POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN INANDA, NATAL: THE QADI UNDER CHIEF MQHAWE, c1840-1906

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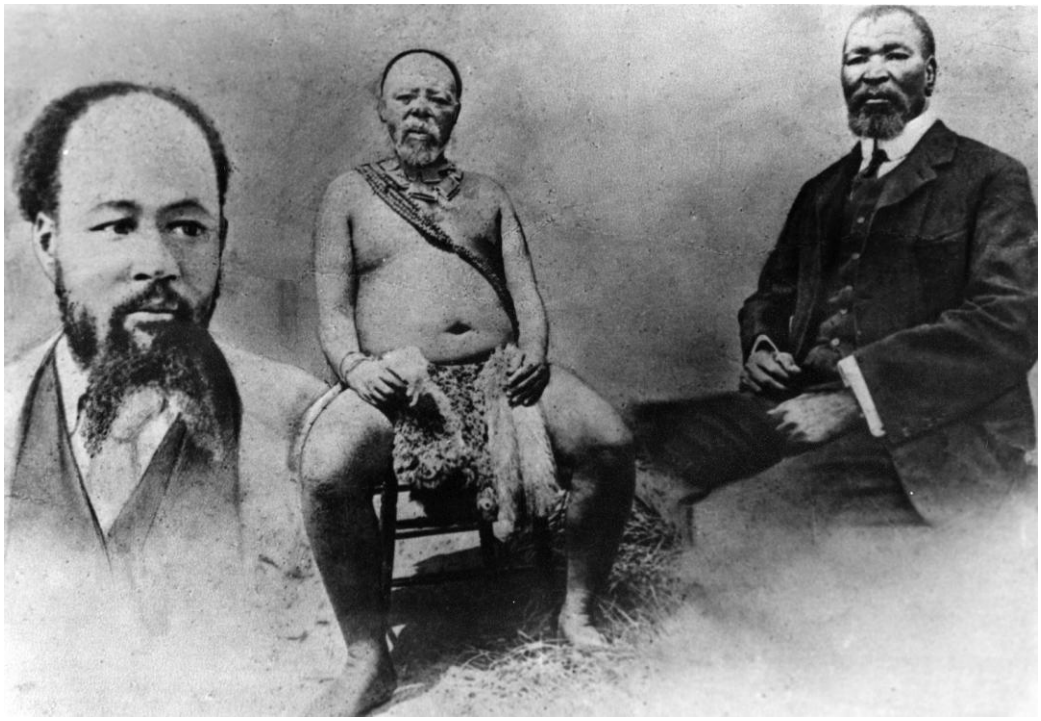
Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of London, October 1995

FOR MY PARENTS, MARY AND HARRY HUGHES
AND FOR DAVID AND CHRISTINA JEAN

Abstract

This study of the Qadi chiefdom begins with an account of its experiences of the Zulu kingdom, forst subordinated to its rule and then forced to flee from it in the late 1830s. Remnants regrouped near the small settlement of Port Natal in what was son to become the Colony of Natal. The Qadi elite under their Chief Mqhawe, whose reign was almost coterminous with colonial rule and is the focus of this study, rebuilt the material as well as the political coherence of the chiefdom, showing a single-minded determination to employ whatever resources were locally available, even elements of the colonial framework itself. Opportunities for 'chiefdom building' were generally favourable in the period up to the 1870s; thereafter, with shifts in policy towards Africans (to do with extracting labour power for the mines), more defensive strategies had to be adopted. Basic to the chiefdom's development was that its heartland was situated in a valley that became a mission reserve of the American Zulu Mission. The Inanda station was one its most prestigious, and the Qadi chief established a close relationship with one section of converts. Certain converts (notably the Dube and Cele families) had originally cme from within the Qadi elite and after conversion, maintained their positions of influence within it. Qadi settlement on reserve land also meant that the chiefdom attracted a large number of schools. Coupled to the respect accorded Mqhawe by local settlers and colonial authorities, this meant that when Qadi men went out onto the job market, they were considered 'reliable' and were able to find a specific niche for themselves, as watchmen. The origins of anti-Indian racism, strong among both African converts and the Qadi elite at Inanda, are also traced. In all, the strength of Qadi identity was due in large measure to the vigorous strategies pursued by the Qadi chief and the elite throughout the colonial period.



