In his address to new British appointed amakhosi in 1879, Sir Garnet Wolseley only

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38. S.J. Maphalala; Amakhosi (renamed chiefs), The traditional leaders and government: A historical perspective; paper presented at "Good governance at Local Level: Traditional leaders and Rural, local councillors conferences" at Oscar Hotel, East London, 10-11 March 1998.
39. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in C.de Webb & J. Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives, vol.3, p.162
40. Ibid; B.I. Mthembu : Faction Fighting in Msinga district from 1874 to 1906, p.4.; P.Harries, "Plantations, passes and proletarians: Labour and colonial state in nineteenth century Natal, Journal of Southern African Studies, 13, 3 1987, p.372
41. The Natal Witness, 5 December 1904; B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga district from 1874 to 1906, p.4.
42. A.I.I.Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): The Anglo-Zulu war, new perspectives, pp.5,2 and 105

mentioned the labour significance of the war. He argued that “young men are to be encouraged to labour, and allowed to come and leave when they like for only by work can they become rich and prosperous”⁴³

Contrary to Wolseley’s his interpretation, Zulu men found British laws very oppressive. They were not working for their progress as mentioned by Wolseley but for the government taxes and for the progress of white farmers. Many amaZulu people wished to run away from such an administration but they could not.⁴⁴

To increase its revenues and to break down ubukhosi system of government the Natal colonial government introduced economic pressures to the Zulu people in the form of taxes: hut tax, marriage registration, dog tax, divorce fees and taxes on hoes and ploughs.⁴⁵ It should be noted that prior to the European’s invasion and occupation of Zulu territory Zulu people did not pay taxes.⁴⁶ By introducing taxes the government forced Zulu people to look for employment on the colonists’ farms. In 1904 for example, the hut tax stood at fourteen shillings per ixhiba.⁴⁷ The costs of the hut tax to a big umuzi with many amaxhiba was high since they had to pay a large amount of money to the white government. Zulu people who were not able to pay tax were imprisoned or their stock was seized by the government.⁴⁸

The seizure of stock by the government impoverished many families and greatly

43. G.H. 1562: Sir Garret Wolseley’s address to Zulu chiefs, 1879.

44. Mkando ka Dlova’s submission in C.de Webb and J.Wrights : The James Stuart Archives, vol.3, p.156.

45. B.I.Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga district from 1874 to 1906, p.4; P.Harries, “Plantations, passes and proletarians: Labour and colonial state in nineteenth century Natal, p.375

46. Mkando ka Dlova’s submission in C.de Webb and J.Wright: The James Stuart Archives, vol.3, p.156.

47. Ibid.

48. Mkando ka Dlova’s submission in C.de webb and J.Wrights: The James Stuart Archives, vol.3, pp.155 and 156

affected the ubukhosi form of governance which heavily depended on stock for functioning. It meant young men could not provide ilobolo cows for marriages, that families and isizwe were deprived of cattle to perform important religious functions and that families could not milk for their children. Furthermore it contributed to the decline of ukusisa. In terms of ukusisa a person can give livestock to another to use for a considerable time without paying anything for use or enjoyment, however the lender retains his ownership of the stock or its progeny ⁴⁹ The decrease of stock as a result of seizure by government meant that the community was left with only few stock and that they could not lend each other stock. However some families managed to retain their stock, but many became poor. ⁵⁰

Many Zulu men were, as a result, forced to go to farms and mines in order to pay taxes and also to save their families' stock. But by going to mines and farms umndeni, isigodi economy was greatly affected, since productive men had to leave their amakhosi or isizwe or umndeni. This meant that the affairs of ubukhosi were left unattended. In short, men on farms or mines could not part take in dispute resolution of their respective imindeni, isigodi, isizwe or ubukhosi. Generally it also meant they were unable to part-take in their ubukhosi's hunting expeditions, or in the imijadu and imikhosi, or to carry nice shields or to dress-up. ⁵¹ Seeking employment somewhere also meant that stock and ploughing duties were left in the hands of young boys and wives.

While many taxes and forced labour were disintergrating ubukhosi system, they

49. C.R.M.Dlamini: *The role of customary law in meeting social needs* in T.W. Bennet, et al (eds): *The African Customary Law*, p.81.

50. N.A. Etherington: "Natal's First Black Capitalists", *Theoria*, vol.45, 1975, pp.29-30

51. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in C de Webb & J. Wrights (eds): *The James Stuart Archives*, vol. .p.153

greatly benefited white farmers and government. In 1850, for example, when there was a severe shortage of cash in Natal, the state was able to extort from the African population some £6, 350 in cash and £ 3,590 in kind. In 1856 the State through direct taxation was able to get £10.403 from Africans and by 1863 hut tax return totalled almost £20 .000.⁵² By 1879 Africans were contributing nearly seventy five percent of all revenue, and the remaining twenty five percent was paid by whites. ⁵³ In 1903, for example, a hut tax of £690.40 on 986 hut was collected over a section of abakwaMdlalose isizwe.⁵⁴ This clearly demonstrates that African taxation played a very important role in the economic development of the Natal colony at the expense of ubukhosi and its supporting structures. It was through African taxation that the civil service, which largely catered for the needs of the white sector, was able to expand fourfold in the decade after 1846. ⁵⁵

Zulu religion and custom played a significant role in bonding the people: living and amadlozi. White rule in Natal and reserves introduced Christianity, which was foreign to amaZulu and was hostile to their religion. Missionaries preached the gospel of complete assimilation to white cultures. They preached and declared, amongst other things, that there was no such things as amadlozi, and in turn converted Zulu people were taught to testify against their religion.⁵⁶ This was conquest at the cultural level.

By arguing against amadlozi, it meant that Zulu people could not slaughter for

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52. P.Harries, "Plantations, passes, proletarians: Labour and colonial state in nineteenth century Natal", p.374.
 53. A.Duning & B.Guest (eds): Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910, A new History, p.175.
 54. S.N.A. 1/9/7: Mdlalose Tribe, under Chief Mpiyakhe, Nqutu District, 1902-1904.
 55. A. Durnin & B.Guest(eds): Natal and Zululand: from earliest times to 1910, A new History, p.173
 56. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in C.de Webb and J.Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives. vol.3, p.171

amadlozi and gather - as umndeni, izakhamuzi or isizwe during functions for the ancestors. It was against this background that King Mpande, in 1842, attacked Zulu people living near the mission station of Rev. Aldin Grout. The king viewed religious affinity as being inseparable from political allegiance.⁵⁷ Because some Zulu people turned their backs on amadlozi, the latter turned their backs on the Christian amaZulu and they never came back in the form of snakes or dreams to them.⁵⁸

Religious conquest led to the breakdown of family and isizwe unity. Parents complained that they did not have control over their converted children. "We are in trouble, our children lose contact with their homes, and we lose that wealth according to ancient custom is vested in them."⁵⁹ They further argued that before they exercised control over their children, following ordinary custom, but that the colonial government's religion prohibited it.⁶⁰

The government and missionaries also encouraged family breakdown by facilitating divorces, more especially among polygamous families⁶¹. However some women returned to their ex-husbands after a divorce and were warmly welcomed by their families, but they were obligated to follow appropriate Zulu custom of *ukuhlawula*, clearing their husband's surnames before they were fully integrated into the family.⁶²

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57. A.Duminy & B.Guest (eds): Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910, A new history, p.99
58. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in C.de Webb and J.Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives, vol.3, pp.168-169
59. Mkando ka Dlova's submission in C. de Webb and J.Wrights (eds): The James Stuart Archives, vol..3, pp. 155,156.
60. Ibid. p.155.
61. Ibid.
62. S.N.A. 2/4/1: Marriage, not dated.

Western civilisation and Christianity were against polygamy but it was through polygamy that many Zulu women were able to lead a married family life, as the ratio of men to women was about 250 to 300. But as a result of missionary influence and western civilisation, polygamy was slowly decreasing among the Zulu society.⁶³

Furthermore converted Zulu people had a tendency to look down on amaZulu who did not convert to Christianity as uncivilised. This meant that many amakholwa did not pay allegiance to the ubukhosi structures and they spent most of their time in mission directed activities. In 1842 some amakholwa were attacked by King Mpande because of their religious and political affinity with whites. And in 1873 King Cetshwayo acted against the Lutheran missionaries for their teachings against formal Zulu structures and religion.⁶⁴

It can therefore be argued that both the Christian religion and government's laws had a far reaching effect on the ubukhosi structure. Christianity enabled some amakholwa to disregard Zulu religion and British rule enforced the spirit of lawlessness in the Zulu territory, people could break law and run to Natal. In September 1878 Inkosi Sihayo's wives committed adultery and ran to Natal; but were persued back to the Zulu territory by inkosi's sons and prosecuted for their crimes.⁶⁵ But the British intervened and partly as a result of this, declared war against amaZulu and King Cetshwayo.

63. S.N.A. 2/4/1: Marriage, not dated.

64. A. H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): *The Anglo-Zulu war. New Perspectives*, pp. 27-29; C. W. de Kiewiet, *The imperial factor in South Africa*, pp. 208 & 209

65. C. W. de Kiewiet: *The imperial factor in South Africa*, p. 227

The British invasion was resisted, amaZulu bravely defended their territory but the British sophisticated war equipments secured it a victory over its enemies. King Cetshwayo was exiled to the Cape but what became known as Wolseley's settlement and continued Natal colonial interference in Zulu affairs contributed to the rise of the Natal government's sponsored civil war in kwaZulu and thus to destabilize the Zulu territory.⁶⁶ After the war kwaZulu was sub-divided into thirteen "chiefdoms" ruled by British appointed amakhosi, who in turn reported to white magistrates and officials. These appointed amakhosi did not command respect from the people they were appointed to rule.

Among them were John Dunn a white trader, Hlubi a Mosotho leader, Hhamu of the Ngenetsheni and Zibhebhu of the Mandlakazi. These men were used by the enemy in accepting positions to run kwaZulu, and as a result through third force activities they plundered cattle, crops and burned property belonging to the king and his supporters. Respectable men in the ex-kingdom, like Mnyamana, the former uNdunankulu, Ndabuko, Ziweddu and many others complained to the officials about these Third Force activities of, especially Zibhebhu and Hhamu. But the officialdom, like Melmoth Osborn British Resident in Zululand and the retired Sir Theophilus Shepstone, supported the offending parties. Shepstone regarded these respected Zulu leaders as now commoners. The Zulu King, himself, noted - while in exile at the Cape - to Sir Hercules Robinson this attitude by British officials. He correctly argued that "the many disorders that have existed in Zululand lately were the outcome of so many men pretending royalty, keeping assemblies, and not allowing my people to come and serve

66. S.J. Mapthalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, unpublished & Litt et Phil Thesis, Unisa, 1989, Chapter one.

me as in the days of old” 67

King Cetshwayo’s argument captures the imperatives of some people both in Natal and kwaZulu. The Natal government’s Third Force war was about the aspirations to rule kwaZulu. In 1846 the government had settled the king’s people in barren land, and after the 1879 British invasion, officialdom was promoting the war against his supporters. They were not impartial in the dispute which involved their men and those opposed to them.⁶⁸

In 1887 the area outside the New Republic was declared British Zululand. It was to be ruled by the Supreme Chief who was also the governor of Natal. He in turn worked with the resident commissioner and Chief Magistrate who was assisted by magistrates. All these appointed officials to run British Zululand worked tirelessly to crush the uSuthu leadership, more especially King Cetshwayo’s brother, Ndabuko and Prince Dinuzulu, his heir.

In conclusion it can be argued that the effects of the 1846 Land Boundary commission on amakhosi south of the Thukela River were very destructive on the institution of amaZulu traditional leadership. AmaZulu were deprived of their land and made squatters on their land of birth.

67. A.H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): *The Anglo Zulu War*, p.82

68. J. Guy: *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, p.193

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEMOTION AND CONFISCATION OF LAND OF HEREDITARY AMAKHOSI SOUTH OF THE THUKELA RIVER: THE CASE OF NJENGABANTU NGUBANE

On 10 May 1904, the Natal colonial government issued a deportation Order. The order was deposing iNkosi Njengabantu Ngubane from his position as iNkosi of isizwe saMabomvu. AMabomvu were situated between Greytown and Dundee in the districts of Msinga, Mpofana, Ntunjambili and Mvoti. Njengabantu was the son of iNkosi Sobhuza kaNyoniyezwe, kaMawele, kaSomahhashi, kaMyoli, kaMatomela, kaNdlovu, kaNomafu, kaNgcukumane, kaMyaluza, kaNgogo, kaMbomvu, kaNgubane. ¹ Sobhuza left ubukhosi, due to old age, in the hands of his indlalifa, Njengabantu. INkosi Njengabantu continued to be advised by his father, his isigungu and aMabomvu. ²

The banishment Order of inkosi Njengabantu and two of his izinduna, namely, Phikane Ngubane and Qwaletsheni, followed a report by the newly appointed magistrate of Mvoti Division, J.W. Cross, that inkosi Njengabantu be deposed for his “insolence” and “disloyal” conduct; and for the conduct of his isizwe at Matimatole on 12 April and Seven Oaks on 18 April during the census taking

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1. J S H Maphalala: The history of colonisation of the kingdom of kwaZulu south of the Thukela River 1837 to 1910, unpublished paper, p.22.
 2. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904.

and hut tax collection in 1904.³

On the first day of census and hut-tax collection for isizwe saMabomvu, iNkosi Njengabantu Ngubane, Phikane and Qweletsheni - two of aMabomvu's senior men, and about four hundred of aMabomvu gathered at Matimatole with regard to census taking and hut tax collection.⁴ It should be noted that this was the first time that census was taken on African people. To complicate matters it was to be taken at the time when magistrates were collecting the hut-tax.⁵ The latter was already a burden on the African people.

It was therefore logical that aMabomvu had some questions about census-taking and they were looking for clarity on the issue. On 12 March, a month prior to the date of census and hut tax collection, iNkosi Njengabantu was unable to attend a meeting organised by Cross to explain the contents of the S.N.A. Circulars No.6 and 10, of 1904 with respect to Census Regulations, to amakhosi and izinduna. Njengabantu delegated one of his izinduna, to represent aMabomvu in Cross' meeting.⁶ It should be noted that this was not a consultative meeting, but that the government through its magistrate was explaining the Census Regulations. Indlebe (ear) of aMabomvu, together with other representatives, carefully listened to Cross' explanation, and according to Cross, they raised no objections to Census Regulations.⁷

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3. SNA 1/1/311: Report by the Magistrate, uMvoti Division, on the petition of Sobhuza Ngubane, vide SNA papers 1149/1904; SNA 1/1/311, 6 June 1904.
 4. SNA 1/1/311: Report by the Magistrate, uMvoti Division, vide SNA papers 1149/1904.
 5. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904.
 6. SNA 1/1/311: Report by Magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu Ngubane, vide confidential papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated.
 7. Ibid.

The point that these representatives did not raise objections did not mean they were accepting Census Regulations. They were to report back to their respective izigungu and amakhosi. As a representative of aMabomvu, induna gave a feedback on the proceedings to imbizo yesizwe saMabomvu (renamed tribal meeting). This imbizo was held at Shikishiki, one of inkosi Sobhuza's izigodlo. 8

It was during this meeting that, for various reasons, aMabomvu decided not to give in their census information.⁹ The word census taking in isiZulu means to be counted out. AMabomvu did not see the need to be counted out because they had already registered the births and the deaths in their ubukhosi. ¹⁰ The point being that such statistics could be used to calculate the number of people in their ubukhosi.

They further questioned the need for the introduction of foreign activity in their ubukhosi, and in the land of their birth. They argued that why they, the sons of the kings of kwaZulu, Shaka, Dingane, Mpande and Cetshwayo were to be counted out. In kwaZulu they were not counted.¹¹ AMabomvu were very critical of the Natal government's motives. By counting them: was the Natal Colonial government planning to convert aMabomvu into forced labour on roads, isibhalo, or was it in connection with military expeditions.¹² It should be noted that in times of wars, for example during the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902 amaKhosi were ordered to

8. Ibid; SNA 1/1/311; Sworn statement by Malobola, 29 May 1904.

9. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904; SNA 1/1/311: Report by Magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149 / 04, not dated

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Time of Natal, 20 May 1904.

enlist their people to perform both combatant and non-combatant roles like ox-wagon driving, fighting the Boers, manning the block-houses or being in the intelligent services. And now in 1904 aMabomvu enthused about the motives of the government: was it planning another war?

Africans further questioned the government's intentions of counting out their cattle. Were they to become the property of the government? They posed a number of questions as to what will happen if they sell or kill some of their cattle after they had been counted, or else if some die after being counted. ¹³ It should be noted that cattle played a very important role in the socio-economic life of amaZulu. It was therefore crucial that any government interference with them be heavily analysed. In 1838 and 1879 white invaders confiscated large herds of cattle from amaZulu. In 1904, the year in which census was introduced, amaZulu had already lost many of their cattle through east coast fever - the deadly tick-bone disease - and in 1897 they had lost about 85 percent of their herds through Rinderpest. ¹⁴ As a result of these factors it was important that questions posed by aMabomvu be answered before census was taken by government.

AMabomvu were not the only isizwe with questions about census taking. JW Cross stated that isizwe samaZondi under inkosi Bhambatha kaMancinza had some objections to the census taking. He maintained that after his explanation, that no injury would be inflicted to isizwe sakwaZondi through census taking, inkosi Bhambatha was satisfied with the matter. ¹⁵

13. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904

14. A. Duminy And B. Guest (eds): Natal and Zululand, p.223.

15. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu Ngubane Vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated

It should, however, be noted that census regulations, together with various other concerns about the ill-treatment of African people by the Natal government culminated in the 1906 Poll-Tax War, renamed Bhambatha Rebellion. By calling the Poll-Tax War a Bhambatha rebellion invaders were trying to apportion the "blame" on one individual, who was also termed "disloyal". It should be noted that many African people were not happy about the ill-treatment they were given by the government. Early in February 1906 Majongwe and Makhanda had led a revolt against the government troopers in Richmond. It was in March that they were joined by inkosi Bhambatha and various amakhosi from Nkandla and Maphumulo. This war was fully supported by "the mouth that utters no lies", King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo. He was an advisor to inkosi Bhambatha and other leaders.¹⁶

Although inkosi Njengabantu and his father were not against census taking, his isizwe through the Shikishiki meeting delegated him to voice their concerns, hence inkosi yinkosi ngabantu: a traditional leader is a leader through the wish of his people.¹⁷ The suggestion by Cross that there was no necessity for Njengabantu to express the fears of his people if both he and his father were not against the giving in of census was un-African and was contrary to the Zulu system of governance which was always bottom-up. ¹⁸ Cross's thinking clearly spelt out the way in which the government and its magistrates handed matters through their top-down approach and without consulting the people. But on April 12 iNkosi Njengabantu was expected to follow his people's bottom-up approach, and this he did.

16. T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, pp. 423 - 435.

17. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on the petition of Sobhuza Ngubane Vide SNA papers 1149/1904; Times of Natal, 2 June 1904; SNA 1/1/311: Sworn statement by Malobola, 29 May 1904.

18. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated.

On arrival at Matimatole, inkosi and his people gave the magistrate the royal salute "Bayethe."¹⁹ He then approached the magistrate and obtained leave to address him on behalf of his people. Inkosi Njengabantu then highlighted the concerns of his people. In return Cross addressed them as follows:

"Ye have nothing to fear by giving in your Census, there is nothing we are hiding from you, the Government has never hidden anything from you in the past, they always tell you what they require of you openly..."²⁰

The magistrate also insisted that no injury would be done to aMabomvu by coming forward and give in their census and pay their taxes. To this Phikane Ngubane, the brother of Inkosi Njengabantu, replied and argued that they were not satisfied with the magistrate's answer. He maintained that:

" the Government has been deceiving us, they began by imposing a Hut-tax of 7/- per hut promising that it would cease at the end of four years, but it did not cease, they imposed a Marriage Licence Fee of £5, but finding that this did not bring enough money they abolished that law and raised the Hut-tax to 14 /- per hut." ²¹

19. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on Petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated.