1 The Qadi elite

A composite photograph, showing from left to right James Dube, Chief Mqhawe and Madikane Cele. It hangs today in the Chief's Court, in the local high school, Mqhawe High, and in numerous other public places in Emaqadini. It is one of the most powerful symbols of the Qadi elite, since its formation in the years of colonial rule.

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Glossary of Zulu words used in the text

(alphabetised according to root, not prefix)

amabele	maize
isibhalo	forced labour, requisitioned by the colonial state
ibhememe	rinderpest
imbongi	declaimer of praises
izibongo	praises, praise poetry
ibutho, amabutho	military regiment(s)
udwendwe	party accompanying bride to her wedding
ukwethula	present a daughter, usually first-born, to a chief as a source of *lobolo* revenue
umfundisi	teacher, preacher
ukugiya	vigorous dance; war-dance
amahlambo	cleansing ceremonies to mark the end of mourning, including a ritual hunt to 'wash the spears'
omhlophe	white
ukhetho	party accompanying bridegroom to wedding
ukukholwa, kholwa	believe; thus also Christian
ukukhonza, khonza	owe allegiance; subject oneself
umkhosi	the celebration of the 'first fruits' ceremony
inkosi	chief
ukotula	rinderpest
inkosikazi	married woman; wife of chief
lala, amalala	term of abuse used by Zulu rulers for the partially-incorporated peoples on the southern periphery of the kingdom; term describing those who fled south from the Zulu kingdom; dialectal difference
ukulobola, lobolo	practice of transferring cattle (or equivalent) from bridegroom's people to father or male guardian of bride as necessary affirmation of her new status
induna, izinduna	chiefly official - a political appointment
ukungena	practice of widow marrying a brother of her late husband
ukusisa, sisa	cattle loaned by chief to followers
insizwa, izinsizwa	youth(s); young man/men
ntungwa	dialect of Zulu spoken at the Zulu court; 'inner' chiefdoms of the Zulu state
ukwomulisa	ceremony for daughter of marriageable age; 'engagement' ceremony
tekela, tekeza	Zulu dialect, spoken among others by those designated as Lala
isitshimiyana	highly intoxicating drink made from sugar byproducts
ukuvalelisa	leave a chiefdom by paying a fee

uzoko	leprosy
amazosha	unwanted newcomers

Abbreviations used in the text

ANL	Administrator of Native Law
AZM	American Zulu Mission
NLCC	Natal Land and Colonisation Company
SNA	Secretary of Native Affairs
USNA	Under Secretary of Native Affairs
KCL	Killie Campbell Library