20. Ibid.

21. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, A petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA. 1149/04, not dated

aMabomvu voiced their approval to Phikane's speech, which clearly highlighted, their plights and exposed sordid activities carried-out by the Natal governments towards Africans which Cross was trying very hard not to reveal.²² Phikane frankly stated that aMabomvu did not trust the government for in the past it had deceived amaZulu. Cross was not expecting such a brave reply from aMabomvu and was apparently paralysed with fright.²³ Over the years the idea that a magistrate was to be regarded as the mouthpiece of the Supreme Chief, "who stands in place of father to the people, and who is therefore wiser than they, and who has, in his wisdom, seen fit to impose such a law on them" was engrained in the minds of the magistrates.²⁴

Because of the philosophy of white-supremacy and the thinking that white magistrates were wiser than the African people, magistrates were given more powers. These powers were accorded to them in 1887 when the British declared kwaZulu, British Zululand to be ruled by the British Governor or the Supreme Chief (Governor) with his magistrates. Under this settlement amakhosi were under the magistrates and were mere shadows who were completely controlled by them.²⁵ By speaking out against Cross' analysis of the census taking aMabomvu were challenging the official thinking, and this took the "wise" man by surprise.

Realising the position in which Cross found himself, inkosi Njengabantu came to his rescue by asking Phikane and Qwaletsheni to conclude their remarks. Furthermore

22. Ibid.

23. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

24. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

25. Times of Natal, 21 May 1904.

iNkosi encouraged the magistrate to proceed with the collection of taxes and census taking. On the evening Njengabantu presented Cross with the gift of a sheep, and in return the magistrate gave iNkosi Njengabantu a new rug.²⁶ Census and hut-tax collection proceeded until 13 April, the following day. Inkosi Njengabantu remained at eMatimatole camp and left after his people had given in their census and paid their taxes. On the 13th, when everybody was gone, Cross told iNkosi Njengabantu that aMabomvu had not correctly given in their census on the 12th. He instructed inkosi to enquire and find-out the defaulters, further stating that those who gave incorrect information were to be fined £5 each. The magistrate further insisted that this must be corrected at Seven Oaks on 18 April. INkosi Njengabantu was not prepared to take these instructions and added responsibility. He clearly told Cross that he did not know the defaulters and that it would be their own fault if they were to be fined. ²⁷

On April 18 census taking and hut-tax collection continued at Seven Oaks. A number of people submitted their census and paid their taxes, but iNkosi Njengabantu - the leader of aMabomvu, was kept until late before paying.²⁸ At Matimatole he had stayed until the evening attending to census and hut-tax related issues, and later presenting the gift to Cross. On the following day he left when the rest of his people had submitted their census, and paid their taxes. Inkosi had done his duties and was expecting the government to do like-wise.

26. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904; SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated.

27. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated.

28. Ibid.

AmaZulu honour and respect their leaders, and in turn the leaders honour and respect their people. Logic demanded that, because inkosi had done his duty at Matimatole, this must be reciprocated. Inkosi Njengabantu went to Cross' Census clerks, Messrs D Hooper and J Havemann and asked why a person of his position was kept until so late before paying. He also asked W Fitzgerald, who was taking Dog tax, the same question. He reminded them that the land belonged to him.²⁹ The land question confused Cross because by then Seven Oaks was private property belonging to various white farmers, but amaZulu regarded land as a communal property held in trust by the king through amakhosi. Through this kind of ownership inkosi still regarded Seven Oaks to be under him, and for this he was to be "charged" for "insolent" behaviour and disloyalty.

Earlier on while talking to Hooper and Havemann, inkosi had remarked on the strength of his isizwe. But Hooper replied that if iNkosi Njengabantu was anxious to fight why did he not fight them. As a result iNkosi Njengabantu reminded Hooper of what happened at Matimatole.³⁰ It is not clear why Hooper chose to ignore inkosi's concern with regard to the delay they had caused him as a leader by making him wait till late before submitting his census and pay his taxes. It is also not clear as to why he chose to remark on the question of fighting. Were Cross and his clerks planning to portray iNkosi Njengabantu and his isizwe as aggressors?

The day was long for aMabomvu and their iNkosi. They had submitted their census, contributed - to their loss - to the Natal government coffers by paying hut and dog

29. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated.

30. Ibid.

taxes, and in the process their questions were not answered and their iNkosi was not treated as a leader. They concluded the day by singing a war-song on the evening. The war-song was sung by aMabomvu when they went to fight or were returning from one.³¹ It was fitting to the occasion: they had been out to fight the census question and, although their questions were not answered, they had made their voices heard. But they were not aware how Cross interpreted and understood their questions.

Under the heading: NATIVES GIVE TROUBLE, the "Times of Natal", reported on the deportation order of iNkosi Njengabantu in Mvoti County. The first paragraph read:

"In consequence of the intolerable behaviour of a native chief, Enjingabantu (sic), and his following, living in Umvoti County, orders have been issued by the Government for the deportation to remote parts of the colony of the chief (sic), with two of his indunas (sic), and the whole of their families. Those who know the native will admit that deportation is the best and most, effective punishment."³²

The order came as a result of the report by J.W. Cross on the "insolence" and "disloyal" conduct of iNkosi Njengabantu and of the conduct of the "tribe" at Matimatole and Seven Oaks. INkosi Njengabantu was further accused of failing to maintain good order among his people.³³ These were charges against inkosi yaMabomvu.

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31. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated
32. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904.
33. SNA 1/1/311: Times of Natal, 30 May 1904.

Magistrate Cross reported that at Matimatole aMabomvu were armed with a number of sticks, while some carried shields and bundles containing assegai heads. A Mr. Herbert C Wynne - Cole further maintained that aMabomvu did not relinquish their weapons when laying their money upon the magistrate's table. He argued that aMabomvu were shouting and gesticulating in angry tones.³⁴ However he did not mention that this was chiefly as a result of J.W Cross failing to give adequate and honest answers to their questions. It is interesting to note that Wynne - Cole did not mention the fact that the "disloyal" aMabomvu gave J.W Cross a royal salute.

On the other hand Cross argued that Njengabantu did nothing to stop his people from singing. But he contradicted himself when he pointed out that it was Njengabantu who said

"the magistrate must not take any notice of what they are saying, it is only drunkards who are speaking".³⁵

Clearly the magistrate was quick to forget that it was iNkosi Njengabantu who addressed his people immediately after Phikane had voiced aMabomvu's concerns over the government's failure to keep its promises. After the speech JW Cross was paralysed with fright, and was unable to carry-out his responsibility of addressing the people as a magistrate.³⁶ The magistrate insisted that iNkosi Njengabantu associated himself with "seditious, defiant and defensive remarks of his people by his silence, and not attempting to stop them, nor publicly reproving them for their

34. Times of Natal, 30 May 1904.

35. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers. SNA 1149/04, not dated.

36. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

conduct". J.W Cross further argued that remarks by iNkosi Njengabantu to his census clerks were certainly disloyal.³⁷ He failed to realise the fact that iNkosi Njengabantu was expecting to be treated like iNkosi and that he was expecting the clerks to reciprocate for services rendered at Matimatole.

Mr. R.A. Marwick, who was the clerk at the court of New Hanover - where Njengabantu was stationed as a Native Sergeant, was astonished by the new magistrate's report on the misconduct of iNkosi Njengabantu and by the portrayal of inkosi as a "firebrand". He argued that he knew iNkosi Njengabantu as an "honest, respectful and loyal native."³⁸

Marwick attributed the "disloyal" attitude of determined hostility by aMabomvu to the new magistrate's speech at Greytown. He argued that J.W Cross told Africans that the land was no longer theirs, but that it belonged to whites.³⁹ This was a major concern among aMabomvu, and the census taking was analysed by aMabomvu, against this background. Marwick further questioned the defiance and determined hostility of iNkosi Njengabantu and his people. If they were defiant they would not have given J.W Cross a gift of a sheep, and Cross' official party would not have been able to enjoy the mutton. He enthused that:

"...the marvel to my mind is that the whole official party were able... to swallow any food at all, much less to eat any mutton given to them by so dangerous and bloodthirsty a villain of Njengabantu".⁴⁰

37. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, not dated

38. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

39. Times of Natal, 21 May 1904.

40. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

It should be noted, also, that the official party did not positively acknowledge in their writings the fact that the “disloyal” aMabomvu gave the magistrate the royal salute, which according to amaZulu tradition was only given to Zulu kings. Furthermore, they tried to hide the fact that the magistrate presented iNkosi Njengabantu with a new rug. This, according to Marwick, was an appreciation on J.W Cross’ behalf, that the census and tax-collection was a success. Furthermore Marwick argued that it was also an appreciation by the magistrate of the most acceptable hospitality shown by Njengabantu to him in the gift of mutton.⁴¹

On account of the magistrate report iNkosi Njengabantu was deposed of ubukhosi and banished to remote area of the colony, in Alfred County (see map 2) without trial.⁴² This was not the first time authorities were deposing a “disloyal chief”. After the 1879 British invasion of kwaZulu many hereditary amakhosi, who were labelled “disloyal” by those in power were deposed from their positions and replaced by new “loyal chiefs”.

It was also not the first time an inkosi was held responsible for the conduct of his isizwe, and that his family subsequently suffered from the effects. Six years before the 1879 invasion many white farmers, because of jealousy over the prosperity of amaHlubi, complained that amaHlubi had illegally accumulated a vast-majority of firearms. Their inkosi, Langalibalele, was ordered to return these guns and to present himself in Pietermaritzburg, but fearing that a plot was being hatched to deprive him of his land, amaHlubi and their inkosi fled to Basutoland.

41. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904.

42. SNA 1/1/311: Allison and Hime to Sir Henry Bale, K.C.M.G. Administrator of Natal, 14 July 1904.



Langalibalele

After a serious confrontation with the Natal government troops, iNkosi Langalibalele was arrested. The government charged him, firstly for being in possession of illegal firearms. In fact many amaHlubi had acquired their guns through legal means, and some as compensation after working in diamond mines. It was also discovered that amaHlubi had one hundred and eleven guns and forty eight of them were legally registered. Secondly, iNkosi Langalibalele was charged for repeatedly disobeying orders from the local magistrate, John Macfalene, to go to Pietermaritzburg. Thirdly, he was charged for leaving Natal without permission from the government. He was deposed of his ubukhosi and found guilty of treason. His family, izinduna and people did not escape the "consequence". In subsequent trials seven of Langalibalele's sons, two of his izinduna and two hundred of amaHlubi were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. AmaHlubi's land was given to white farmers.⁴³

In the 1870's iNkosi Langalibalele was punished according to the Shepstonian System of "Tribal Responsibility". According to this system an inkosi and his isizwe were held jointly responsible for the conduct of a member or their members.⁴⁴

The charges against iNkosi Njengabantu, namely, those of intolerable behaviour and misconduct of his isizwe during census taking and hut-tax collection, clearly fall under this category of "Tribal Responsibility". Like in the case of iNkosi Langalibalele, some portions of iNkosi Njengabantu's territory were ceded to a neighbouring isizwe of Geveza Cele.⁴⁵

43. N.A. Etherington, "Why Langalibalele ran away", *Journal of Natal and Zulu history*, 1, 1978, pp. 1-24

44. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction fighting in Msinga District from 1874 to 1906*, p.6.

45. SNA 1/1/311: Secretary for Native Affairs to Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, 25 June 1904.

INkosi Njengabantu's case was slightly different to amaHlubi's inkosi in that, he was sentenced to remote areas and deposed of his ubukhosi without trial. INkosi Njengabantu and his two izinduna: Phikane and Qwaletsheni were punished without being given an opportunity to defend themselves.⁴⁶ The government sent a goaler, a trooper and a Native Constable to hand iNkosi Njengabantu, who was at his father's Hlobane umuzi, a deportation order, which clearly stated that inkosi and his two izinduna and their families must leave eMabomvini within ten days.⁴⁷

The punishment was severe in the extreme. It meant that iNkosi Njengabantu and his izinduna were to be moved from the place they had occupied from birth, that they had to sever ties with sacred places of their families, such as graves, that they were to be cut-off from people they had lived with, and that they had to leave their imizi and restart building new ones in the place of their banishment.⁴⁸

It should be borne in mind that iNkosi was a man of between the ages of forty and fifty. Transportation to remote parts of the colony could mean a serious sickness or psychological blow, and more especially because he was ordered to proceed from Dalton to Port Shepstone without breaking his journey in Pietermaritzburg.⁴⁹ Furthermore, this was a leadership blow, iNkosi Njengabantu was already practising

46. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

47. Times of Natal, 20 May and 2 June 1904; SNA 1/1/311: Sworn statement by Malobola, 29 May 1904.

48. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904; SNA 1/1/311: George Leuchars, Secretary for Native Affairs, 23 August 1904.

49. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904; SNA 1/1/311: Copy of telegram from Secretary for Native Affairs (Greytown) to Under-Secretary for Native Affairs (Pietermaritzburg), 25 May 1904.

in place of his aged father when the order was issued. By deporting him the authorities were depriving aMabomvu of a smooth power transition from father to son. They were also depriving iNkosi Njengabantu of an opportunity to learn more from his father about the administration of the affairs of his isizwe.

Furthermore this act by Natal authorities took iNkosi Njengabantu's father by surprise. As an advisor of his son, the old inkosi, should have been given an opportunity to instruct and admonish his son, but he was not.

The banishment of Sobhuza's son was a breach of promise by the Natal government. In 1903 the government had agreed that iNkosi Njengabantu would be advised and guided by his father in the execution of his duties. But in 1904 inkosi was deported by the same government of Natal without consulting his father.⁵⁰

Njengabantu's father had faithfully served the government for more than forty years.⁵¹ In other words he participated on the government's side during the 1879 British invasion of Zululand, supplied the government with manpower for both combatant and non-combatant roles during the Anglo-Boer War. In 1904 the government acknowledged this loyal and faithful conduct by sending policemen to shadow his umuzi and deport his son.⁵² Now instead of enjoying his old age, the old inkosi was ordered to take over the responsibility of ubukhosi again.⁵³

50. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

51. Ibid.

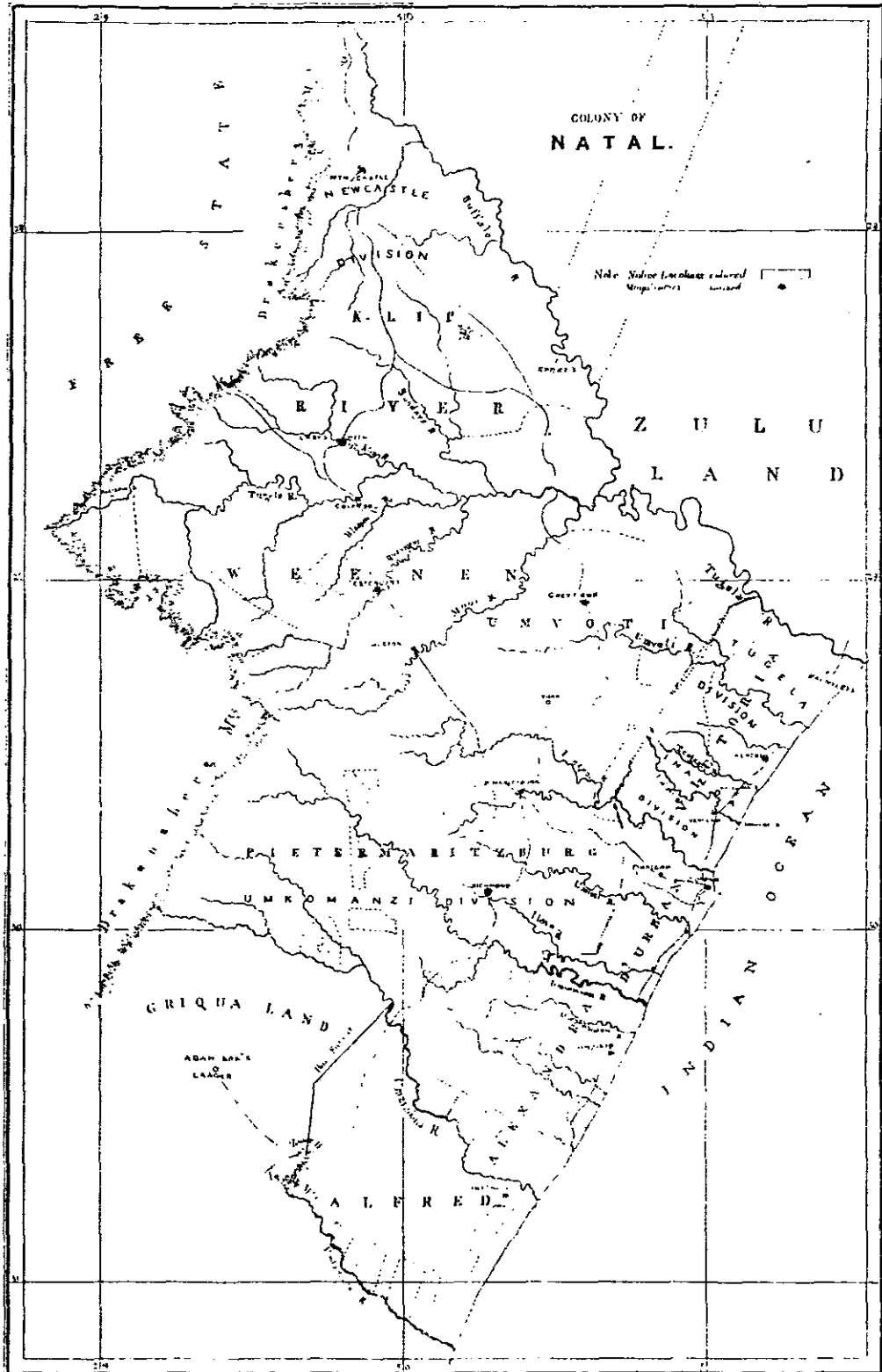
52. SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04; Times of Natal, 2 June 1904.

53. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904.

When iNkosi Langelibalele of isizwe samaHlubi was found guilty of treason and rebellion, his family suffered. In 1904 when iNkosi Njengabantu and his izinduna were deported, their families also suffered. They were banned to remote areas of the colony with their whole families. However due to practical reasons two wives and seven children of iNkosi Njengabantu were allowed to remain at his father's umuzi. They were not fit to travel and the magistrate gave them permission to remain behind until fit to do so. One of iNkosi Njengabantu's wives and two children were sick and the other wife was left behind due to confinement.⁵⁴ Two of Njengabantu's daughters, and two of Phikane's belonged to their father, Sobhuza, through ukwethula; restitution to inkosi of cattle advanced or provided for by the father for ilobolo of their mothers.⁵⁵ By virtue of their status they were not supposed to go.

As for livestock, iNkosi Njengabantu had quantities of this. An order was made that his stock should follow him at once.⁵⁶ This could have added more strain on both the human and animal resources. However the government order was to be obeyed. INkosi Njengabantu further sustained a great loss in harvest, the reason being that his fields were left unattended. When the point that iNkosi Njengabantu's fields were left unattended was made both the magistrate and the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs, were unanimous that iNkosi Njengabantu's wives and daughters, who were left behind because of health reasons with their relatives, should have been able to look after any crops that may have been left in iNkosi Njengabantu's

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54. SNA 1/1/311: Copy of telegram from SNA (Greytown) to U.S.N.A. (Pietermaritzburg), 25 May 1904; SNA 1/1/311: Report by magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Papers, SNA 1149/04, 14 June 1904.
55. SNA. 1/1/311: Report by magistrate on petition of Njengabantu, 18 August 1904.
56. S.N.A. 1/1/311: Copy of telegram from SNA to U.S.N.A., 25 May 1904.



Map 2

Inkosi Njengabantu was banished from uMvoti to Alfred Country.

fields.⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that the authorities were expecting sick children and women to attend to the field. This clearly showed the mentality of Natal government's authorities towards African women and children.

In addition family members who were able to go with iNkosi Njengabantu suffered great hardships. They were not provided with accommodation and the limited supply of food which they were allowed to take with them was quickly exhausted.⁵⁸ Realising this the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs argued that some provision should be made for the maintenance of iNkosi Njengabantu, his wives and children who may be with him. It was of the opinion that this was to be provided until such time iNkosi Njengabantu was able to establish himself in the new location. The office further advised that temporary huts be provided for iNkosi Njengabantu and his family.⁵⁹

All these were temporary arrangements. The Secretary for Native Affairs, George Leuchars soon argued that the government had done a lot for iNkosi Njengabantu. This included transporting him free of charge and allowing him access to remove all necessary material for the construction of his umuzi, from Crown forests free of charge.⁶⁰ In stating that the state transported iNkosi Njengabantu free of charge, Leuchars seemed to forget that it was usual to convey criminals, free of expense.⁶¹ As for the construction material, iNkosi Njengabantu was entitled to shelter due to the

57. SNA 1/1/311: Draft letter by the magistrate, 1904.

58. SNA 1/1/311: Allison and Hime to Sir Henry Bale, K.C.M.G. Administrator of Natal, 14 July 1904.

59. SNA 1/1/311: Copy of telegram from Secretary for Native Affairs (Greytown) to Under Secretary for Native Affairs (Pietermaritzburg), 25 May 1904.

60. SNA. 1/1/311: George Leuchars to Henry Bale, 1904.

61. SNA. 1/1/311: Henry Bale to George Leuchars.

fact that it was the state which took the reason to deport and sentence him to a remote place without trial.

INkosi Njengabantu further suffered a most severe psychological blow. The Secretary for Native Affairs flatly refused to let him know if he behaved himself “loyally” and “faithfully” he will be allowed to return to his isizwe. He maintained that this was to be understood by iNkosi Njengabantu to convey a promise.⁶² INkosi Njengabantu’s treatment at the hands of the Natal government was far different from that of the Boers. Between 1899 and 1902 the latter were involved in a costly and bloody Anglo-Boer War with the British. The Boers were defeated but the punishment inflicted upon many of them, for more aggravated crime against the British, was remitted.⁶³

The fact that iNkosi Njengabantu and aMabomvu were treated far differently than the Boers clearly states that the British government differentiated between its subjects on racial lines. The Boers received a better treatment than Africans. What is more astonishing is the fact that when Britain declared the war against the Boers in 1899, it argued, and amongst other things, that the war was declared in order to safe-guard “natives” interest in the former Boer Republics; Transvaal and Orange Free State.

When the treaty of Vereeniging was signed between the Boers and the British, these promises were not kept by the British. Instead the Boers were better treated than

62. S.N.A. 1/1/311: Reply by the Secretary for Native Affairs, George Leuchars to administrator, Henry Bale, 23 August 1904.

63. S.N.A. 1/1/311: Reply by Henry Bale, administrator to Secretary for Native Affairs, George Luechars, 30 August 1904.

iNkosi Njengabantu, who was a Native Sergeant and had served the British government faithfully. It should also be noted that iNkosi Njengabantu's banishment was not a fitting tribute to his aged father, who had spent more than forty years in the Natal government's service.

Why J.W Cross banished iNkosi Njengabantu? The reasons for the banishment of iNkosi Njengabantu by Cross are not clear. The fact that inkosi was in control of a large isizwe like aMabomvu may have played a very significant role in the decision.⁶⁴ To be in control of such a big isizwe was a threat to the magistrate, and more especially when viewed against the rumours that were widely circulating in the Colony of Natal that amaZulu were planning an uprising.⁶⁵ This was partly due to fear and guilty conscience that whites invaded and robbed amaZulu of their land.

In the 1870's for example, white fears played a significant role in the invasion of kwaZulu by Britain. There were widespread rumours in Natal that amaZulu intended to invade it, and by 1878 this assumption was widely accepted, and it was a major cause of concern among the Natalians. It was believed that amaZulu were recruiting other izizwe in a plot against the whites throughout the sub-continent.⁶⁶ The fact that the military organisation of amaZulu was still in existence in the 1870's was a major area of concern among them. And this was complicated by the increase in the number of guns owned by amaZulu. Therefore, there was a general feeling that in order for "civilisation" to survive and for peace to prevail the

64. Times of Natal, 20 May 1904

65. J.S.H. Maphalala: The history of Colonisation of the kingdom of kwaZulu South of the Thukela River 1837 to 1910, p.35.

66. A.H. Duminy and C.Ballard (eds): The Anglo-Zulu War. New Perspectives, pp.55-61.

“warlike” kingdom must be violently and forcefully subordinated to European influence.⁶⁷

It was against the background of fear that magistrate Cross banished iNkosi Njengabantu, Phikane and Qwaletsheni in 1904. There was fear of impending uprising against white minority. There was fear that aMabomvu could use their numbers against whites in such an uprising. One of the ways to prevent such an uprising was by suppressing and banishing aMabomvu and their leadership.

The fact that Cross was an alarmist played a very significant role in the banishment of iNkosi Njengabantu. When he was a magistrate at Harding in oThungulu, South Coast he argued that amaMpondo, who were attending a gathering carrying their traditional weapons, were planning to attack whites. He requested for an armed white army to be dispatched for the protection of the white citizens against amaMpondo.⁶⁸ The banishment of iNkosi Ngubane and his people by Cross was also done in the spirit of protecting whites against the “insolent” and “disloyal” Njengabantu. However R.A. Marwick questioned Cross’ argument. He asked whether Cross’ report of the “Native” threats was full of facts.⁶⁹

Many of the questions about the deportation of iNkosi Njengabantu remained unanswered, and in the meantime iNkosi Njengabantu spent three years of his productive life in banishment. He was allowed back to his people in 1907 after the

67. J.Guy: *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, pp. 41 - 43.

68. J.S.H. Maphalala: *The history of Colonisation of the kingdom of kwaZulu south of the Thukela River 1837 to 1910*, unpublished paper, p.27.

69. *Times of Natal*, 21 May 1904.

brutal suppression of the Poll Tax War. When he was seventy one years old, the Union government re-appointed him to his position as iNkosi in 1914. This was apparently prompted by a desire to arm amaZulu as allies against Germany.⁷⁰

In conclusion, it can be argued that the power of the magistrates enabled the government to banish people without trial. Their voice was supreme and final. Through the absolute powers of J.W Cross iNkosi Njengabantu, two of his izinduna and their families, suffered severely and without being given a trial. Furthermore the magistrate was able to confiscate land belonging to aMabomvu and cede it to neighbouring isizwe. The magistrates were a living symbol of the autocratic nature of the white government of Natal.

70. J.S.H. Maphalala: The history of Colonisation of the kingdom of kwaZulu south of the Thukela River 1837 to 1910, p.40.

CHAPTER 3

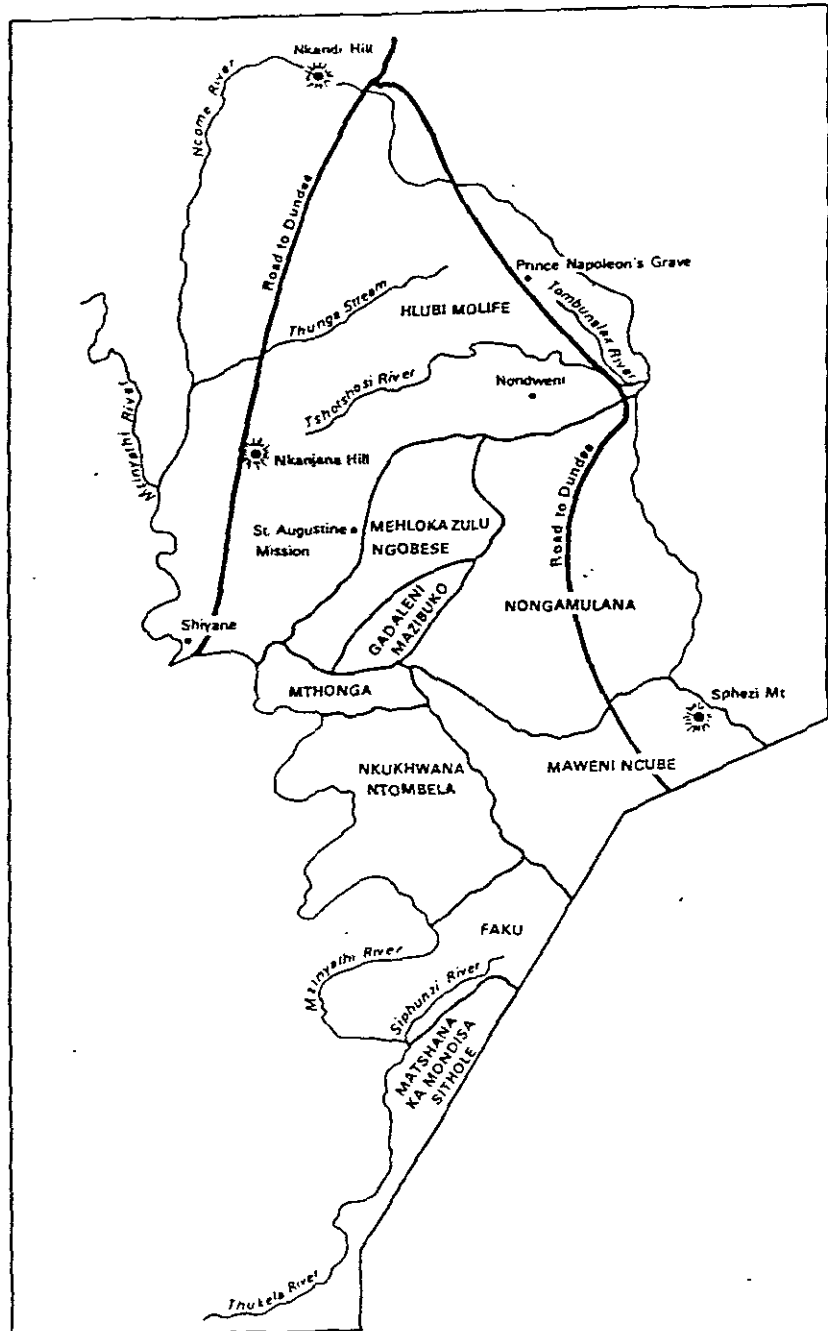
THE APPOINTED AMAKHOSI IN THE NQUTHU DISTRICT

In 1879 the Anglo-Zulu War was fought and amaZulu were defeated. Sir Garnet Wolseley was given a very important task of setting-up a new order and of doing away with the hereditary Zulu leadership. His main task was to appoint loyal amakhosi who were unlikely to disturb or challenge the British authority and its 1879 settlement. Furthermore these amakhosi were to act as a buffer zone against the conceivably more volatile ubukhosi which still paid allegiance to the hereditary Zulu leadership. ¹

The creation of these British petty ubukhosi was to divide the powerful Zulu kingdom, which had always been a threat to the Natal Colonial government. Now that the Zulu kingdom was defeated Wolseley was tasked to monitor the downfall of the kingdom. This took place in the afternoon of 1 September 1879 at uLundi. Sir Garnet Welseley addressed amakhosi explaining what would become of the kingdom following King Cetshwayo's banishment. ²

Amongst other things he told these amakhosi that they were to rule the Zulu kingdom according to ancient laws and customs which were in use before King

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1. J. Laband and P. Thompson: Kingdom and Colony at War, p. 22;
 2. G H 1562: Sir Garnet Wolseley's address to Zulu Chief, 1879.



Map 3. Sketch Map of the Nquthu District. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal Governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, p. 179 (a)

Shaka's times. He argued that no life was to be forfeited without a fair trial.³ How this was to be done remained a problem of interpretation to the individual amakhosi who were to rule according to ancient customs and laws in practice before the era of King Shaka. More interesting was the fact that they were expected to practice what was in operation before the Shakan period.

Sir Garnet Wolseley's stipulations were based on the British policy of indirect rule which was driven by the desire to destroy the institution of traditional leadership by creating a tamed one while at the same time avoiding the costs and the responsibility of direct rule. The solution for the kingdom of KwaZulu was to replace King Cetshwayo with the appointed amakhosi who could be controlled by Britain. By so doing the British were hoping to control the hostile kingdom through its docile amakhosi.⁴

Sir Garnet Wolseley argued that the failure by King Cetshwayo to keep to the terms and conditions of his coronation in 1873 had seen him lose his kingdom. He warned them that should they follow the same route the British government would certainly punish them.⁵ At the end of Sir Garnet Wolseley's address all amakhosi were expected to accept their ubukhosi by signing that they will adhere to conditions stipulated by government to rule their places. With the exception of John Dunn who signed the treaty, the new amakhosi "Simply touched the pen while Mr. Shepstone

3. G H 1562: Sir Garnet Wolseley's address to Zulu Chiefs, 1879.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

made the usual cross in place of a signature".⁶ A duplicate was given to them and the other copy was retained by the government.

Amongst the new appointed amakhosi was Hlubi, a moSotho of isizwe saba Tlokwa. Hlubi rendered valuable military services during the Langalibalele war and fought for the British during the Anglo-Zulu War. As a reward for his service he was given a strategic territory at the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers. By placing him there the British were creating a buffer between Natal and amakhosi who were loyal to the Royal House.⁷

Hlubi's district embraced nearly the whole of Nquthu division which, prior to his appointment, had been occupied by inkosi Sihayo Ngobese and other Zulu amakhosi like inkosi Matshana Sithole and inkosi Matshana Mchunu. Because inkosi Sihayo and the loyalty of the latter amakhosi were doubted by the British, they were placed under the surveillance and watchful eye of Hlubi whose loyalty was undoubted.⁸ Hlubi was a stranger in the Nquthu division. Before his appointment as inkosi in Nquthu, he resided in Weenen County. He had never been in position of power or status during the reign of King Cetshwayo. He, therefore, completely owed his elevation to power and status to the British administration.⁹ The British were satisfied with this division of African people which guaranteed them that, as long as

6. GH 1562: Sir Garnet Wolseley's address to Zulu Chiefs, 1879.

7. SNA 1/9/7: Mlife Tribe, late Chief Hlubi, acting Chief Mayime, Nqutu District, 1904; J. Laband and P. Thompson: kingdom and Colony at War, p. 22.

8. SNA 1/9/7: Mlife Tribe, late Chief Hlubi, acting Chief Mayime, Nqutu District, 1904; SNA 1/9/7: Ngobese Tribe, under Mehlokazulu, Nqutu District, 1904; J. Laband and P. Thompson: kingdom and Colony at War, p. 22.

9. SNA 1/9/7: Mlife Tribe, late Chief Hlubi, acting Chief Mayime, Nqutu district, 1904; J. Laband and P. Thompson: kingdom and Colony at War, p. 22.

Hlubi was loyal to them, they would rule the Nquthu division without any fear.

Hlubi's appointment as inkosi of abaQungebe, that is the Ngobese people, was a source of major concern amongst them. Their inkosi, Sihayo, was demoted from the position of leadership by the government and was placed under Hlubi. After the defeat of amaZulu at uLundi by the British in 1879, inkosi Sihayo was held captive at Ford Cambridge and Mehlokazulu was taken prisoner and gaoled in Pietermaritzburg until October 1879. On their return to Nquthu a clash of interest between them and Hlubi developed. Sihayo continued to exercise his leadership duties by giving his people land but Hlubi objected, arguing that he was in control over the area. This meant that Sihayo, his family and people were not allowed to rebuild their lives undisturbed by the government adherents like Hlubi. The Ngobese people strongly supported their leader, Sihayo, in the face of continued imposition of Hlubi as their leader. However the latter received valuable support from the British authorities in Natal.¹⁰

Soon after his appointment, Hlubi established his umuzi in the fertile Batshe valley, near umuzi of inkosi Sihayo, kwaSokhexe. Hlubi's close presence to the vicinity of the Ngobese leadership was a clear statement that he was determined to rule over land which historically belonged to the Ngobese people. The land had been given to inkosi Sihayo's brother, Mfokazana kaXhongo Ngobese by King Shaka for his valuable contribution as the king's brave and great ibutho. Mfokazana died without surviving issue and as a result King Mpande appointed his brother, Sihayo

10. J. Guy: *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p. 239; A.H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): *The Anglo-Zulu War. New perspectives*, pp. 106 - 109.

kaXhongo Ngobese, to succeed Mfokazana.¹¹

During *ukugqabuka kwegoda*, succession dispute, which culminated in the war of Ndondakusuka in 1856 between the forces of Princes Cetshwayo and Mbuyazwe, Sihayo fully backed Prince Cetshwayo. This strengthened ties between Sihayo and the future Zulu king and in 1873 King Cetshwayo, appointed Sihayo as his royal representative in the strategic Mzinyathi border. Strategic because on the other side of the border was a settlement of whites whose activities had always been a source of concern to the kingdom of kwaZulu. Izibuko lase Shiyane, renamed Rorke's Drift, provided Sihayo and his people an opportunity to interact with white traders and missionaries.¹² As a result he was able to report to the king the activities of these people.

The king did not have problems with white traders. He worked very close with them and it was through them that he was able to get guns and other trading commodities. However he appeared to have a general dislike and distrust of missionaries. He held a strong distaste of their teachings. In his commercial dealings he preferred the services of traders. F.B. Fynney captured this in his correspondence with Bulwer in 1877. He argued that the Zulu King was:

“More self-reliant, arrogant and conservative. If he wants anything, he can find many traders ready and willing to supply his wants, and he ... can see no good in either the missionaries or their work”.¹³

11. SNA 1/9/7: Ngobese Tribe, under Mehlokazulu, Nqutu District, 1904.

12. I. Knight: Great Zulu Commanders, pp. 140, 144 and 155.

13. A.H. Duming and C. Ballard (eds): The Anglo-Zulu War. New perspectives, pp. 27 - 29.

King Cetshwayo saw missionaries as people who were interfering in the running of the kingdom. In 1877, for example, a Hermansburg missionary tried to interfere in the kingdom's execution of justice. A convert of this mission station was "smelled out" for practising witchcraft. He was siezed and killed by one of King Cetshwayo's ibutho but not without any complain from the mission station. ¹⁴

It was the proximity of men like Sihayo to the Natal border that enabled the king to understand some of the activities of whites in Natal. Due to their standing in Zulu Society, information provided by these men was highly valued by the king. On the other hand it was this proximity to Natal that was used by the British authorities to wage the war against amaZulu in 1879. The Nquthu border lent itself to its weakest point to the Zulu kingdom. People could break law and through it run to Natal for protection. In September 1878 two wives of inkosi Sihayo, who were accused of adultery, crossed the border and ran to Natal for cover. This happened while Sihayo was attending to the state affairs at oNdini. ¹⁵

Adultery was one of the crimes which was highly punishable in Zulu society. Zulu law had it that adultery and witchcraft were punishable by death sentence and nothing else. Sihayo's sons under the leadership of his son, Mehlokazulu - eyes of the Zulu people, accompanied by a body of men and his uncle Zuluhlenga - Saviour

14. C.W. De Kiewiet, *The Imperial factor in South Africa*, pp. 207 - 209.

15. SNA 1/9/7: Ngobese Tribe, under Mehlokuzulu, Nqutu District, 1904; C.W. De Kiewiet, *The Imperial factor in South Africa*, pp. 133, 209 - 215 and 227.

of the Zulu people, crossed into Natal and brought back to the kingdom the two women accused of adultery. They were charged and given the appropriate sentence. 16

This case was handled by trusted and respected men in Nquthu. Mehlokazulu kaSihayo was a junior commander of ibutho iNgobamakhosi. This ibutho was estimated to be 6 000 men strong. By 1879 he had established himself as one of King Cetshwayo's most trusted ibutho, warrior. Furthermore the presence of an elder, Zuluhlenga Ngobese, demonstrates that proper Zulu procedure was followed in the prosecution and execution of the kingdom's justice. But the Natal government had ulterior motives against the kingdom. It demanded that Mehlokazulu be surrendered to it for trial. The government argued that by killing these two wrong doers, according to the Zulu law, the kingdom was breaking laws and conditions to rule the kingdom of kwaZulu accepted by King Cetshwayo during his coronation in 1873. 17

However King Cetshwayo denied any claim that he had accepted "laws" from the Natal government to run his own kingdom. He argued that he was king in his own country and that he must be treated as such. He maintained that the government representatives, like Sir Theophilus Shepstone, must speak gently to him and that he would perish rather than accept dictation. 18

16. Ibid.

17. G H 1562: Sir Garnet Wolseley's address to Zulu Chiefs, 1879.

18. A.H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): *The Anglo-Zulu War. New perspectives*, p. 43.

This demonstrates that the government and its authorities were trying to control and indirectly run the kingdom, but this act was unacceptable to King Cetshwayo. The king was prepared to fight for the independence of his kingdom rather than subordinate himself to the external forces. And in 1879 amaZulu went to war in defence of their kingdom. For the British the killing incidence provided the authorities with an opportunity they had long been waiting for to declare war against the kingdom. Nothing could stop them from invading it. Not even the king's offer to pay a fine in cattle as compensation for the incident. 19

In South Africa the Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape, Sir Bartle Frere, used the incident to argue that a war with the kingdom could put an end to killing. It should be noted that Frere, like Sir John Kirk and Cecil John Rhodes, was an imperialist. Like them he strongly argued for the annexation of the Zulu kingdom to the British administration. In short to Frere, a war with the Zulu kingdom also meant British expansion. In England he was supported by Lord Carnarvon who maintained that a war with King Cetshwayo would serve the cause of civilisation against a "blood-thirsty savage" where rule was a course of murder organised by treachery and conducted by witchcraft. 20

However the incident in Nquthu of the killing of the two wives for adultery was not the main cause of the war. But it provided a reason for the declaration of the war towards the destruction of the kingdom and the ultimate appointment of Hlubi as inkosi and a buffer zone in the Nquthu division. There were many factors, and

19. I. Knight: *Great Zulu Commanders*, p. 145.

20. C.W. De Kiewiet: *The Imperial factor in South Africa*, p. 227.

outside Nquthu's jurisdiction, which led to the declaration of war by Britain against the kingdom. They include the British fear of the strong and powerful kingdom in its Natal borders, British confederation and expansion policy, personal aspirations of British officials, the role of missionaries, the desire for Zulu labour and land and a combination of various other factors. But in 1879 many amaZulu thought the war was declared because of the Nquthu incident. 21

On the other hand their king knew that the 1879 war was about land and that the government wanted to dispossess amaZulu of it and nothing else. King Cetshwayo's imbongi, praise singer, succinctly put it thus:

“Uhlamvana bhul’ umlilo,
Ubaswe uMantshonga beno Gqelemana”.