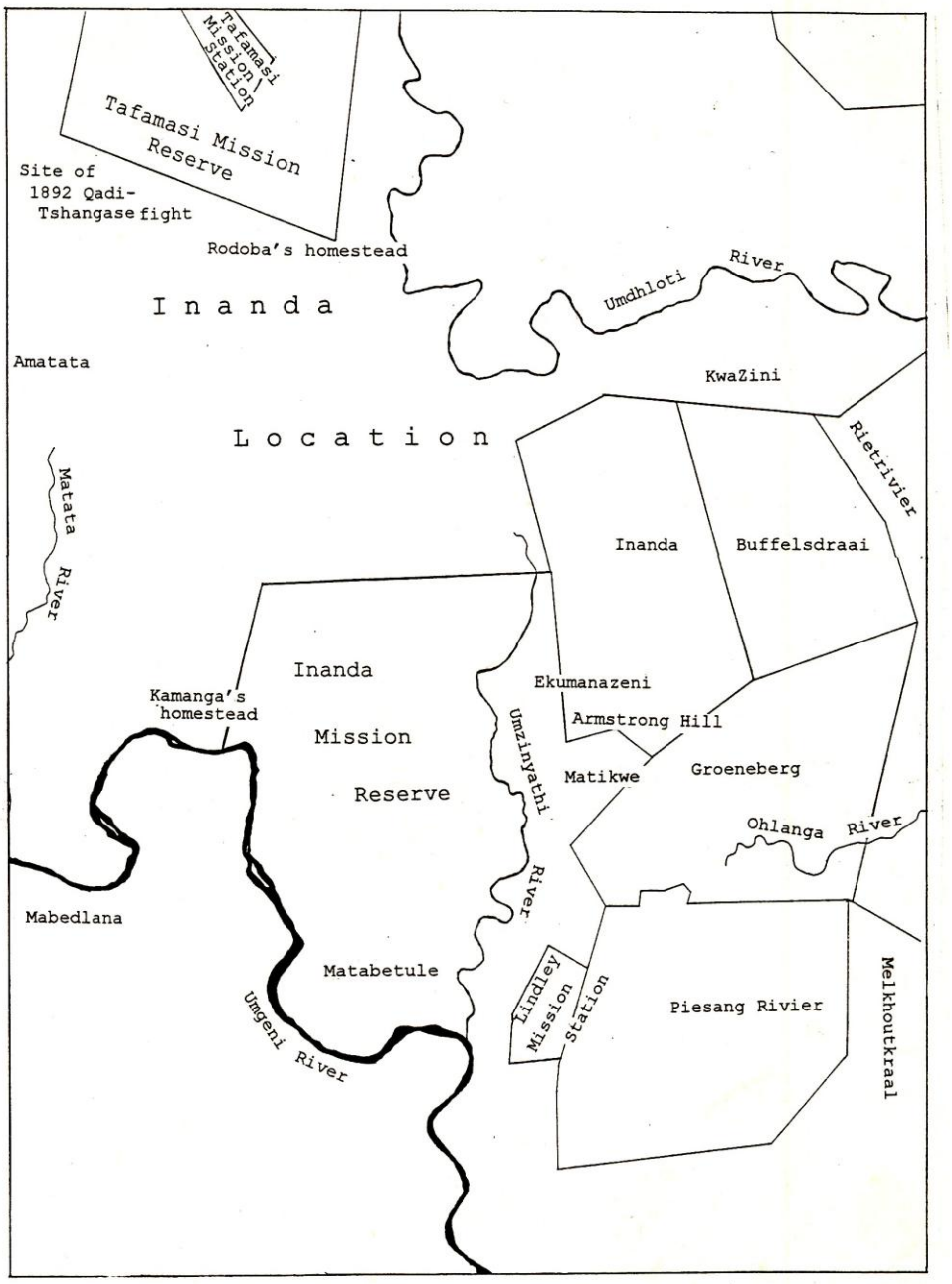
Notes on terminology and usage

- The term *kholwa* is used interchangeably with ‘convert’ to describe Christians. The term ‘traditionalist’, though far from satisfactory, has been used to describe those adhering to a way of life associated with homestead production. It is not meant to signify a polar opposite of ‘modern’ or *kholwa*.