This clearly stated that the war was manipulated by British men on the spot; Mantshonga, Captain Walmesley and Rathborne. They were determined in their cause that not even the king's offer to pay a fine in the form of cattle could destruct them. 22

In the meantime the leader of the Nquthu area, Sihayo, and his son, Mehlokazulu, rendered valuable military service to the Zulu cause. At Sandlwana, for example,

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21. G H 1562: Sir Garnet Woseley's address to Zulu Chiefs, 1879; J. Laband and P. Thompson: Kingdom and Colony at War, p.22; C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): A Zulu King speaks: Statements made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the history and customs of his people, p.57.
22. C.L.S. Nyembezi: Izibongo Zamakhosi, p. 83; C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): A Zulu King speaks, p. 57; A.H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): The Anglo-Zulu War. New perspectives, pp.24 and 105.

they provided first hand information to the geographical and strategic importance of the area. This helped significantly in the defeat of the British. On the British front Hlubi commandeered a troop of African horsemen and was fighting against his fellow brothers. ²³

During the British sponsored Civil War which came after the division of the Zulu kingdom into thirteen different ubukhosi, Hlubi and other appointed amakhosi like Zibhebhu and John Dunn supported the government attempts to subdue the Royalists in their cause to revive the kingdom of kwaZulu. ²⁴ During this period of strife and hardship both Sihayo and his son, Mehlokazulu remained loyal to King Cetshwayo and later to his successor, King Dinuzulu.

It was during the Civil War in the Zulu kingdom that Hlubi got an opportunity to move Sihayo and Mehlokazulu from the fertile Batshe valley and settled them on the slopes of Qhuden Mountain near the junction of Mzinyathi and Thukela rivers. However this was not the end of their plight. Hlubi further moved them to the eastern border, in the uPhoko Valley. ²⁵

Mehlokazulu's father died in action against Zibhebhu's forces during the latter's attack on King Cetshwayo's oNdini umuzi. The British government refused to appoint Mehlokazulu as his father's successor, and Hlubi further used the opportunity

23. I. Knight: Great Zulu Commanders, pp. 82 and 148.

24. G H 1561: Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Province of Zululand, 1898.

25. I. Knight: Great Zulu Commanders, pp. 155 - 156.

to drive him away from his traditional lands. He was forced to seek refuge in the territory of inkosi Faku which was a section of isizwe sakwaNtombela given independence by government in 1896.²⁶

In Nquthu division Hlubi retained the position of inkosi over the whole area until 1896. During this year the thirteen ubukhosi was restructured, as the so-called Wolseley's settlement was deemed to be a failure in administering the British kingdom. The sub-division of Nquthu was part of this broader British restructuring process. It was therefore not surprising that the area was subdivided and in the process Hlubi's izinduna, headmen, were exalted into the position of ubukhosi and assigned districts of their own to rule. It was under this 1896 arrangement that Hlubi was deprived of his control over the Ngobese people. However he retained a large section of isiZulu speaking people under his jurisdiction.²⁷ An astonishing element in the British move was the acknowledgment and appointment of Sihayo's heir, Mehlokazulu, as inkosi over abaQungebe, who were assigned a district of their own.²⁸ This move was a calculated move by the British to secure the loyalty of Mehlokazulu in a future confrontation with the Royalists or uSuthu adherents. Whether it was going to materialize, this was to be tested in 1906 during the Poll Tax War. For a while abaQungebe paid their hut tax in 1903 on 1081 izindlu, renamed huts.²⁹

26. SNA 1/9/7: The section of the Ntombela Tribe, under the Chief Faku, Nqutu District, 1904; SNA 1/9/7: Ngobese Tribe, under Chief Mehlokazulu, Nqutu District, 1904; I. Knight: Great Zulu Commanders, p. 158.

27. SNA 1/9/7: Mlife Tribe, late Chief Hlubi, acting Chief Mayime, Nqutu District, 1904; SNA 1/9/7: Ngobese Tribe, under Mehlokazulu, Nqutu District, 1904.

28. SNA 1/9/7: Ngobese Tribe, under Chief Mehlokazulu, 1902 - 1904.

29. Ibid.

Like many Africans in the kingdom, abaQungebe felt the yoke of the British taxation system. In 1906 abaQungebe joined Siganada - who was inkosi of amaChube and had fiercely resisted the British during the 1879 war, Bhambatha - who was inkosi of isizwe sakwaZondi, abakwaMajozi, amaBomvu and other amakhosi against the government's Poll Tax measures, in a war which lasted until 1907. Again Hlubi rendered valuable service to the Natal Government in the bloody and cruel suppression of the Poll Tax War. Like his father, Mehlokazulu died in action against the British administration, but during the 1906 Poll Tax War. 30

In the Nquthu division was also the Sithole ubukhosi which stood up against the British authority in a number of occasions. Historically isizwe sakwaSithole occupied land in the Msinga division between uNdi height and Mzinyathi river. They claimed royal descent from inkosi yakwaZulu, Jama. During King Shaka's reign they established themselves as great warriors, and as a recognition of their service the king gave them the area between the height and uMzinyathi as their reward. 31

In this area ubukhosi bakwaSithole continued to safeguard Zulu law and custom and twenty years before the invasion of kwaZulu in 1879, they were at logger heads with the Natal Government over the execution of Zulu law. In 1858 inkosi Matshana kaMondise Sithole sentenced to death some people who were accused of practising

30. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal Governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913 (Phd thesis, University of South Africa, 1989), Chapter six; I. Night: Great Zulu commanders, p. 163.

31. SNA 1/9/7: Sithole Tribe, under Chief Matyana kaMondisa, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904; B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga District, p. 11.

witchcraft.³² The sentence was a fitting one. And was understood by all amaZulu as such. However the British failed to understand it.

This was not the first time white invaders were puzzled by the execution of justice in the Zulu kingdom. In 1837 King Dingane passed the same sentence against the Voortrekkers who were found during the dark hours of the night by the Royal Night Guards, oNgqayinyanga, surrounding the royal isigodlo. They were charged of ubuthakathi, the act of using traditional medicine to kill others, and were subsequently put to death. ³³ But the Voortrekkers counter - charged the kingdom of kwaZulu by declaring a war against it. This culminated in the 1838 iMpi yaseNcome, war of Ncome.

Now in 1858 iNkosi Matshana passed the very same sentence against the evil-doers and the Natal Government counter-charged him. It demanded that he appear before a court, but Matshana refused and a war between the Sithole people and the Natal government erupted. Twenty five of the Sithole men were reportedly killed. ³⁴ As a result inkosi Matshana went to King Mpande for land. The king allowed him to resume occupation of their land on the western slopes of Qhudení Mountain Range. When Hlubi was appointed inkosi in the Nquthu division after the 1879 war, his rule also extended to the Sithole people in the area. ³⁵

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32. SNA 1/9/7: Sithole Tribe, under Chief Matyana kaMondisa, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904; T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, pp. 221; J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 34.
33. S.J. Maphalala: The re-interpretation of the war of Ncome, 16 December 1838, paper delivered at "The Re-Interpretation of the Battle of Blood River / Ncome seminar, held on 31 October 1998, University of Zululand.
34. T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu country, p. 221.
35. SNA 1/9/7: Sithole Tribe, under Chief Matyana kaMondisa, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904; J. Laband and P. Thompson: Kingdom and Colony at War, p. 22.

In 1879 iNkosi Matshana kaMondise and his people played a very important role in the war against the British invasion. On the evening of 21 January 1879 iNkosi Matshana and his men encamped on the hills which constituted their stronghold, few kilometers to the South West of Siphezi. And during the early hours of January 22, they successfully engaged the British.³⁶ It was this bravery against the British and their loyalty to the Zulu kingdom that saw Hlubi appointed to rule over them. By appointing Hlubi as inkosi over these people with a strong history of resistance against the British Government, the British were planning to neutralize them. However it should also be noted that the British were strategic enough. They appointed Hlubi to act as a buffer between Natal and the hostile isizwe sakwaSithole.³⁷ By doing this the government was cementing a guarantee that should it happen that their strategy of neutralising abakwaSithole failed, whites in Natal would remain in safety in the face of any possible threat by abakwaSithole.

In 1896 the Natal Government recognised Matshana kaMondisa Sithole as inkosi over a portion of his people. Before the advent of white rule in kwaZulu, abakwaSithole had ruled over the area extending from uNdi height to uMzinyathi River, but in 1903 inkosi Matshana was a head of a very small portion. They paid hut tax on 282 izindlu.³⁸ By re-instating ubukhosi bakwaSithole in 1896 the government was trying to secure the loyalty of isizwe sakwaSithole against a future threat. Furthermore this was a recognition by the government that the 1879 settlement was not a success but that it was chiefly this settlement that was responsible for the troubles that followed the defeat of amaZulu in 1879.

36. I. Knight: Great Zulu Commanders, p. 80.

37. J. Laband and P. Thompson: Kingdom and Colony at War, p. 22.

38. SNA 1/9/7: Sithole Tribe, under Chief Matyana kaMondisa, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904.

Another ubukhosi in the Nquthu division which claimed its existence to the Natal Government was ubukhosi bakwaZondi, under inkosi Nongamulana. Historically they were part of isizwe sakwaNtombela which escaped to what later became known as the Natal colony during the Shakan wars of unification. Nongamulana rendered valuable service to the Natal government and was under the supervision of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Following the latter's recommendation, he was appointed inkosi in the Msinga division. 39

On the creation of Msinga reserve in 1883, Nongamulana and a number of his following was brought into the Nquthu division by Mr. John Shepstone. He was placed under Hlubi to act as a buffer zone between the loyalists and the royalists in the now divided Zulu society. 40 The 1880's were a turbulent years in Zululand. In 1883 the war of Msebe was fought and uSuthu was defeated and in the following year uSuthu was able to defeat aMandlakazi at eTshaneni.

The uSuthu victory was a short-lived one because in 1887 kwaZulu was declared British Zululand by the British. A new order was imposed over amaZulu and Zibhebhu returned from his hiding in eShowe to his territory, the Mandlakazi. On his arrival to this place he continued the war, raiding uSuthu imizi of cattle, crops and was using force to re-occupy his old lands. By 1888 the three year recession of 1884 to 1887 was over and the civil war continued with the forces of Zibhebhu attacking and uSuthu fighting back for their survival. Under the 1896 settlement Nongamulana was

39. SNA 1/9/7: Zondi Tribe, Chief Nongamulana, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904.

40. Ibid.

appointed inkosi, independent of Hlubi and in 1903 his isizwe paid hut tax on 209 izindlu. 41

Under the 1896 settlement isizwe samaNgweni, under their inkosi Gadeleni, was created and declared an independent isizwe in the Nquthu division. Originally they were resident in the jurisdiction of abaQulusi in the Utrecht division near uPhongolo river. The Utrecht division was to become part of the New Boer Republic which was a creation of the Civil War. The area was largely inhabited by abaQulusi and was occupied by the Boers after the war of Tshaneni in 1884. The uSuthu were able to crush Zibhebhu's forces at Tshaneni.⁴² For a while peace in the Zulu kingdom prevailed but not until 1887 when Zibhebhu was re-instated as inkosi over the Mandlakazi area.

AmaNgweni isizwe was driven into Natal during King Mpande's reign and as a result sought residence in the Escourt Division. Due to family misunderstanding Gadeleni decided to splinter-off and was followed by a number of his followers. He established himself in the Nqutu division under the leadership of Hlubi. But in 1896 the Natal Colonial Government declared them an independent isizwe. 43

Along the lines of British indirect rule a section of abakwaMdlalose isizwe in the Nquthu division was given an independent status in 1896. They were placed under

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41. J. Guy: *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p.193; SNA 1/9/7: Zondi Tribe, Chief Nongamulana, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904.
42. S.J. Maphalala: *The policies of the Transvaal and Natal Governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913* (Phd/thesis University of South Africa, 1989), p. 1.
43. SNA 1/9/7: Amangweni Tribe, Chief Gadeleni, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904.

the leadership of Mpiyakhe Mdlalose. It should be noted that the main section of this isizwe was resident in the Vryheid district. Isizwe sakwaMdlalose was a well respected one in the kingdom of kwaZulu. They rose to power during King Shaka's rule. Nhlaka Mdlalose was appointed by the king to establish the Zulu influence in the north western districts during the wars of unification. Later on his son, Sekethwayo succeeded him. The latter became a prominent isikhulu to both King Mpande and King Cetshwayo. 44

During the invasion of kwaZulu by Britain in 1879 Sekethwayo bravely fought for the kingdom. He continued the fight even after the king was captured by the British. However he disbanded his army after he received an order through Maphelu, the king's trusted ibutho who was in hiding with him at the Ngome forests, that they (including Mahubulwana who was induna of abaQulusi) must disband men still under arms in their districts. In the 1880's Sekethwayo was one amongst the prominent Zulu men who advocated the return of their exiled king from Cape Town. During the civil war he actively fought against the Mandlakazi. 45

After the appointment of Hlubi as inkosi in the Nquthu division, the small portion of abakwaMdlalose resident in this division was placed under his rule. In 1896 they were given a separate area and assigned an independent ubukhosi. By 1903 they had grown into 986 izindlu and were able to contribute to the coffers of the Natal Government £690.4 in hut tax. 46

44. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, pp. 36, 63, 140, 193, and 202.

45. Ibid.

46. SNA 1/9/7: Mdlalose Tribe, under Chief Mpiyathe, Nqutu District, 1902 - 1904.



**Mahubulwana (right) was a strong supporter of the royalist cause in ebaQulusini.
He is seen here with Magadeni, who was induna of esiXepheni.**

Isizwe sakwaMagubane under Nkukhwana Ntombela in the Nquthu Division shared a similar history to that of abakwaMdlalosa under iNkosi Mpiyakhe in terms of the place of origin. They originally came from the Vryheid district and Ndabankulu kaLukwazi was their leading man. Ndabankulu kaLukwazi Ntombela was one of King Cetshwayo's favourite men. His father, Lukwazi, was a prominent isikhulu in the kingdom and by the end of the 1870's he had passed away. His son, Ndabankulu, succeeded him. He was a very staunch uSuthu supporter and in 1880's he was part of the deputation to meet Gladstone, the Governor of Natal, to plead for King Cetshwayo's case. After the defeat of uSuthu at Msebe he continued to stand for the royal cause. He, together with other generation of young leaders - like Mehlokazulu and Maphelu, played a significant role in an attempt to win the royal cause during the civil war. 47

But abakwaNtombela in the Nquthu division were not as powerful as their fellow relatives in the Vryheid district. In this division they paid loyalty under the Hlubi administration and in 1896 they were assigned a separate area and declared an independent ubukhosi under Nkukhwana Magubane. By 1903 they comprised of 986 izindlu and were able to contribute to the coffers of the Natal government £690.4 in hut tax. 48

The British policy of divide and rule created many "fiefdoms" in kwaZulu and after 1896 Nquthu, the area which historically belonged to inkosi Sihayo with a

47. J. Guy. *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 29 -32, 99 and 194.

48. SNA 1/9/7: Magubane Tribe, acting Chief Makafula, as Regent for the Minor heir Mandebele, 1902 - 1904.



Ndabankulu kaLukwazi

reasonable piece of land to amakhosi Matshana Sithole and Matshana Mchunu, was subdivided into many ubukhosi with many people congested in the unproductive plots of land. The long term results were to be poverty, civil strife and wars amongst the inhabitants of the area. As long as the interests of the white inhabitants of Natal were safe, the government was satisfied with its arrangements in the districts.

CHAPTER 4

AMAKHOSI IN THE MAHLABATHINI AND NDWANDWE DISTRICTS

The British systematically continued to implement its policy of divide and rule in kwaZulu territory. The Ndwandwe and Mahlabathini districts were no exceptions. The government steadfastly adhered to its indirect rule, by appointing men who were loyal to its cause and demoting those who were perceived as dangers to the British rule.

In the Ndwandwe district it went as far as dividing the Royal House of kwaZulu. Prominent men in the defeated Zulu Kingdom, like Zibhebhu and Ziwedu, were appointed into the positions of ubukhosi. These men were highly regarded in Zulu society and had very close ties with the Royal House. The British were determined to use them in dividing the ruling house or to prevent any formation of a united front by amaZulu against it.

Zibhebhu kaMaphitha was one of the people to be exalted to the position of ubukhosi by the British after the 1879 War. Zibhebhu's father, Maphitha, was a cousin of King Mpande and a very prominent man in the kingdom of kwaZulu during King Mpande's reign.¹ He played a very important role in the rise of Prince Mpande kaSenzangakhona to power. In 1840 he fully backed Prince Mpande in the war of Maqonqo which resulted in the defeat of King Dingane's forces and the recognition of

1. SNA 1/9/7: Mandlakazi Tribe, under Zibhebhu, Ndwandwe and uBombo districts, 1902 - 1904.

Prince Mpande as king of amaZulu.

As a recognition of his contribution to King Mpande's cause, Maphitha was given a district of his own on the northern borders of kwaZulu - the greater portion of which formerly belonged to isizwe sakwaNdwandwe under inkosi Zwide. ² Zwide was a powerful inkosi of abakwaNdwandwe in the first decades of the nineteenth century but he suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of King Shaka in 1819. In the 1870's and before the Anglo-Zulu War, Maphitha passed away and was succeeded by his son, Zibhebhu. ³

During the early stages of the war Zibhebhu bravely defended the kingdom against the invading British soldiers but towards the end of the war he fully backed the British.⁴ He was appointed one of the thirteen amakhosi under the British 1879's settlement. Many amaZulu were strongly opposed to the settlement and the appointment of these amakhosi over land which historically belonged to the kings of kwaZulu, from time immemorial. ⁵

The new appointed amakhosi, backed by the British, were very much prepared to impose their rule over the people they were appointed to rule. The result was a direct confrontation between amaZulu who supported the Royal House, to be

2. Ibid.

3. T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, pp. 35 - 37, 60; SNA 1/9/7: Mandlakazi Tribe, under Zibhebhu, Ndwandwe and uBombo districts, 1902 - 1904.

4. I/NGA 3/2/2: Makhoba kaMaphitha 1891; SNA 1/9/7: Mandlakazi Tribe, under Chief Zibhebhu, Ndwandwe and UBombo districts, 1902 - 1904.

5. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom; pp. 70 - 94.



Zibhebhu kaMaphitha

known as uSuthu, and those who supported the government's move under Zibhebhu, to be known as Mandlakazi. Two of the prominent highlights of the Civil War was the defeat of uSuthu in 1883 in iMpi yase Msebe, war of Msebe, and of Mandlakazi in 1884 at Tshaneni at the hands of uSuthu. 6

Following the defeat at Tshaneni, Zibhebhu went to eShowe for protection. Zibhebhu's defeat was a great blow to the Natal Colonial government. It had always been the policy of this government, and it's governor, Sir Henry Bulwer, to use Prince Zibhebhu as a counterweight to the Royal House.⁷ The government and its authorities were therefore not prepared to see this policy failing. In 1887 when kwaZulu was declared British Zululand, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, H.C. Shepstone (Sir Theophilus Shepstone's son and secretary for Native Affairs) and Melmoth Osborn, resident Commissioner in kwaZulu, strongly recommended the return of Prince Zibhebhu as inkosi to his old lands. They all argued that the prince held the balance of power in kwaZulu.⁸ The result was that Zibhebhu was given larger territory at the expense of uSuthu, which was surrounded by hostile locations. Lands that belonged to ubukhosi bakwaZulu were taken away from legitimate hands. Furthermore most of the lands which Prince Zibhebhu returned to were not clearly marked and were also occupied by

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6. SNA 1/9/7: Mandlakazi Tribe, under chief Zibhebhu, Ndwandwe and uBombo districts, 1902 - 1904; S.B. Dlamini: Causes of the battle of Tshaneni, 5 June 1884 (paper submitted in partial fulfillment for Honours Degree in Department of History, University of Zululand, 1991).
 7. SNA 1/9/7: Mandlakazi Tribe, under Chief Zibhebhu, Ndwandwe and uBombo districts, 1902 - 1904; S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1892 - 1913; Chapter 1.
 8. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 to 1913, Chapter 1.

staunch supporters of the Royal House.⁹

Zibhebhu tried very hard to subjugate uSuthu followers to his rule or to get rid of them. Cruel methods like burning of uSuthu houses, crops and confiscation of their cattle were used by him to attain his objectives. In his sordid undertakings he was fully backed by R.H. Addison, the Ndwandwe Resident Magistrate but uSuthu supporters who defended or avenged themselves against Zibhebhu's atrocious activities were severely punished by the government. A staunch uSuthu supporter, Nkowane, was hanged for murdering two of Zibhebhu's men.¹⁰ And uSuthu were completely unhappy about the government's act. The Natal government and its officials were satisfied about this division, and more especially of the former Royal House of kwaZulu.