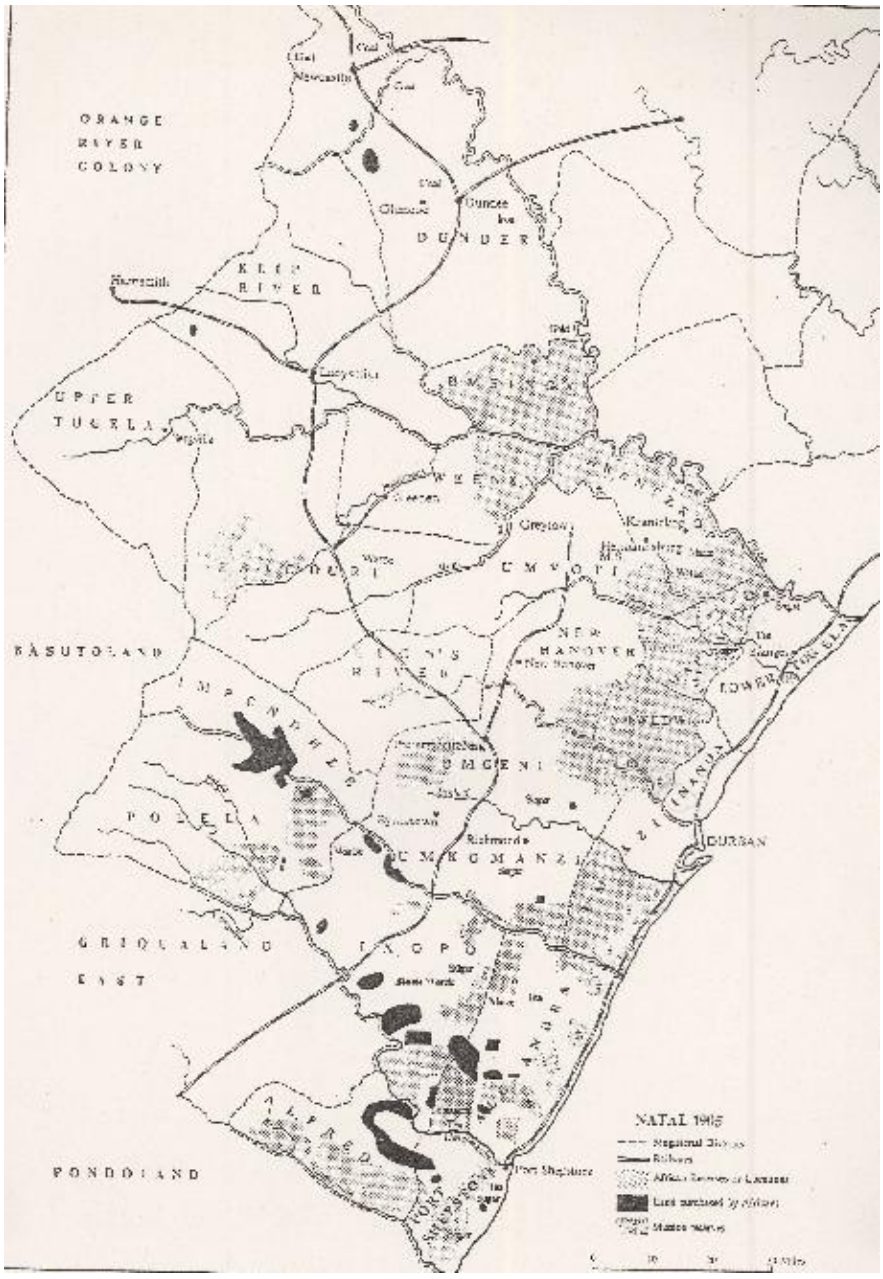
- References to documents in the SNA Papers give the series and volume numbers first (eg 1/1/329), followed by the document number, which always included the year (eg 2844/1905)

- The American Board Papers in the Natal Archives are referred to as ‘A608’.

- After the first full citation, acknowledging the editors, *The James Stuart archive* is referred to by title alone



2 Inanda District in the Colony of Natal



3 Colony of Natal, 1905
(Marks, *Reluctant rebellion, pp408-9)*

Acknowledgements

Any research project incurs so many debts as to render the standard claim of 'all my own work' highly questionable. Long ago, Tim Couzens inspired me with his enthusiasm for research and commitment to African studies; it was his encouragement and persuasion that led me on to postgraduate study, first at Wits and then at SOAS. Over many years since, I have benefited from his advice and support, as well as that of many other fine colleagues, most particularly John Wright, Jeremy Grest, Gerhard Mare, Cherryl Walker, Jeff Guy, Iain Edwards, Paul Maylam and Jo Beall. They and scholars and friends further afield, Isabel Hofmeyr, Jane Starfield, Sheila Meintjes, Colin Murray, Debbie Gaitskell, Robin Hallett and Baruch Hirson have given more help than they realise.

Many librarians and archivists have helped to locate material. I would like to thank the staff of the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg, of the Killie Campbell Library (especially Joan Simpson and Penelope Brown) at the University of Natal, and of the Don Africana library in Durban. Anna Cunningham of the William Cullen Archives at Witwatersrand University found documents in places I would not have thought of looking, and arranged to copy material onto microfilm. Jennie Rathbun at Harvard University Library arranged to copy and send material on the Rev Stephen Pixley. The Inter-library Loans Desk at the University of Wales in Bangor efficiently processed large numbers of my requests.