In 1898 Prince Zibhebhu and King Dinuzulu realised the futility of their confrontations and negative effects the civil war had on the lives of many amaZulu in the territory. They decided to renew their friendship. This spirit was highly supported by isizwe sakwaZulu since it meant the end of hostilities directed amongst themselves.¹¹ On the other hand the Secretary for Native Affairs, J.L.Hulett was

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9. SNA 1/9/7: Mandlakazi Tribe, under Zibhebhu, Ndwandwe and uBombo districts, 1902 - 1904; SNA 1/9/7: Usuthu section, under Chief Dinuzulu, Ndwandwe district, 1902 - 1904; SNA 1/9/7: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on the 20th, and 21st May 1907; S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal government towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter I.
 10. 1/NGA 3/2/2: Mangosi, 1891.
 11. G.H. 1561: Minutes of a meeting held at the Office of the Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner Eshowe, Zululand, on Saturday, the 4th June 1898; G.H. 1561: Letter from the SNA to Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Province of Zululand to secretary for Native Affairs, Pietermaritzburg, 4 June 1898.

very much concerned about this move. He warned the Civil Commissioner in the Zulu kingdom against the united front by amaZulu and of the positive effects the civil war and the division of amaZulu had for the Natal Colonial government. 12

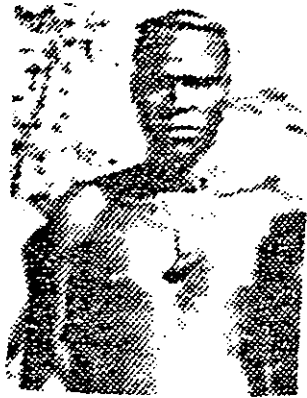
The Secretary for Native Affairs maintained that the division of the Royal House meant the division of amaZulu people. Through this the government had been able to rule amaZulu. The reconciliation between Prince Zibhebhu and King Dinuzulu would see an end of this manipulation, and now the United Royal House would unite amakhosi and their respective people and become a great threat to the Natal Colonial government. 13

It was through circumstances that were systematically engineered by the Natal Colonial government that Zibhebhu became an enemy with people he had shared ideas with for the defence of the kingdom and also with people who stood for the restoration of the Royal House to its legitimate place. He was on opposite ends to people like King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo Zulu and to his brothers, Hhayiyana kaMaphitha Zulu, Fokothi kaMaphitha Zulu and Makhoba kaMaphitha Zulu.

Hhayiyana, was Zibhebhu's brother, but when the latter was appointed inkosi in the territory which historically belonged to ubukhosi bakwaZulu, Hhayiyana threw his weight behind the legitimate cause. As a result Zibhebhu evicted him and his supporters from his district. In the civil war that followed Hhayiyana fell fighting

12. G.H. 1561: Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, province of Zululand, June 1898.

13. G.H. 1561: Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Province of Zululand, June 1898.



Makhoba kaMaphitha

against Zibhebhu's forces in 1883. His adherents in this district continued the struggle against Zibhebhu and after Zibhebhu's defeat at Tshaneni in 1884 many of Hhayiyana's uSuthu supporters returned to their original sites and only to be evicted by the Resident Magistrate, R.H. Addison, and Zibhebhu after his re-appointment as inkosi in 1887.¹⁴

Zibhebhu was also at the bitter end with Fokothi kaMaphitha, his brother who was an heir of ikhohlo umuzi of Maphitha. He was placed under Zibhebhu after the latter's appointment as inkosi. He lived few kilometers south of iNdumo hills on the eastern slope of Nongoma ridge. However Fokothi strongly argued that he owed no allegiance to Zibhebhu. His brother responded at this denial of authority by Fokothi by driving him out of the district. But following Zibhebhu's defeat at Tshaneni in 1884, Fokothi and his supporters returned to their sites, only to be dispossessed in 1887 by R.H. Addison after Zibhebhu's re-installation as inkosi.¹⁵

On this district was another brother to Zibhebhu, Makhoba kaMaphitha. He was also a very dedicated uSuthu supporter. And no sooner than later they were at odd ends with Zibhebhu. Makhoba, like Hhayiyana, was killed in 1883 at Ulundi while he was fighting against the forces led by his brother. Like many of uSuthu supporters, his children returned to their father's sites after the defeat of Zibhebhu in 1884, but they did not escape the eviction hands of R.H. Addison in 1887 when he was chasing

14. Z.A. 19: Reports and Annexures of the Zululand Boundary Commission, 1880 and 1891.

15. Z.A. 19: Reports and Annexures of the Zululand Boundary Commission, 1880 and 1891:1/ NGA: Fogoti, Ndwandwe district, 16. July 1891.

uSuthu supporters away from the area after the restoration of Zibhebhu. 16

In 1888 Dinuzulu's uncle, a Zulu prince of high standing and a staunch uSuthu supporter, Ziwezu, dissented to the enemy, the government forces. This made him an enemy and as a result he suffered a lot at the hands of uSuthu.¹⁷ The government reciprocated his move to its camp by recognising him as inkosi over a small following in the Ndwanwe district. In 1903 his followers paid hut tax on 22 izindlu. 18 Why Prince Ziwezu, with such a small following crossed his allegiance to the Natal government is not very much clear. But the benefits of power, position and status could be given as some of the pulling factors to the camp of the Natal Colonial government.

In 1898 the Natal Colonial government made another move. This time it further demoted King Dinuzulu by appointing him as head of two small wards in the Ndwanwe district.¹⁹ But the government tried its best to see to it that the king's influence remained within the boundaries of the two districts he was appointed to head. His activities were monitored through various individuals who were asked to report people who had been seen visiting the king. Late in April 1898, for example, Zolwana, Frederick Mellish Cooke (both employed by shop owner Arthur Walker Morris) and Morris himself testified before the Resident Magistrate, J.Y. Gibson that

16. 1/NGA 3/2/2: Makhoba, 1891.

17. SNA 1/9/7: Mandlakazi Tribe, under Zibhebhu, Ndwanwe and uBombo districts, 1902 - 1904; 1/NGA 3/2/2: Siziba; usiwezu, 1891.

18. SNA 1/9/7: Zulu Tribe, under Ziwezu, Ndwanwe district, 1902 - 1904.

19. SNA 1/9/7: Usuthu section, under Chief Dinuzulu, Ndwanwe district, 1902 - 1904; Usuthu no. 2, under headman Mgamule, Ndwanwe district, 1902 - 1904.

a number of uSuthu supporters outside the king's jurisdiction had visited the king.²⁰

Furthermore, King Dinuzulu was ordered by the Governor, Sir Henry Mac Callum to report all his visitors and correspondence outside the uSuthu location to A.W. Leslie, the Ndwandwe Magistrate. But to expect the king to report his visitors and correspondence from outside the Ndwandwe Magistrate was to expect too much of him.²¹ However the Natal government employed the services of "spies" to remain informed of the activities in King Dinuzulu's palace. This enabled it to quickly react against any possible threat of unity amongst amaZulu. Through its intelligence system, the government was able to foster its policy of divide and rule amongst Africans in kwaZulu.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the Natal Colonial government was able to divide the former Ruling House of kwaZulu. The Natal Colonial government was also able to divide families. For example, in the Ndwandwe district, King Dinuzulu and Prince Ziwedu did not see eye to eye, and the house of Maphitha (one of the most influential men in the kingdom during King Mpande's rule) were fighting each other. By 1900's the Natal Colonial government had mastered the art of dividing families and amakhosi. When Zibhebhu passed away it continued the trend by now dividing his family.

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20. SNA 1/4/5: Sworn Statement by Zolwana, a native before J.Y. Gibson, Resident Magistrate, Ndwandwe District, 23 April 1898. SNA 1/4/5: Sworn statement by Frederick Cooke before J.Y. Gibson, Resident Magistrate, Ndwandwe District, 25 April 1898; SNA 1/4/5: Sworn statement by Arthur Walker Morris before J.Y. Gibson, Resident Magistrate, Ndwandwe District, 23 April 1898.
21. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal government towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter 5.

In 1905 the Natal Colonial government appointed Zibhebhu's still crawling son, Bhokwe, as heir to Zibhebhu's throne. The government ignored Msenteli who was the legitimate heir and opted for Bhokwe who was the son of Zibhebhu's seventy fifth and last wife. Because Bhokwe was young, Mchitheki was appointed to the position of an acting inkosi, until Bhokwe was mature enough to lead his father's people.²² Many of the Mandlakazi people were against the appointment of Bhokwe as heir and of Mchitheki as his acting inkosi. Even King Dinuzulu found the government's choice of Bhokwe to be a very strange one. ²³

Msenteli's supporters under the leadership of Funwayo kaSiza Khumalo rallied against the government's act of imposing Bhokwe and Mchitheki as their leaders. In 1905 they by-passed the Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand, C.R. Saunders, and went to see the Minister for Native Affairs in Pietermaritzburg with regard to the decision. The Commissioner was very concerned about the fact that Funwayo, Malunga kaMhuya Mpanza, Mhluzi kaSithanda Manqele and Magqamuzana kaSondlovu Nxumalo went to consult the minister without obtaining a pass and the necessary authority to do so from their magistrate. ²⁴

The magistrate in the Ndwandwe division continued to force Msenteli's supporters to pay allegiance to the acting inkosi. But they disobeyed such orders and continued

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22. SNA 1/1/341: letter from Commissioner for Native Affairs to the Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906; SNA 1/1/324: The petition of UMSENTELE, humbly sheweth, to Governor Sir Henry Edward Mac Callum, 21 August 1905.
23. SNA 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on the 20th, and 21st May 1907.
24. SNA 1/1/341: letter from Commissioner for Native Affairs to Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906; SNA 1/1/341: USNA - CNA, names of headmen visiting city, 15 May 1906.

to call for the appointment of Msenteli to his leadership position.²⁵ Rather than submitting to Mchitheki they called on the government to release Msenteli from exile in eShowe and allow them to splinter - off from the Mandlakazi district into other parts of the Province of kwaZulu after the collection of hut tax in 1906. But the government was opposed to this. ²⁶

Funwayo and Msenteli's supporters continued to fight for the legitimate heir. On the other front the government argued that their behaviour was not acceptable and that if found they would be punished under the Martial Law. Which meant that their case was to be handled by the Military Court and they would be eligible to be court martialled and if found guilty of high treason they were to be sentenced to death by a firing squad. ²⁷

The other option open to the government was to evict them as it had done with the supporters of uSuthu cause in the 1880's. The magistrate in the Ndwandwe district and the Commissioner for Native Affairs in kwaZulu insisted that no leniency should be displayed to Msenteli's supporters and that they should be made to suffer for their "uncalled for and unprecedented conduct". They summarised that, if their authority was to be maintained in the Province of kwaZulu, Funwayo must be removed from the division as soon as possible. ²⁸

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25. SNA 1/1/324: Letter from Magistrate, Ndwandwe Division, Zululand, to Commissioner for Native Affairs, 15 November 1906.
26. SNA 1/1/341: Letter from Commissioner for Native Affairs to Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906; SNA 1/1/341: USNA - CNA, names of headmen visiting city, 15 May 1906.
27. SNA 1/1/341: Letter from Commissioner for Native Affairs to Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906.
28. SNA 1/1/341: Letter from commission for Native Affairs to Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906.

To call the conduct of Msenteli's supporters an unprecedented one was a lack of foresight from the Ndwandwe Magistrate. A similar event took place throughout the 1880's and to the beginning of the twentieth century on a larger scale. The supporters of the Royal House stood-up against the appointment and the imposition of unqualified men as amakhosi over them. By 1900's the civil war had already set a precedent that the British options with regards to succession issues could be opposed. Many people were aware of the consequences that went with fierce opposition to the government's choices. In the 1880's many of their houses were burnt, their cattle taken away from them and their crops were plundered. The same happened to Msenteli's supporters.

Mchitheki, and with the government approval, continued to compel Msenteli's adherents to pay allegiance to him. He fined those who did not recognise him as inkosi. Furthermore he confiscated about 180 head of cattle from a large number of Msenteli's supporters on condition that they refused to tender their submission to him.²⁹ Msenteli's supporters were angered by the fact that Mchitheki was slaughtering their cattle for his own personal use. They maintained that this could not be tolerated. However the government fully backed Mchitheki.³⁰

The government continued to harass and press Msenteli to admit to Mchitheki's rule. It argued that he must publicly repudiate his attorney's, C. Yonge and B. Crosly.

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29. SNA 1/1/341: Letter from Commissioner for Native Affairs to Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906; SNA 1/1/341: USNA - CNA, names of headmen visiting city, 15 May 1906; SNA 1/1/341: Telegram from USNA - CNA, 15 June 1906.
30. SNA 1/1/341: Letter from Commissioner for Native Affairs to Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906.

For the legitimate heir to live peacefully and away from government harassment, he was instructed to publicly renounce his supporters and attorneys as ill-advisers. On the 3rd of November 1906, Msenteli yielded to this government demand by declaring that he was ill-advised and that he would now live quietly and peacefully under the acting inkosi.³¹

Why the Natal Colonial government was dividing Zibhebhu's house is not clear. But it could be argued that this was driven by fear of a united front from Bhanganomo - Zibhebhu's main umuzi and uSuthu supporters.³² The fact that King Dinuzulu supported Msenteli's cause was a clear indication that the legitimate heir would throw his lot behind the uSuthu cause. So it made more sense for the government to appoint a sibling by Zibhebhu's last wife to the position of ubukhosi. In times of any possible confrontation between amaZulu and the government, this inkosi was to be bound to support the government which was responsible for his rise to power.

After the 1879 war this strategy had been successfully applied to Zibhebhu by the British. The government separated him from the legitimate cause of his people in the Zulu Kingdom to its camp. And as a reward for his service, the British appointed him to the position of ubukhosi. IsiZulu expression has it that *isitha somuntu uye uqobo*, a man is his worst enemy. By turning against his people, Zibhebhu was committing a political suicide. In the future the British government would not stand for him.

31. SNA 1/1/324: Sworn statement by Msenteli before the Magistrate, eShowe division, 3 November 1906.

32. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 to 1913, Chapter 1.

And in 1906 it was applying the very same strategy of divide and rule, and within his very family.³³ Unfortunately Prince Zibhebhu was no longer living to witness this. Now the Natal Colonial government was only prepared to its divide and rule policy with success within Zibhebhu's house.

The British victory in 1879 further enabled it to exalt strangers and abanumzane to the position of ubukhosi. In the Nquthu district, Hlubi was a notable stranger and in the Mahlabathini district, Shibilika Ndebele, Sigungu Mlaba and Mfanawendlela Zungu were some of the British loyal men. The division of Mahlabathini was also of political significance to the British government. King Cetshwayo's main isigodlo was located in uLundi.

This meant that uLundi was the political and administrative centre of the kingdom, where important gatherings and national izimbizo, meetings were convened and held.
³⁴ It was therefore important for the British to neutralise this national and symbolic value of Mahlabathini. It can be argued that the division of Mahlabathini and appointment of British loyal amakhosi as a buffer zone, was partly motivated by the desire to neutralise the political and administrative capital of kwaZulu.

Shibilika Ndebele became a government appointed inkosi in 1894. He was appointed to this position as a buffer zone, to divide the Buthelezi isizwe from King Dinuzulu.

33. SNA 1/1/341: Letter from Commissioner for Native Affairs to Minister for Native Affairs, 14 June 1906; SNA 1/1/341: Telegram from USNA to CNA, 15 June 1906.

34. J. Guy: *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p. 29.

Shibilika was born in about 1849 and before his appointment as inkosi he was a police at kwaHlabisa district. His isizwe became known as the "Ndebele tribe". But the appointment of Shibilika was very much resented by many amaZulu at eMahlabathini.³⁵ By 1909 a number of people under his control belonged to isizwe sakwaButhelezi. During this year the ministry for Native Affairs was seriously considering to depose him.³⁶

Mqundane Mlaba was another inkosi appointed to the position of power, after 1879, due to his loyalty to the Natal Colonial Government. Mqundane was inkosi in the Natal Colony. During the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and the Civil War which followed after the war, he rendered remarkable military service to the British, and as a result was awarded with a district eastward of uLundi plain.³⁷

Here he was followed by a number of his followers and settled under his rule. They acted as a buffer-zone between those amaZulu whose loyalty could not be relied upon by the Natal Colonial government and those who were loyal to the government. In about 1900 Mqundane passed away and was succeeded by his son, Sigungu Mlaba. In 1903 Sigungu's people paid hut tax on 179 huts.³⁸

The fact that Sigungu's people paid hut tax on 179 izindlu demonstrates that they were not a big isizwe. The number of huts does not necessarily translate to mean

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35. SNA 1/9/6: Ndebele Tribe, under Chief Tshibilika. Mahlabathini District, not dated; S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal government towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter 2: letter to B.C. Ndhlovu from M.A. Dlamini about the appointment of Shibilika in Mahlabathini, 15 October 1997.
36. Letter to B.C. Ndhlovu from M.A. Dlamini about the appointment of Shibilika in Mahlabathini, 15 October 1997.
37. SNA 1/9/6: Mlaba Tribe no. 74, under Chief Sigungu, Mahlabatini district, not dated.
38. SNA 1/9/6: Mlaba Tribe no. 74, under Chief Sigungu, Mahlabatini district, not dated.

that they were equivalent homestead's in the district. It should be noted that umuzi, homestead, was taxed in accordance to the number of izindlu, huts, in its premises. In 1909 only umuzi with more than four izindlu was recognised by the government as umuzi. Abanumzane with homesteads, of less than four imizi were required by law to become "inmates" of other homesteads. 39 This reveals that Sigungu was in charge of not more than forty homesteads.