Many people in Inanda and surrounding areas patiently answered questions about their own or their families' past. Sheila Khumalo and Sizwe Nkomo assisted in translations at interviews, and enthusiastically sought out ever more individuals whose stories might throw more light on Qadi history. Mandla Ngcobo conducted interviews at the Qadi farm, Incwadi, and with the present Qadi chief, Mzonjani Ngcobo. Dr M V Gumede spent many hours explaining the details of Qadi history and my responsibility in setting them all down; I much

regret he did not live to see the project finished. Veit Erlmann assisted in recording a performance of the Qadi *imbongi*, Busanikhekhe Ngcobo, and Beverley Muller arranged for Elliot Zondi, a literary figure in his own right, to translate Chief Mqhawe's praises; I am grateful for the effort he put into the task, and for the impressive result.

The major part of the writing was completed while I was a visiting fellow at the University of Wales at Bangor, July 1994 to July 1995. Prof Merfyn Jones and the members of the School of History and Welsh History, in particular Prof Duncan Tanner, Dr Hugh Pryce and Dr Nancy Edwards, provided a congenial environment in which to work, and willingly bore the costs of large numbers of inter-library loan requests. In the last stages of preparation, my colleagues in the Department of Politics at the University of Natal, Durban, have been most tolerant.

John Wright, Jeff Guy, Mandla Ngcobo and Cherryl Walker all read early versions of what became parts of chapters; I learned much from their comments and suggestions. My deepest gratitude is to Prof Shula Marks, my advisor at the University of London. For many years of my degree registration, she seemed to go against all the principles of her profession, of which she is otherwise so admirable an example, in her faith that one day it would be completed. She has encouraged rather than insisted, reassured more than scolded, and I feel privileged indeed to have benefited from the advice and insights of a scholar whose contribution to the history of southern Africa has been, and continues to be, immensely significant. In between far more urgent and important projects, she read and commented in detail on the draft chapters, becoming not only an intellectual guide, but editor and proof reader as well. If this study is readable and coherent, that is in large measure due to her. I, however, must bear sole responsibility for any shortcomings.

A network of support stretching across various places and times has been indispensable to the loneliness of long-distance writing. In Durban, Celestina

Ngcobo, Ruksana Patel, Ailsa Marcham and Alan Whiteside, Margie Ramsay, Nasima and Omar Badsha, Korki Bird and Rob Dyer, and Brigitte Keck have all provided sustenance of many kinds; in Britain, Jennifer Maddock, Martin and Jill Knight, Liz Shephard and Ian Phillips have similarly given help: listening sympathetically, making suggestions, finding sources, entertaining Christina, or providing meals and diversions. Christopher Merrett has been very understanding, and has more than made up for my withdrawal from joint writing projects as the thesis took over. My co-compilers in the Durban Women's Bibliography Group, Judith Shier, Chantelle Wyley, Patricia Merrett and Louise Torr, have set enviable examples in their dedication to the bibliography, which has little to do with their working lives and has to be fitted in to many family and other commitments.

David Brown helped in a million ways, from fixing troublesome software problems, to bearing more than a fair share of domestic and childcare tasks, to putting his own research work aside. Christina has provided cheery interruptions all the way through, and has been very patient about this work which gets in the way of her enjoyment. This project is dedicated to them and to my parents for their countless contributions: they will be the most relieved when it is all over.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: 'Things old and new commingle into song'[1]

This is a study about politics and society in an African chiefdom in colonial Natal. As such, some preliminary explanations are called for: what is meant by the couplet 'politics and society'? Who constitutes a chiefdom? What is significant about the chosen temporal span? This research project grew out of, and is concerned with, a series of far more parochially-framed questions about a particular chiefdom, the Qadi, and the reign of one chief, Mqhawe, in a single local setting, Inanda. After summarising the basic arguments of the study, the broader issues raised will be clarified, so that not only the Qadi, but this study of them, can be situated in appropriate context. This will be done in part by discussing the literature which has most shaped its ideas.

This study sets out to examine the way in which the Qadi chief, Mqhawe (whose reign was almost coterminous with colonial rule in Natal), and his chiefly elite rebuilt the Qadi chiefdom as well as a strong sense of Qadi identity, using all the possible resources which colonial conditions could provide. Not only were the colonial administration, missionaries, African converts and local white farmers, drawn upon to enhance the Qadi chiefdom's position. In the making of identity, defining enemies is as important as working out whom to trust, and the Qadi elite had very clear ideas about where the main threats to its wellbeing lay: certain other Inanda chiefdoms, Indians, and privately-owned land were the most clearly articulated.

Such processes have been studied before; what this study suggests that is perhaps different, is to stress how determined the chiefly elite was to achieve its

[1] Dhlomo H I E 'Inanda' [poem] in *H I E Dhlomo. Collected works* Ed Visser N and T Couzens (Johannesburg,1985), p 337. This line from Dhlomo's poem on Inanda has been selected partly to show the awareness of others with close association to Inanda, that its history has continually been remade by accretions of 'newness', and partly to convey the sense that any research project

goals, and how it managed to retain a relatively high degree of popular legitimacy; in other words, that it acted in such a way as to make followers feel as if their own interests were being taken care of. More importantly to the perpetuation of an ideology of chiefship, a strong sense of identity was inculcated in members of the elite, to the extent that they successfully resisted the administrative 'neatening' - breaking up the chiefdom according to magisterial districts - which officials tried to impose at the time of Mqhawe's death in 1906.

The term 'politics and society' has thus been chosen to indicate an emphasis on the way in which authority (which emanates from above) and allegiance (its resonance from below) came to be exercised and achieved in the Qadi domain in colonial times. The 'politics' of the title is not meant to suggest a privileging of this sphere of existence over economy; while it is concerned largely with politics and consciousness, it posits that the possession, or lack, of basic material resources was fundamental in shaping political outcomes, both within the chiefdom, and between it and many of the other social groups to which its members had, or chose, to relate. In a colonial context, an understanding of these processes is inseparable from an understanding of relations of conquest and domination.

Through the 1980s and 1990s, there has been a growing interest in precisely this issue of how the colonial state (often, at first, little more than a handful of inexperienced officials with rather incoherent ideas about how to rule) 'connected' with vast numbers of new subjects, of how a rather skeletal colonial edifice imposed itelf on a very large number and variety of African (and Indian) peoples, instances of resistance and rebellion notwithstanding. A concentration on resistance to colonial rule has given way to concepts such as 'acceptance' of

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must build on what is known - its necessary foundations - in order to produce what (hopefully) is something 'new'.

European ideas, hegemony and consent.[2] To some extent, this shift reflects a loss of earlier confidence in the rooting of democracy and socialism in postcolonial societies, which has been replaced by questions about the persistence of authoritarian forms of governance, destructive civil wars and the constraints on sustained development. Certain of the landmarks of this literature have informed the present study of the Qadi, and therefore require some discussion.

The two-volume collection by Lonsdale and Berman[3] contains a number of papers written over many years, concerning the broad theme of the nature and exercise of colonial state power. On such questions as how conquest opened up divisions in African polities, called new social groups into existence, and shaped popular consciousness, these papers provide deep and useful insights for studies of colonialism across the continent. Of particular relevance to this study of the Qadi, is the central paradox which Lonsdale in particular examines in detail, that conquest, even at its most oppressive, not only structured a new political arena, but put a degree of power in certain African hands (namely, chiefs).[4] The forms of popular consciousness associated with this pattern of oppression and power are explored in some depth, especially around late colonial developments such as Mau Mau. The consequences of a similar paradox (though taking into account the rather different features of colonialism in Natal) are pursued in this study of the Qadi.