On the Mahlabathini district was also the Zungu isizwe, which was, like many of the government appointed amakhosi, the creation of Sir Garnet Wolseley's 1879 settlement. The Zungu were placed under the leadership of Mfanawendlela. They were situated north-west of uLundi, and Mfanawendlela was given control over the area within iMfolozi eMnyama; (Black Mfolozi), iMfolozi eMhlope (White Mfolozi) and the Nhlazatshe mountain. 40

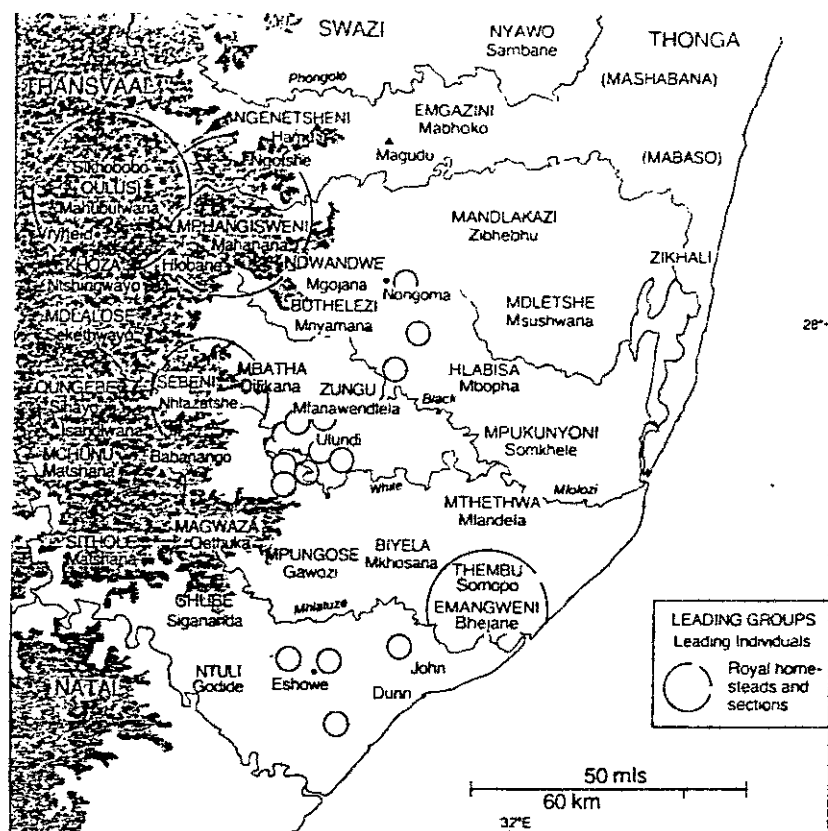
Mfanawendlela's appointment was rejected by uSuthu supporters and he became an enemy to them. When attempts, for the return of King Cetshwayo to his ubukhosi were made by uSuthu deputations in the early 1880's, Mfanawendlela strongly objected to this arguing that the Zungu people were an independent isizwe and would not pay allegiance to ubukhosi bakwaZulu. 41

During the confrontations that followed he strongly sympathised with Zibhebhu and government forces. This appointed inkosi was killed, following King Cetshwayo's

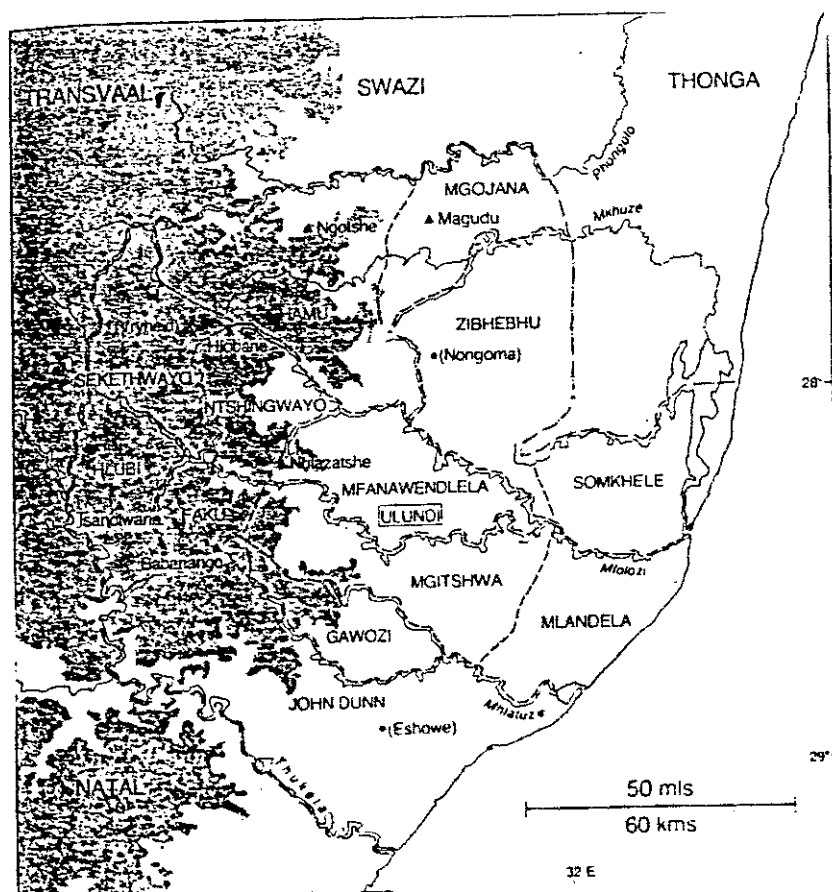
39. G.H. 1376: Procedure to be followed by a Native wishing to remove from one division to another into Location Lands in Natal, 1909.

40. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu kingdom, pp. 32 and 75.

41. Ibid, pp. 171 and 193.



Map 4. The Kingdom of kwaZulu during King Cetshwayo's times. J. Guy: The destruction of Zulu Kingdom, p. 22.



Map 5. British created Kingdom, 1879. J. Guy: The destruction of Zulu Kingdom, p. 73

order, while attempting to escape from the king's authority after the latter's restoration. Many of Mfanawendlela's supporters left their place in 1884 after the defeat of Zibhebhu at Tshaneni, but they returned to the territory when the British restored its appointed order in 1887. In 1903 they paid hut tax on 173 izindlu. 42 This was another evidence of their numerical strength.

By 1910 the Mahlabathini and Ndwandwe districts were under the leadership of various individuals. And to make matters worse the king, by this time Dinuzulu, was in exile in the Transvaal territory. 43 His territory was no longer his. His father, King Cetshwayo was defeated by the British and the result was the division of the kingdom into many different ubukhosi. His people had fought bravely, both during the Civil War and the 1906 Poll Tax War, for the restoration of ubukhosi bakwaZulu but with no great success.

The kingdom established and consolidated by his forefathers was practically non-existent; and the Natal Government was running the territory mainly through its appointed amakhosi who were under the supervision and guidance of white officials. 44 The governor of Natal was the highest ranking officer in the new British system. He took the title of the "Supreme Chief" as early as 1879 and by 1910 the "Supreme Chief" was spending some of his time controlling the lives of many Africans in kwaZulu, while the king was forced to spend his time in exile and away from his people.

42. SNA 1/9/6: The Zungu Tribe, under the Regent Mogojela, Mahlabathini district, not dated; J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 249.

43. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal government towards Dinuzulu 1897 to 1913, Chapter 10.

44. A.H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds), The Anglo - Zulu War, p. 82; J.Guy. The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom. pp. 69 - 78.

CHAPTER 5

THE APPOINTED AMAKHOSI IN ESHOWE AND NKANDLA DISTRICTS

The division of the ruling house and the appointment of the British loyal amakhosi were not only confined to Nquthu, Mahlabathini and Ndwandwe districts, but it was also implemented throughout the kingdom. This division was also put into operation in the eShowe and Nkandla districts.

Like the Nquthu district, eShowe district was given to John Dunn a mercenary, hunter and trader. Dunn came to the attention of Zulu princes in the 1850's. During the 1856 war between the princes Cetshwayo and Mbuyazwe, the twenty - three year old Dunn fought against the victorious forces of Prince Cetshwayo. It was during this time that Prince Cetshwayo was impressed by Dunn. Later on he was recruited by him as his secretary. As a result Dunn settled in the kingdom, married about forty-eight Zulu women and established himself along the southern coastal strip between uThukela and uMhlathuze rivers. ¹

However in 1879 and before the war Dunn betrayed the Zulu King by crossing to Natal with a number of his followers and joined the invading British soldiers in the intelligence department. This was not the first time Dunn was performing important

1. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 48; T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, p. 190.

duties for the Natal Colonial Government. In 1873 he had played a significant part in the Natal Colonial Government's struggle to recruit more Africans as labourers in the colony. And in 1879 he actively participated in the war against his benefactor. Furthermore Dunn was highly instrumental in informing the British 1879 settlement. He was Sir Garnet Wolseley's most trusted adviser. 2

As a result of the services he rendered during the war, Dunn was awarded the largest territory, ubukhosi, in the 1879 settlement. He was placed in a strategic position which became the buffer - zone between Natal and the Zulu country.³ He was in charge of the area between the Mhlathuze and Thukela rivers and it included both Qhudeni and Nkandla forests. His ubukhosi consisted of portions and a number of various amakhosi. These were izizwe like amaTonsi, Langeni, Nzuzi, Shezi, Khoza, Ntuli, Mpungose, Biyela, Mathaba, Sithole, Mchunu and together with imizi of Dabulamanzi kaMpande and a number of uSuthu supporters. 4

The main British government aim was to control and neutralize amaZulu against becoming a threat to the Natal Colonial government. This British plan did not fail as it led to the civil war. During the civil war Dunn, Zibhebhu and Hhamu were government most trusted men and they fiercely resisted the uSuthu opposition. On the other hand they were the most hated men in the uSuthu camp. The uSuthu knew them

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2. T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, pp. 283 - 293; J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, pp. 34, 48, 70 - 73 and 154.
 3. C.W. De Kiewiet: The imperial factor in South Africa, p. 246.
 4. SNA 1/9/6: Brief Sketch of Zulu history; SNA 1/9/7: Delimitation of Boundaries of Reserves, 1902 - 1904; J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 75.

for their cruelty in burning down their houses, crops and confiscating their cattle. They were also known for the strictest way in which they applied punishment against defaulters, and most of them were uSuthu supporters. 5

In the early 1880's King Cetshwayo noted that John Dunn obstructed amaZulu under his place of jurisdiction when they were making deputations to Pietermaritzburg, calling for the king's restoration. Following King Cetshwayo's restoration and later on the annexation of kwaZulu as British Zululand, John Dunn was deposed of his ubukhosi, but not without resisting it. 6 He died in 1895, leaving behind more than one hundred children and a land claim which still troubles his descendants in the year 2000.

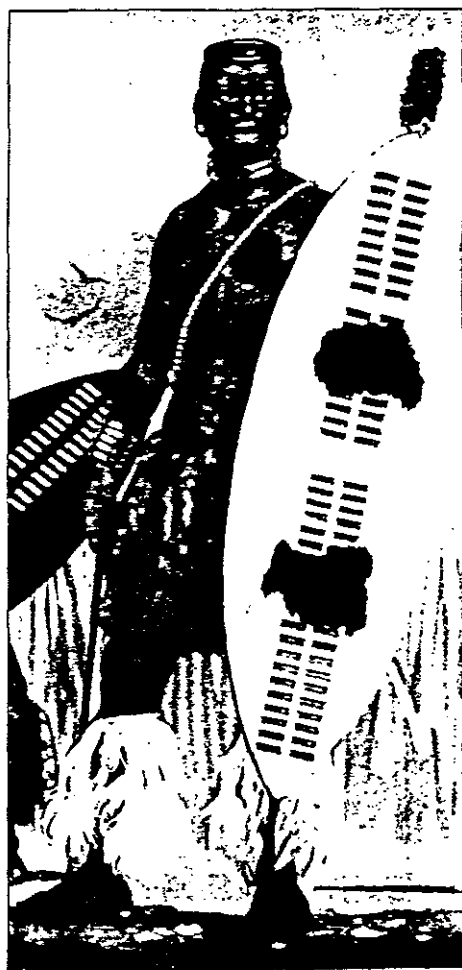
Large portions of Dunn's districts historically belonged to isizwe sakwaNtuli. Isizwe sakwaNtuli, which was placed under John Dunn after 1879, was descendant of the great Commander - in - Chief of amaZulu forces in the 1830's, Ndlela kaSompisi Ntuli. He came into prominence during King Shaka's reign as a brave ibutho. As an acknowledgment of his service King Shaka placed him in charge of a large district which after 1879 became part of eShowe and Nkandla districts. 7

However, it was during King Dingane's reign that Ndlela rose to become the Prime Minister and a Commander - in - Chief of the Zulu army. He led the Zulu forces during the 1838 invasion at Ncome and was put to death after the defeat of King

5. J. Guy: *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p. 154.

6. *Ibid.* p. 171.

7. SNA 1/9/7: Ntuli Tribe, under Chief Mlungelwa, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904



Ndilela ka Sompisi

Dingane's forces against Prince Mpande's in 1840 at eMaqonqo.⁸ Ndlela is credited for master minding King Dingane's defeat in an attempt to save Prince Mpande. He did this because King Dingane had no offsprings and Prince Mpande was a potential successor to the Zulu throne.⁹ Ndlela left two sons, Godide and Zinti.

Godide was Ndlela's heir. Under John Dunn he became a head of a portion of abakwaNtuli. As a result he suffered greatly under his "chief". During the civil war he remained loyal to King Cetshwayo and fully backed the uSuthu cause against the government forces of his inkosi, John Dunn, Zibhebhu, Hlubi, Hhamu and many others. It was under such circumstances that he was killed defending the uSuthu cause on 21 July 1883 during Zibhebhu's attack on King Cetshwayo at uLundi.¹⁰

It was mainly the sordid activities of Zibhebhu, Hhamu and Dunn, and their manipulation by the Natal Colonial government's officials, that created the animosity which developed into a civil war.¹¹ Their attempt to enforce their rule through the burning of property, seizure of Royal cattle, and also seizure of cattle belonging to uSuthu supporters primarily contributed to the civil war.

Zinti kaNdlela kaSompisi begot Mavumengwana who became one of the most outstanding warriors during the reigns of both kings, Mpande and Cetshwayo.

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8. SNA 1/9/7: Ntuli Tribe, under Chief Mfungelwa, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904; S.J. Maphalala: The Ncome Museum, paper at Nume Museum, not dated.
 9. SNA 1/9/7: Ntuli Tribe, under Chief Mfungelwa, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904; J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 13
 10. SNA 1/9/7: Third section of the Ntuli tribe, under Chief Mpumela, Nkandla District, 1902 - 1904.
 11. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: p. 87.

Like his grandfather Mavumengwana rose to occupy an important position in Zulu society. But unlike his grandfather he became not a Prime Minister or a Commander - in - Chief of Zulu forces, but induna of the most influential regiment, Thulwana. Both the princes, Mbuyazwe and Cetshwayo were members of this ibutho. Zinti was regarded as one of King Cetshwayo's principal induna. ¹²

Mavumengwana became the head of abakwaNtuli then under "Chief" John Dunn. Following John Dunn's deposition, Mavumengwana was appointed inkosi over a section of the Ntuli people. A position which was a demotion taking into account that his grandfather was a head of a vast area. Mavumengwana was succeeded by his son Mfungelwa and in 1903, abakwaNtuli paid hut tax on 1842 izindlu. ¹³

When kwaZulu was declared British Zululand in 1887, John Dunn lost his ubukhosi. Melmoth Osborn was appointed Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate of Zululand, and eShowe became the capital of kwaZulu. The Resident Commissioner and various other officials reported to the ministry for Native Affairs. However the Governor was the "Supreme Chief" over African people in Natal and Zululand. Amakhosi were therefore minor deputies of the "Supreme Chief" who was the highest Judicial Officer. They owed their positions to the pleasure of the "Supreme Chief" and his officials.¹⁴ The "Supreme Chief" was therefore, through his officials, responsible to appoint or demote any inkosi.

12. SNA 1/9/7: Ntuli Tribe, under Chief Mfungelwa, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904.

13. Ibid.

14. G.H. 1347: Extracts from code of Native Law, 1908.

In eShowe district Melmoth Osborn created and dissolved various ubukhosi as Resident Commissioner and Chief Magistrate. And to safeguard against any resistance Fort Nonqayi was built to cater for the newly raised Zululand Native Police, oNonqayi.¹⁵ The Resident Commissioner created ubukhosi besizwe sakwaShange, which was known as the “Shange tribe”. When Osborn came to kwaZulu he brought with him Yamela Shange as his induna.

The civil war had done a tremendous leadership blow in the Reserve Territory and as a result a reasonable number of people were deemed to be without a leader. These people were placed under Shange who became their inkosi. A number of following from Natal were also placed under Shange’s jurisdiction. However after Shange’s death this isizwe was split up and a small section, which was able to pay hut tax on 1666 izindlu in 1903, was placed under an acting regent, Bagibile. The other section came under Prince Mthonga.¹⁶

Prince Mthonga was a son of King Mpande, who fought for Prince Mbuyazwe’s iziGqoza in 1856. Following Mbuyazwe’s defeat by Prince Cetshwayo’s uSuthu, he ran to Natal to seek refugee and away from Prince Cetshwayo’s reach.¹⁷ However his future was destined to change. Following Osborn’s appointment both Mthonga and his brother Mkhungo, were appointed amakhosi over some sections of abakwaZulu in eShowe district.

15. I. Knight and I. Castle: The Zulu War, Then and Now, p. 244

16. SNA 1/9/7: Shange Tribe no. 41, under the acting Chief Bagibile, Eshowe District, 1902 -1 904.

17. SNA 1/9/7: Section of the Zulu tribe, under Chief Mthonga, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904; SNA 1/9/7: Section of the Zulu Tribe, under Chief Mkhungo, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904; A.H. Durning and C. Ballard (eds): The Anglo-Zulu War. New perspectives, pp. 26 - 27.

Prince Mthonga's isizwe paid hut tax of £1206 on 1720 izindlu in 1903, while Prince Mkhungo's people contributed £416.16 to the government coffers. This means that the latter paid hut tax on 594 izindlu.¹⁸ Prince Sukani kaMpande was another royal descendent who was recognised as inkosi in the 1880's in the eShowe district. Prince Sukani originally came from Nkonjeni. He fled the place for eShowe with a small following during the civil war.¹⁹

On John Dunn's area of jurisdiction was also isizwe sakwaBiyela under Mgitshwa. This was a section of abakwaBiyela which severed its ties with their hereditary head, Somhlolo kaMkhosana Biyela. Mkhosana died at iSandlwana while defending the Zulu cause during the Anglo-Zulu War.²⁰ During the turbulent years of the civil war Mgitshwa, with a small following, escaped into eShowe district. Mgitshwa rendered valuable service to the Natal Colonial government and to the Resident Commissioner. As a token of appreciation for his services Mgitshwa was appointed inkosi over his own following. He was succeeded by his son, Nkomo. In 1903 this ubukhosi consisted of 126 taxable izindlu.²¹

On the same front British authorities in kwaZulu recognised Tshana as inkosi of aMatonsi in 1887. After the 1879 settlement aMatonsi were placed under the leadership of John Dunn. Following the realisation by the government that the 1879 settlement was a failure Dunn was deposed. A number of various izizwe under his

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18. SNA 1/9/7: Section of the Zulu tribe, under Chief Mthonga, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904, SNA 1/9/7: Section of the Zulu Tribe, under Mkhungo, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904.
19. SNA 1/9/7: Section of the Zulu tribe, under Chief Sukani, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904.
20. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 99.
21. SNA 1/9/7: Matonsi Tribe, under Chief Nkomo, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904.

jurisdiction were given an independent ubukhosi and as a result aMatonsi and isizwe saseLangeni became part of them. 22

Sikhonyana kaLuhleko was appointed inkosi over the section of isizwe saseLangeni in the same year that kwaZulu was declared British Zululand. The area over which Sikhonyana was appointed was occupied by his father as early as King Mpande's times, but later on Sikhonyane moved into Natal with a small following. Here he was appointed as inkosi. After the Anglo-Zulu War, John Dunn allowed him and his followers to return to their sites in eShowe. However, it was after the creation of the office of the Civil Commissioner in Zululand that the British authorities exalted them into the position of ubukhosi in the eShowe district. 23

The new administrators of British Zululand also catered for the needs of the converted Zulu Christians, amakholwa. Amakholwa were placed under their Christian leaders who were appointed as amakhosi. It would have been unfair of the British to have ignored the missionary zeal of Christianising kwaZulu. The 1879 war with the Zulu Kingdom was partly motivated by calls from the missionaries that the "uncivilised" and "backward" Zulu Kingdom must be conquered for civilisation and Christianity to succeed.

Before the war missionaries who had a long standing "dispute" with the monarch, launched a campaign against the Zulu Kingdom. It should be noted that

22. SNA 1/9/7: Matonsi Tribe, under Chief Mgandeni, 1902 - 1904.

23. SNA 1/9/7: Langeni Tribe, under Chief Sikhonyana, Eshowe District, 1902 - 1904.

missionaries, like Hans Schroeder, were not given enough freedom to exercise their evangelising duties in kwaZulu.²⁴ The people were opposed to their new religion.

On the other hand the missionaries were bitter towards the king. In order for Christianity to make in-roads to kwaZulu, it became necessary to them that kwaZulu be annexed. They voiced their concern for the annexation of King Cetshwayo's Kingdom. And in partnership with British officials, like Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Theophilus Shepstone, in South Africa, they depicted the king as a tyrant. When King Cetshwayo's forces were defeated in 1879 they saw this as a victory of civilisation over uncivilised and barbarous kingdom.²⁵

In eShowe district Melmoth Osborn acknowledged this missionary endeavour by appointing Martin Luther as inkosi over amakholwa in the eShowe mission station.²⁶ The same applied to amakholwa living on eThala mission station in the Nkandla district. Here Moses Afrikander was appointed inkosi in 1891.²⁷

In Zulu history the name Nkandla is associated with the Nkandla forest. The forest had been of strategic importance for ages and had provided shelter to generations of amaZulu and their kings during the times of need. In 1818 King Shaka used the forest as a hiding place for women, children and livestock in the face of the invasion

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24. A.H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): *Anglo-Zulu War. New Perspectives*, pp. 27 - 29; C.W. De Kiewiet: *The Imperial factor in South Africa*, pp. 208 - 209.
25. C.W. De Kiewiet: *The Imperial factor in South Africa*, pp. 208 - 209; A.H. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds): *Anglo-Zulu War. New Perspectives*, pp. 27 - 29.
26. SNA 1/9/7: Christian Natives belonging to Eshowe Mission Station, under Martin Luther, Eshowe district, 1902 - 1904.
27. SNA 1/9/7: Christian Natives living on the Italaneni Mission Station, under Moses Afrikander, Nkandla District, 1902 - 1904.

of his ubukhosi by the numerical superior and powerful Ndwandwe people under iNkosi Zwide. 28

In 1837 the Nkandla forest was used by King Dingane's forces in the build-up to the 1838 war. During the civil war of the 1880's and following the defeat of uSuthu in 1883, King Cetshwayo used Nkandla forest as his hiding place. On 8 February 1884 the king passed away, or *yakhothama* as amaZulu would have referred to this painful happening. He was buried in the Nkandla forest. King Cetshwayo was succeeded by his heir, Dinuzulu. During this year King Dinuzulu also used Nkandla as his hiding place until he moved to the Transvaal for an alliance with the boers which culminated in the Mandlakazi's defeat by uSuthu at eTshaneni. 29

In 1906 the forest was destined to play a very important role in the Poll Tax War. Inkosi Bhambatha Zondi and his amabutho used it as their stronghold against the forces of the Natal Colonial government. 30

The Nkandla forest was under ubukhosi bamaChube or abakwaShezi. They had settled in the vicinity from time immemorial. AbakwaShezi were traditional iron smiths and principal spear manufacturers for generations of Zulu Royal House. By the 1870's, they had firmly established themselves in the Nkandla forest and their specific stronghold was in the Mome gorge. Their inkosi's, Sigananda, isigodlo

28. T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, p. 35

29. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, pp. 206 and 223.

30. I. Knight: The great Zulu Commanders, p. 180; T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, p. 427.



1906 Prisoners of War. In 1906 brave Zulu men revolted against the Colonial Government of Natal.

was located in the Mome gorge vicinity and at the foot of the waterfall. 31

AbakwaShezi were very staunch supporters of the Royal House. Sigananda's father, Zokufa, was nominated to head the area by the great Zulu King, Shaka and Sigananda was appointed by the king as the heir to his father.³² After the 1879 war Sigananda and his people continued to support the Royal House. When King Cetshwayo was restored as king in 1883, a large number of amaZulu and izikhulu went to uLundi to pay respect to their King. Amongst these izikhulu were Mnyamana, Sekethwayo, Godide, Somhlolo and Sigananda. 33

In 1887 when kwaZulu became British Zululand, Sigananda was recognised as inkosi over a section of abakwaShezi.³⁴ Whether this act was motivated by the British desire to divide and rule amaZulu who were loyal to the Royal House and uSuthu cause remained to be tested by the 1906 Poll Tax War.

In 1906, after consultation with his council and after sending messengers to King Dinuzulu about the war, iNkosi Sigananda decided to join the anti-Poll Tax War. He fought alongside other brave Zulu leadership like amakhosi Chakijana kaThimuni kaMudli, Ndlovu kaThimuni kaMudli, Mehlokazulu kaSihayo; Bhambatha kaMancinza and many others. 35

31. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 34; T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, p. 427.

32. SNA 1/9/7: AmaCube Tribe (or Shezi), Chief Sigananda, Nkandla District, 1902 - 1904.

33. J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 183.

34. SNA 1/9/7: AmaCube (or Shezi), Chief Sigananda, Nkandla District, 1902 - 1904.

35. T.N. Madlala: 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 (MA dissertation, History Department, University of Zululand, not dated), pp. 43 and 78; T.V. Bulpin: Natal and the Zulu Country, p. 427.

Within the boundaries of both eShowe and Nkandla districts was located another section of abakwaBiyela under inkosi Ndlongolwana. After the 1879 invasion and under the 1879 settlement they were placed under John Dunn. During the civil war of the 1880's Ndlongolwana and his people supported and rendered valuable services to the government and its forces against the royalists. As a result of these services to the government, Ndlongolwana was appointed as inkosi in 1887 when kwaZulu became British Zululand. Ndlongolwana was succeeded by his son, Hhashi who took control of isizwe which consisted of 924 taxable izindlu in 1903. ³⁶

More and more other ubukhosi were created after the annexation of kwaZulu. In the Nkandla district some sections of isizwe sakwaDlomo were placed under the leadership of Luzindlela Dlomo and Thulwane Dlomo. Luzindlela began his career as a government induna in the service of the secretary for Native Affairs Department. ³⁷

Due to his services to the ministry for Native Affairs, Luzindlela was promoted to the position of inkosi. He became inkosi over abasemaBomvini and abakwaMadonsela in uMngeni division. Later on he was sent to the new British Zululand after the return of iNkosi Langelibalele from exile. He was given a district which was occupied by a portion of abakwaLanga, but his isizwe largely consisted of Africans who were from Natal. ³⁸

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36. SNA 1/9/6: Fifth section of the Biyela Tribe, under Chief Hashi, Nkandla and Eshowe Districts, not dated.
37. SNA 1/9/7: Dhlomo Tribe, under Chief Luzindlela, Nkandla district, 1902 - 1904.
38. SNA 1/9/7: Dhlomo Tribe, under Chief Luzindlela, Nkandla district, 1902 - 1904.

Like Luzindlela, Thulwana commenced his career as a government induna in the Colony of Natal. He was appointed to the position of ubukhosi in about 1890 over lands which were formerly occupied by uSuthu and Fokothi supporters.³⁹ Without doubt this clearly demonstrates that Thulwane was a loyal servant of the Natal Colonial government. Furthermore it revealed that during the civil war Thulwana actively fought against uSuthu supporters.

As long as Africans were fighting each other, the Natal Colonial government was happy to rule them. The government and its supporters made sure that uSuthu supporters were punished through various means. The government was very much willing to demote any leader deemed to have let it down. On the other hand it promoted the division of amaZulu by allowing Dunn, Hhamu and Zibhebhu to inflict various forms of punishments on uSuthu supporters. The latter's property was burnt down and their crops and cattle were plundered. But the government kept quiet and only to act when uSuthu responded.

Lands which formerly belonged to the royalists was given to government loyal amakhosi like Siyunguza Mpungose. Like the majority of the government appointed amakhosi, Siyunguza was given the position of power in the Nkandla district due to the services he rendered to the Natal Colonial government during the civil war.⁴⁰

His brother, Gawozi, was also the government trusted man, and before his

39. SNA 1/9/7: Second section of the Dhlomo tribe, under Chief Tulwana, Nkandla district, 1902 - 1904.

40. SNA 1/9/7: Second section of the Mpungose Tribe, under the Chief Siyangaza, Nkandla District, 1902 - 1904.

(Siyanguza) appointment as inkosi, Gawozi was in charge over the Mpungose isizwe. But following Gawozi's death, Siyanguza succeeded his brother. In 1903 they showed their loyalty to the Natal Colonial Government by contributing £328.6 in hut tax to its coffers. 41

The common trend amongst the majority of the government appointed amakhosi was that they were loyal to their masters. During times of difficulty for the government, they had rendered valuable military service. However some of the "appointed" amakhosi like Mehlokazulu, Sigananda and many others were not to be easily bought by the government's acts.

It was argued in this work that the appointments of amakhosi who were loyal to the Royal House were partly motivated by the government's desire to divide the supporters of uSuthu and thus weaken them. This was chiefly because the government was determined to rule the divided Zulu people. In most cases the government failed to convert these amakhosi into its camp. They merely accepted positions under the Natal Colonial government but their loyalty remained with the Royal House.

They publicly showed this in 1906 by fighting against the government Poll Tax and subsequently called for the return to the Zulu Kingdom. They argued that under

41. SNA 1/9/7: Second section of the Mpungose Tribe, under the Chief Siyanguza, Nkandla District, 1902 - 1904.

ubukhosi bakwaZulu, they did not pay taxes. 42 These taxes were only contributing to the coffers of the Natal Colonial government and the uplift of the way of life of whites in the colony. They did not help Africans but only contributed to their plight.

Their plight was made worse by government measures to set African against African. Many of them had their land taken away from them and were dumped into the reserves. The results were faction fights amongst amaZulu. Authorities under the Natal Colonial government were satisfied about the development of affairs in the territory of kwaZulu, and the "Supreme Chief" was not prepared to use his powers to prevent or stop the civil war or faction fights. According to the code of Native Law the "Supreme Chief" was the highest officer in Natal and British Zululand. All amakhosi were responsible to him or his appointed white officials. 43

The code therefore gave the "Supreme Chief" powers to punish wrong doers. However most of amakhosi who found themselves on the bad side of the "Supreme Chief" were supporters of the Royal House who were not given an opportunity to voice out their grievances, and if given their grievances were not addressed but in most cases they were reprimanded for them. They were dispossessed of their land which was either given to whites or government supporters. The latter were also willing to get more and more land, and the other section was willing to get back their land. And such a desire for land saw many amakhosi fighting each other.

42. Times of Natal, 2 June 1904; SNA 1/1/311: Report by Magistrate, uMvoti Division, on petition of Njengabantu vide Confidential Paper, 1904.

43. G.H. 1347: Extracts from Code of Native Law, 1908.

CHAPTER 6

THE APPOINTMENT OF AMAKHOSI AND THE FACTION FIGHTING

The social, political and economic life of amaZulu in the nineteenth century was deeply rooted in the availability of good land to build, plant and graze livestock. Furthermore it was deeply rooted in the honour they had bestowed in their leadership and a strong will to safe-guard these components of their social, political and economic life.

The invasions of kwaZulu in 1838 and 1879 by whites, the recommendations of the 1846 Boundary commission and the annexation of what was called Zululand into Natal in 1887 had a far reaching effects on the way of life of amaZulu. Land and livestock belonging to them were forcefully taken by white invaders. AmaZulu were squashed into reserves: lands which were not suitable for human habitation and livestock grazing! Making a living in these rocky and land barren areas was extremely difficult. The desire for and the protection of land led to faction fights amongst people, who for years, had lived in harmony. 2

In Msinga reserve, for example, land which historically belonged to ubukhosi bakwa Sithole was sub-divided amongst the newly created ubukhosi. The area surrounded by uNdi height and Mzinyathi river was a reward by King Shaka to inkosi Jobe

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1. I. Knight: Great Zulu Commanders 1838 - 1906, p. 159; J. Guy: The destruction of Zulu Kingdom, pp 41 - 43.
 2. Z.A: Reports and Annexures of the Zululand Boundary Commission, 1880 and 1891.

Sithole, for his outstanding contribution to the Zulu Kingdom.³ However, the Sithole, people preferred to live in the northern part of the area, leaving the Thukela - Mzinyathi valley unoccupied. The latter was to be known as Msinga reserve. In 1839 and 1850 the area was occupied by amaChunu and abaThembu respectively.⁴

In 1858 iNkosi Matshana Sithole fled the area following a dispute with the government. And in 1869 the government of Natal brought Ngoza Majozi and a group of his supporters and made him inkosi in the Sithole territory: This new isizwe was called amaQamu. The Sithole people, however, did not recognize both Ngoza's leadership and his isizwe.⁵ The creation of amaQamu divided amaZulu people in the Msinga vicinity. AbakwaSithole were completely unhappy about the government act and the loss of their land and leadership was a major concern. On the other hand Ngoza and his people were satisfied about the arrangement and were eager to safeguard their newly acquired wealth.

The government act divided African against African by "systematically" classifying them as people belonging to different ubukhosi, reserves or divisions. The 1846 Land Boundary Commission, for example, declared that amaChunu belonged to a different reserve, Mpofana, in the Nobamba Division. This was a recipe for faction fights.⁶

By 1900's, the area which historically belonged to the kings of kwaZulu was

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3. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction fighting in Msinga district from 1874 to 1906*, p. 11; I. Knight: *Great Zulu Commanders*, p. 31.
 4. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction fighting in Msinga district from 1874 to 1906*, p. 11.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid.

divided by a series of complicated boundaries. In Msinga area, there were demarcations between abakwaMabaso and amaQamu, abakwaMabaso and abakwaMthembu. In the Ndwandwe District there were boundaries between uSuthu section, uSuthu no. 2, Zulu Tribe, Mandlakazi tribe and Mandlakazi no 2. 7

These boundaries were a foreign concept to amaZulu and to confuse matters the officialdom kept on defining and re-defining them. Influential men in Zulu leadership, like Mankulumana Ndwandwe, Prime Minister of King Dinuzulu, argued very strongly against the division of kwa Zulu into many ubukhosi. They maintained that since the days of King Shaka land was indivisible and was held in trust on behalf of the nation by Zulu Kings. Furthermore, they voiced their opposition against the appointment of abamnumzane into the position of ubukhosi. 8

The newly appointed government amakhosi did not unite amaZulu but divided them. Coupled with the problem of insufficient land, these were the main causes of faction fights, feuds, civil wars in Kwa Zulu. 9 In the 1880's abaThembu and abakwaMabaso were involved in a land dispute which resulted into the first open violence in 1883. In an attempt to solve the dispute government continued to add fuel on fire. By 1884 the fixing of boundaries between abaThembu and abakwaMabaso was authorized by the governor Sir Henry Bulwer. In the process of dividing the land the government cut abakwaMabaso off from what they considered their natural boundary uThukela river,

7. SNA 1/9/7: Brief history of each tribe or section of a tribe in the Province of Zululand for which the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission was required to delimate Reserves, 1902 -1904.

8. S.J. Maphalala: *The policies of the Transvaal and natal governments towards Dinuzulu*, Chapter two. (Phd. thesis, UNISA, 1989).

9. B.I. Mthembu, faction fighting in Msinga district, p.p. 7 + 29; SNA 1/9/7: Usuthu under Chief Dinuzulu. Ndwandwe district, 3 November, 1902.

and abaThembu were given government permission to occupy land of abakwaMabaso.¹⁰

In 1903 another fight over the land between abakwaMabaso and abaThembu broke-out. An interesting element of a faction fight is that the conflict also affects members of isizwe who are residing in remote areas. In this case abaThembu from kwa-Nobamba joined their clan men in Msinga in an attempt to revenge the death of their fellow men.¹¹ In 1905 the area witnessed the first biggest faction fight when aba-Thembu attacked amaBaso. Animals and homesteads belonging to abakwaMabaso were plundered and destroyed.¹²

Faction fighting continued with the other party fighting back in an attempt to revenge the death of their isizwe member or until the other party gained a tactical or geographical foothold in a disputed land by managing to push their opponent out and set up a new boundary in the territory of the defeated isizwe.¹³ Faction fighting therefore became the only means through which an isizwe could get more land .¹⁴

By 1904 the whole of Msinga location was in turmoil. AmaBomvu and amaChunu were up in arms. AmaQamu and abakwaSithole were restless and abaThembu and

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10. B.I. Mthembu *Faction fighting in Msinga district*, p.p. 37 - 39 + 94; J. Clegg: *Ukubuyisa isidumbu - "Bringing back the body"*, working papers in Southern African Studies, vol 2, 1981, p.p. 174 + 175.
 11. W.J. Argyle: *Faction fights and the problem of explanation in social anthropology*, unpublished paper, July 1975; B.I. Mthembu: *faction fighting in Msinga*, p. 73.
 12. J. Clegg: *Ukubuyisa isidumbu*, p. 175; B.I. Mthembu : *Faction fighting in Msinga district*, p. 88.
 13. J. Clegg: *Ukubuyisa isidumbu*, p. 177.
 14. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction fighting in Msinga*, p.p. 23 + 75; J. Clegg: *Ukubuyisa isidumbu*, pp. 176+177.

abakwaMabaso were openly hostile and killing each other.¹⁵ Government Legislation against faction fights proved to be ineffective. Act no 11 of 1896 directed against faction fighting amongst Africans failed to accomplish its mission. It did not address the fundamental issues of land shortage.¹⁶

It should, however, be noted that these fights were a government creation. While different izizwe fought over the actual control of insufficient land, the government was promoting these fights by creating and recreating boundaries. In 1904 Nhlayile, induna of abakwaMabaso vividly stated to the Secretary for Native Affairs that land given to abakwaMabaso in 1883 by W.R. Gordon was given to abaThembu in 1889 by W. Shepstone and H.F. Fynn.¹⁷ By so doing the government and its officialdom was creating enmity among people who were in friendly terms with each other. In fact the two izizwe were very closely related, and one of abaThembu iNkosi was reputed to have been a Mabaso.¹⁸ This friendship came to an end when the government crowded them into infertile reserves.

Fertile land was given to white farmers, white absentee land lords or was simply regarded as the Crown land. The government made it very difficult for those amaZulu who could have afforded to buy it. Instead people were moved from fertile areas to rocky, mountainous and barren areas. Here subsistence farming was an impossibility.¹⁹ On the other hand white farmers found themselves in possession of

15. J. Clegg: Ukubuyisa isidumbu, p. 178; B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga, p. 78.

16. W.J. Argyle: Faction fights and the problem of explanation in social anthropology, p.d.

17. B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga, p. 78.

18. J. Clegg: Ukubuyisa isidumbu, p. 47.

19. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards DinuZulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter five.

large tracks of land of which they could not make immediate use of. After the Anglo-Boer War the British government gave its soldiers land belonging to African people as a compensation.²⁰ The result was that Whites became richer and richer while indigenous African people became extremely poor and quarreled over infertile land given to them by the white administrators. Furthermore the government continued to flood the reserves with people who had been evicted from white farms or crown lands.²¹

The Natal government and its officials completely failed to attend to the basic causes of faction fights and were unable to consider cases objectively. After the invasions of the Zulu Kingdom in 1879, Zululand was divided into thirteen Chiefdoms and the political power of the monarchy was replaced by the Colonial administration. The white governor of Natal became the Supreme Chief over the “native” population. And in most cases the supreme chief did not have the interest of his people at heart. Furthermore he was not able to understand the litigation system of amaZulu.²²

The division of the territory into many chiefdoms led to the break-down of the national cohesion of amaZulu and to territorial opposition between various izizwe and sub-sections of izigodi. Under the British rule amakhosi were given much more “independency” and the government emphasized the sovereignty of each isizwe in its various dealings with them. By so doing the Colonial government was

20. T.N. Madlala: *The role of Prince Thimuni ka Mudli ka Jama in Zulu history*, p. 62

21. J. Guy: *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 41 - 43.

22. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction fighting in Msinga*, pp 29 + 73; J. Clegg: *Ukubuyisa isidumbu*, pp 164 - 167.

encouraging petty ubukhosi in the hope that amaZulu would be better governable in the absence of ingonyama yesizwe, who was a unifying factor. 23

To the contrary the absence of ingonyama, who could consider cases objectively and settle all disputes with justice, saw the country in turmoil and many disputes remained unsettled. It should however be noted that the disunity was to the advantage of the colonial government. It weakened the power of amaZulu and the government remained guaranteed that the weakened and divided amaZulu nation could not be in a position to overthrow the white minority rule. The numerical prepondence of the united Zulu nation had always been a major source of concern to the Natal government and it did its best to divide them. 24

On the other hand many izizwe could not regard the colonial government as their supreme authority but tended to regard themselves as independent izizwe, each with its own inkosi and could only use or deceive the government to gain territorial expansion at the expense of the other.²⁵ However it should be noted that the government did its best to punish the defaulters against it and to encourage division amongst various izizwe.

The government policy of divide and rule was clearly spelt out when it divided the

23. S.N.A. 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency, the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg on the 20 th, and 21 st May 1907, p. 24; B.I. Mthembu: faction fighting in Msinga, p.54.

24. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter five, B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga district, pp 29 and 65.

25. S.N.A. 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency, the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg on the 20 th, and 21 st May 1902, p. 24; B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga, pp. 54 - 65.

ruling house of kwaZulu after the 1879 war. It appointed Prince Zibhebhu and other headmen of the kwaZulu nation into the positions of ubukhosi. The purpose of Sir Henry Bulwer, Governor of Natal and his government was to use the Prince as a counterweight to the Royal family. 26 The result was a prolonged Civil War which resulted in deaths and injuries of thousands of Zulu people, the destruction of houses, burning of crops and plundering of cattle. The war of Msebe in 1883 is renowned for its humiliating destruction to uSuthu supporters while the humiliating defeat at eTshaneni, in 1884, of Zibhebhu's Supporters, at the hands of uSuthu - Afrikaner alliance represented a major set - back for the government. 27

Following this defeat Zibhebhu went to white authorities at eShowe to seek refuge. And three years later the government re-instated Zibhebhu as inkosi over lands he had occupied prior to 1879. By re-instating Zibhebhu as inkosi the government was continuing its policy of dividing umZulu against umZulu. On Zibhebhu's return, uSuthu supporters were evicted from their forefather's sites by him with the help of Mr. Addison, the Ndwandwe magistrate. 28

Before the invasion of kwaZulu amaZulu intermixed, lived together and there was no labels as to whether a person was uSuthu or a Mandlakazi supporter. All paid allegiance to the Zulu King. But with the government's overt policy of divide and rule, amaZulu became bitter enemies. The Mandlakazi faction got tremendous

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26. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter one.
27. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter one; J. Guy: The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 193.
28. INGA 3/2/2: Makoba, no. 6, p. 3.

support from the government at the expense of the Royal House and uSuthu adherents. Land belonging to the Zulu Kingdom was divided amongst different people. White got fertile land and the great proportion of poor land was given to amakhosi who were government supporters. Attempts by uSuthu supporters to regain what historically and rightfully belonged to them were punishable either by seizure of their stock, banishment of their leadership or eviction from lands of their forefathers. 29

In 1898 King Dinuzulu and Prince Zibhebhu decided, on their own initiative and following the Zulu custom of *ukukhumelana umlotha*, to reconcile. After a lengthy discussion they rode through the township of eShowe side by side and were followed by their supporters.³⁰ The action was highly supported by the whole Zulu nation. To the ministry for Native Affairs, the news was a tremendous blow. It maintained that the united Zulu nation could be a great problem to the Natal government. The fact that Prince Zibhebhu recognized King Dinuzulu as his King was a main source of concern, because it meant his loyalty was no longer with the Natal government but with his people. Division of the Zulu people had always been the government's safety valve. *Ukukhumelana umlotha* between King Dinuzulu and Zibhebhu meant, to the Natal government, that the Zulu people would be united and that it would be difficult to divide them, and this it was not prepared to see. 31

The government as a result strictly adhered to the terms and conditions of King

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29. Z A 19: Reports and Annexures of The Zululand Boundary Commission, 1880 and 1891, pp 1 - 49.
30. G H 1561: Telegram from Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Zululand to Secretary for Native Affairs, Pietermaritzburg, June 1898; G H 1561: Minutes of a meeting held at the office of the Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Eshowe, Zululand, on Saturday, the 4 th June 1898.
31. G H 1561: Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Province of Zululand, 1898.

Dinuzulu's return to Zululand. It strongly maintained that Dinuzulu was no longer a King but that he was a government local induna and that his position was therefore similar to that of other appointed amakhosi in Zululand.³² On his restoration in 1898, the Zulu King was only assigned two districts to head, and his imizi were sited on unsuitable and poor land. The king's Prime Minister, Mankulumane Ndwandwe, found this very strange and was highly concerned about the fact that the king's powers were very much whittled down and that the king was separated from his immediate family and supporters.³³

He clearly stated, for example, that king Cetshwayo's induna, Somcuba, was separated from King Dinuzulu and was placed under Mabhoko in the northern districts and Ntaminemidwa who was also induna at King Cetshwayo's ekubazeni umuzi was also separated from King Dinuzulu and made an inkosi over ekubazeni vicinity. Many other people and headmen were separated from the king. The Prime Minister, Mankulumane Ndwandwe, argued that traditional protocol demanded that these people be under the guidance and leadership of King Dinuzulu.³⁴

In the 1880's before the Land Boundary Commission, the acting regent, uMbe, of isizwe sakwaMdletshe strongly argued against land given to his isizwe by the

32. S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal government towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter One.

33. S N A 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency, the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on the 20 th, and 21 st May 1907; S N A 1/9/7: Usuthu section, no 19, under Chief Dinuzulu, Ndwandwe district.

34. S N A 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency, the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on the 20 th and 21 st May 1907.

government on account that the head of the isizwe could pay allegiance only to the Zulu King, who was in charge of land. He maintained that land could not be given to isizwe sakwaMdletshe because they were subjects of the king. On this he was supported by Mankulumana Ndwandwe, who maintained that the land could only be allocated to isizwe sakwaMdletshe by the king but could not be given an independent status. But the government officials did not heed the call, they continued dividing amaZulu and their land. 35

In 1907 Mankulumana Ndwandwe raised his concerns about the treatment of King Dinuzulu by the Natal government. He maintained that the king had been inhumanely treated. 36 He had been given a small portion of land to live on, his people had been divided and the king's forefather's isizwe was fighting each other over land and leadership positions. The result was the destruction of life, livestock, and crops.

King Dinuzulu was also very critical of the government, arguing that its policies had made things very difficult for both the government and amaZulu. The government was able to promulgate laws without consulting amaZulu. And on the other hand amaZulu were expected to simply obey and follow these orders and laws. 37 In most cases those orders were aimed at disorganizing amaZulu and their Legitimate Leadership. The division of reserves, for example, was extremely arbitrary. And Izizwe in these reserves were basically the same people. They had lived together

35. Z A 19: Reports and Annexures of the Zululand Boundary Commission, 1880 and 1891.

36. S N A 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency, the Governor and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on the 20 th and 21 st May 1907.

37. S N A 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency, the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on the 20 th and 21 st May 1907.

for ages. But the mission of the colonial authorities was to encourage its many appointed amakhosi to disregard the authority of the Zulu king. The government was very motivated to divide and rule them.

On 13 April 1896 amaChunu murdered a man belonging to amaBomvu. This was a day after their land was officially given to amaBomvu by the principal Under Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. S.O. Samuelson. Furthermore another man belonging to amaBomvu was also murdered by amaChunu. It should be noted that the division of land was done without any consultation from the people, and this was the main area of concern among the amaChunu. While the latter were concerned about the loss of their land, amaBomvu were also bitter about the loss of their men. They could only be satisfied by avenging the deaths of their fellowmen while amaChunu could only be satisfied by the return of their land. 38

On the other front isizwe sakwaSithole and amaQamu were involved in a land and leadership dispute. AbakwaSithole argued that Ngoza Majozi was never their leader, and that they had nothing to do with him. Inkosi Bhande Sithole argued that it was very difficult for his people to abandon the place they had occupied for four successive Sithole rulers. This dated back to the times of inkosi Matshana, induna Mgubho, iNkosi Sibankwa and to his ruling times. 39

In 1906 King Dinuzulu was trying very hard to resolve a leadership dispute between Bhokwe and Msenteli, two sons of the late Prince Zibhebhu cum iNkosi by the

38. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction fighting in Msinga district*, pp. 48, 78 and 118.

39. B.I. Mthembu: *Faction fighting in Msinga district*, p. 71.

Natal government. But the governor of Natal was not happy about the king's endeavours. The king was accused of interfering in the affairs which did not concern him. This assumption was contrary to amaZulu system of solving problems. The king had all rights to intervene in the matter which involved his subjects. And above that in the terms and conditions of his return to Zululand it was stipulated that the king would help the government to solve disputes connected with succession problems. 40

However this succession problem was different because the government had ulterior motives behind it, and was chiefly responsible for the trouble that ensued. When Prince Zibhebhu passed away the government appointed Bhokwe as inkosi, but due to his immaturity Mchitheki was appointed regent. Bhokwe was the son of Zibhebhu's seventy fifth and last wife, and according to amaZulu protocol he was not an heir to the Mandlakazi leadership. 41

The correct option would have been Msenteli whose mother was Zibhebhu's Chief Wife. The whole of Mandlakazi isizwe provided ilobolo for her. During her mother's marriage to Zibhebhu she (Cokisa) danced with Zibhebhu's assegai, thereby indicating that she was to be the mother of Zibhebhu's heir. Above that Zibhebhu declared to Mandlakazi isizwe and to the whole of the principal izinduna that Cokisa was to be the mother of his heir. 42

40. S.J. Maphalala: *The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913*, Chapter one.

41. S N A 1/1/324: The petition of uMsenteli, humbly Sheweth, to Sir Henry Edward MacCallum, 21 August 1905.

42. S N A 1/1/324: The petition of uMsenteli, humbly Sheweth, 21 August 1905.



Group of Zulu Warriors

The government decision to appoint Bhokwe as inkosi and Mchitheki as acting inkosi divided aMandlakazi into the Banganoma, under Mchitheki, and Msenteli factions. But the majority of Mandlakazi isizwe supported Msenteli.

The government, and Saunders ignored this majority decision and insisted that Bhokwe was the heir. It argued that Msenteli and his followers must publicly honour Bhokwe and the acting inkosi with all the ceremony and obligation accorded to them by the Zulu custom.⁴³ The government further supported Mchitheki's behaviour of eating up cattle belonging to Msenteli's supporters. While the eating - up of cattle and the succession dispute was the main source of concern among aMandlakazi, the government was very much willing to punish those who positively intervened to bring about a peaceful settlement.⁴⁴

The majority of amaZulu people referred to the government appointed amakhosi as "unborn" amakhosi.⁴⁵ It was therefore a usual phenomenon to find that people did not recognize these appointed chiefs like in the case of amaQamu and abakwa- Sithole. And in most cases these amakhosi would try to force people to pay allegiance to them by either taking their stock, as in the case of Mchitheki, or by chasing them away, as in the case of prince Zibhebhu and uSuthu supporters. Such an act would be resisted by the original isizwe and their fellow men who had strong ties with that isizwe but found themselves living on a different ubukhosi, or on a white man's farm or

43. S N A 1/1/341: letter from the Minister for Native Affairs, 24 May 1906; S N A 1/1/324; letter from the Magistrate, Ndwandwe Division - Zululand to Commissioner for Native Affairs, 15 November 1906.

44. S N A 1/4/17: Transcript of notes taken at an interview between His Excellency, the Governor, and the Chief Dinuzulu, at Government House, Pietermaritzburg, on the 20th and 21st May 1907.

45. B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga district, p. 7; S.J. Maphalala: The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897 - 1913, Chapter six.

elsewhere in the reserve. The faction fights between amaChunu and amaBaso were known for the repercussions they had. In Weenen, for example, members of amaBaso isizwe living both in the location and on farms had the tendency to rush to the rescue of their fellowmen in the scene of hostilities in Msinga. 46

The Zulu custom allowed people to reside on another inkosi's land without paying allegiance to that inkosi. This was contrary to the Natal government system which strictly forced people living under amakhosi in a specified geographical area to pay allegiance to them. 47 They had it that, because they had not paid a valedictory fee to their inkosi they belonged to their respective ubukhosi and were not part of the other inkosi's ubukhosi although, they were living in his demarcated land.

The Natal government's procedure to be followed by Africans wishing to move from one district to another involved a series of complicated steps. Firstly such a person was expected to pay a valedictory fee of £ 1 to his inkosi before going to the magistrate in charge of the division for a permit to leave the place. However he was to be accompanied by his induna to the magistrate's office, otherwise a pass could not be issued if the magistrate felt something in the process was wrong. 48

The applicant would then proceed to the inkosi under whom he wished to reside. If he was fortunate to get a site, he was expected to be accompanied by his new induna to

46. J. Clegg: Ukubuyisa isidumbu, p. 177.

47. B.I. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga district, p. 5

48. GH 1376: Procedure required to be followed by a Native wishing to remove from one Division to another on to Location Lands in Natal, 11 October 1909.

the new magistrate for a permission to reside in his division. But the permission to reside in the new division would only be given if a pass from the previous magistrate is produced and an assurance by the headman of the new division that the Location Regulation would be complied with. The magistrate would then submit the application, with his recommendation, to the secretary for Native Affairs. 49

In their attempt to get more land and followers many amakhosi ignored the government procedure. It should be noted that control of land and people was a source of power to many amakhosi. This was due to the fact that amakhosi were paid a salary by the government which was in proportion to the size of their izizwe. INkosi with a large number of supporters would therefore receive a better pay. This stipulation encouraged amakhosi to encroach on other amakhosi's territory for more land and people. 50

The acquisition of more land by inkosi meant that he could allocate land to his new subjects, and thus be able to increase his constituency and power. Furthermore the subjugation of another isizwe and its people meant the addition to the number of people in his ubukhosi and an increase in his salary and rank. As a result when his isizwe provoked and attacked another isizwe for no apparent reason or over a boundary dispute inkosi would support his people.⁵¹ This government stipulation in paying amakhosi guaranteed it that as long as it was paying them in proportion with the number of people in their ubukhosi, there would always be faction fights amongst them for the control of more land and people. And on the other hand that

49. Ibid.

50. J. Clegg: Ukubuyisa isidumbu, p. 173.

51. Ibid.

it would remain secured against a united attack from the African people as the anger over land was directed against themselves (African) and not against it.

A question can be asked as to why various izizwe fought each other if their common problem was land shortage which was not their creation. Secondly why they did not fight against the government which was responsible for their woes. It can be argued that the answer lies in displaced hostility. Various izizwe made repeated requests to the government for more land but to no avail.⁵² The answer for them was to look for immediate solution. Izizwe which were regarded as aggressors were not far away from them. The solution was to drive away these isizwe out in an attempt to get more land.

Furthermore by driving these izizwe out they were indirectly fighting the government since many of these izizwe, like aMandlakazi, amaQamu and a number of others were government's creation. However it was not going to be easy to drive them out, as these izizwe were very much determined to protect and expand their territorial gains. Above that these izizwe received a government back-up in their fights against their opponents. The result was a chain of fights amongst amaZulu.

However some leaders realized that warring amongst themselves could not solve the problem, but that anger and wars must be directed against the government or its officials. It was against this background that inkosi Njengabantu Ngubane

52. Z A 19: Reports and Annexures of the Zululand Boundary Commission, 1880 and 1891; B.L. Mthembu: Faction fighting in Msinga, p. 94.

and his people tried to resist census taking (Chapter two). And that many izizwe took up arms against the government in 1906. In spite of this they remained divided. In Msinga, for example, abaThembu, amaBomvu, and a portion of amaChunu, under Silwane's uncle, Dlayile, supported the government while a portion of amaChunu under their inkosi, Silwane, and isizwe sakwa Majozi (formerly known as amaQamu) joined isizwe sakwa Zondi and many other izizwe in the anti - Poll Tax War of 1906.

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7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.**

(j) Secretary for Native Affairs (S N A)

S N A 1/1/279-1/1/481: Minute Papers, 1898-1911.
S N A 1/1/301-1/1/302: Confidential Papers, 1903.
S N A 1/4/4-1/4/24: Confidential Papers, 1899-1913.

S N A 1/4/21	:	Semi Official Correspondence, 1909-1913.
S N A 1/5/1-1/5/2	:	Confidential Register, 1878-1905.
S N A 1/6/25	:	Miscellaneous Papers Regarding Col. Bottomley's Actions, 1901-1902.
S N A 1/6/26-1/6/28:		Native Rebellion 1906: Court Proceedings, Vols. 1-3.
S N A 1/6/29	:	Native Rebellion, Correspondence etc. Relating to the Trial of Dinuzulu, 1907-1908.
S N A 1/6/30	:	Native Rebellion 1906: Claims of Native for losses sustained during the Rebellion, 1906-1908.
S N A 1/6/31-1/6/33:		Native Rebellion 1906: Register of Cattle looted, 1906-1907.
S N A 1/8/10 (a)	:	Confidential Letter Book, 1855-1911.
S N A 1/1/11	:	Appointment Books of Chiefs, 1902-1911.
S N A 1/8/12	:	Removal Book of Chiefs, 1904-1910.
S N A 1/8/13	:	Letter Book: With copies of Salary Sheets, Subsistence, Statements, etc.
S N A 1/9/4	:	Minutes of Interviews with Native Chiefs, 1914-1925.
S N A 1/9/6	:	Brief Sketch of Zulu History.

- S N A 1/9/7 : Delimitation of Boundaries of Reserves, 1902-1904.
- S N A 2/4/1 : Minutes Correspondence etc., 1903-1905.
- S N A 6/1/1-6/1/2 : Native Affairs Minutes of Meetings, 1909-1914.

2. KILLIE CAMPELL AFRICANA LIBRARY (K C A L) DURBAN

(a) Accessions (Acc)

- Acc 13680 : The Dinuzulu File.
- Acc 27176 : The Renaud File
- Acc 23041 : Miscellaneous Notes on Zululand
- Acc 30513 : Bambatha Rebellion original document by Benjamin Colenbrander.
- Acc 5562 : Memoranda Communicated by Miss Colenso to her brother Mr. F.E. Colenso on the official position of Dinuzulu, 1907.

3. TRANSVAAL ARCHIVES DEPOT, PRETORIA

(a) Prime Minister's Correspondence (P M C)

- P M C 103 : Minute Correspondence.
- P M C 170/07 : Correspondence.
- P M 38 No. 81/2/1908: Ecclesiastical organisations.

(b) Colonial Office Records (C O) 1

C O 179/177-256 : Despatches from Natal Governor,
1890-1910.

B. PRINTED SOURCES

1. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

(a) IMPERIAL (BRITISH) BLUE BOOKS

(i) Correspondence, reports, conventions and maps respecting
affairs in Southern Africa General

C 2000 (1878);	C 2079 (1878);	C 2100 (1878);
C 2222 (1879);	C 2234 (1879);	C 2252 (1879);
C 2260 (1879);	C 2269 (1879);	C 2308 (1879);
C 2316 (1879);	C 2374 (1879);	C 2454 (1879);
C 2482 (1879);	C 2482 (1880);	C 2505 (1880);
C 2584 (1880);	C 2586 (1880);	C 2655 (1880);
C 2676 (1880);	C 2695 (1880);	C 2740 (1881);
C 2783 (1881);	C 2837 (1881);	C 2858 (1881);
Cd 820 (1901);	Cd 821 (1901);	Cd 822 (1901);
Cd 904 (1902);	Cd 904 (1902);	Cd 3026 (1906);
Cd 3889 (1908).		

1. Photocopies of documents in Public Record Office, London.

(ii) Natal: Correspondence, reports, conventions and maps
Respecting affairs in Zululand

C 3174 (1882);	C 3182 (1882);	C 3247 (1882);
C 3270 (1882);	C 3280 (1882);	C 3293 (1882);
C 3466 (1883);	C 3616 (1883);	C 3805 (1883);
C 3864 (1884);	C 4037 (1884);	C 4191 (1884);
C 4214 (1884);	C 4274 (1885);	C 4587 (1885);
C 4645 (1886);	C 4913 (1887);	C 4980 (1887);
C 5143 (1887);	C 5331 (1887);	C 5522 (1888);
C 5892 (1890);	C 5893 (1890);	C 5897 (1890);
C 6070 (1890);	C 6200 (1890);	C 6201 (1890);
C 6212 (1890);	C 6292 (1891);	C 6370 (1891);
C 6375 (1891);	C 6495 91891);	C 6684 (1892);
C 6857 (1893);	C 7780 (1895);	C 7878 (1895);
C 8014 (1894);	C 8782 (1898).	

(b) NATAL BLUE BOOKS

- (i) Colony of Natal Statistical Year Books, 1902-1909.
- (ii) Colony of Natal Departmental Reports, 1889-1900. 1898,
1900, 1901-1909.
- (iii) Zululand Blue Books, 1889-1897.

(c) UNION BLUE BOOKS

U G 32-'11	:	Census 1911: Preliminary Returns	Vol. 2.
U G 49-'12	:	Mines Department Annual Report	Vol. 6.
U G 10-'13	:	Native Affairs Department, 1911,	Vol. 9.
U G 33-'13	:	Native Affairs Department, 1912,	Vol. 9.

(d) PROCLAMATIONS AND ACTS

- (i) Acts of Parliament of the Colony of Natal, 1894-1910 (12 Vols), Pietermaritzburg.
- (ii) Government Notices and Proclamations, 1887-1910,
- (iii) Acts of Union of South Africa, 1910-1913.

(e) GOVERNMENT GAZETTES

- (i) The Natal Government Gazette, 1886-1913.
- (ii) The Union Government Gazette, 1910-1913.

(f) REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS AND SPECIAL REPORTS

- (i) Native Affairs Commission Report and Proceedings, 1852-1853.
- (ii) Native Affairs Commission Report and Proceedings, 1881-1882.
- (iii) Land Commission Report and Appendices, 1902.
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- (xiii) Report of Native Affairs Council, 1909.
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- (iii) Vols. 49-95 : Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1893-1898.

- (iv) Debates, 1893-1909.
- (v) Sessional Papers, 1893-1909.

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