Berman's own substantial contribution, on the 'dialectic of domination' in colonial Kenya, is concerned to uncover the ways in which the colonial state sought to promote capitalist accumulation. He takes as a starting point the view that

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[2] Apart from the studies discussed in the following paragraphs, see Ranger T 'Race and tribe in southern Africa: European ideas and African acceptance' in Ross R (Ed) *Racism and colonialism* (The Hague, 1982)

[3] Berman B and J Lonsdale *Unhappy valley. Conflict in Kenya and Africa*. *Book one, 'State and class'; Book two, 'Violence and ethnicity'* (London, 1992)

[4] Lonsdale J 'The moral economy of Mau Mau' in Berman B and J Lonsdale *Unhappy valley*, book two, p 330. There are several other possible references to this idea, which is taken up explicitly in chapters 3 and 4 of the present study.

'colonial "domination" is a much more complex and fragile relationship than is commonly recognised',[5] and through his examination of the bureaucratic reach of the state, shows how its incumbents grappled with the problem of being 'autonomous' as well as 'involved' (guaranteeing the conditions for settler accumulation, while at the same time maintaining the 'consent' of the African majority).

The theme running through the collection edited by Vail[6] is the making (or, as he calls it, 'historicity') of ethnicity and tribalism, or ethnic consciousness, in central and southern Africa. By focusing on the formation of self-identity and consciousness, Vail and the authors of the various case studies show how 'tribalism' had a wide appeal to chiefs, migrants, a new African middle class, as these strata and classes 'attempted to shore up their societies and their own positions in them'[7]. These processes are seen as having their origins in colonial relationships, arising out of the way in which administrators, missionaries, anthropologists and others 'made' tribes during the era of foreign rule. These connections are made particularly explicit in the contributions by Harries, Ranger, and Vail and White to the volume.[8]

On the subject of chiefly, as opposed to broad popular, consciousness, Chanock's study of chiefs' judicial role in colonial central Africa makes a rare contribution. He argues that the 'neo-traditionalism' which was being advocated, especially by chiefs, was an ideological response to insecurity,[9] that chiefs were trying to preserve a disintegrating material basis in the way in which they presented 'custom' to colonial officials.[10] Although he deals exclusively with

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5 Berman B *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya. The dialectic of domination*, (London, 1990),p 9

6 Vail L (Ed) *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa* (London, 1989)

7 Vail L 'Introduction' to his (Ed) *The creation of tribalism*, p 14

8 Harries P 'Exclusion, classification and internal colonialism: the emergence of ethnicity among the Tsonga-speakers of South Africa'; Ranger T 'Missionaries, migrants and the Manyika: the invention of ethnicity in Zimbabwe'; and Vail L and L White 'Tribalism in the political history of Malawi' in Vail (Ed) *The creation of tribalism*

9 Chanock M *Law,custom and social order. The colonial experience in Malawi and Zambia*, (Cambridge, 1985), p 18

10 Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*, p 13

chiefs' judicial role - something not possible to do for the Qadi owing to the paucity of records - he shows convincingly how 'customary law', an essential element of 'indirect rule', was made as much by chiefs as by colonial officials.

In their recent edited collection, Engels and Marks achieve two new things: they attempt to break down traditional area specialisms as a way of enhancing an understanding of 'state-society' relations in a colonial context, and they introduce Gramsci's concept of 'consent' to colonial studies. Their prime concern is with the 'strategies of accommodation and survival', of subject peoples, rather than their modes of resistance; not with the (undeniable) coercive capacity of the colonial state, of *'violence directe'*, but with its 'political strategies [which] were directed at creating consent among the colonized',[11] or '*violence douce'.* As the 'contesting' of the title makes clear, they have certain reservations about the applicability of Gramscian hegemony.[12] For chiefdoms such as the Qadi, which explicitly avoided direct confrontation as a strategy for coping with the forces of colonialism, this approach has much to offer, although their concepts are not directly imported into this analysis.

In one respect at least, it is possible to trace a certain strains of Robinson and Gallagher's original notion of collaboration through these contributions (although this is not to posit that there is continuity in other respects: Robinson and Gallagher were after all interested in imperial motives and why colonisation occurred or not, rather than in the exercise of colonial authority[13]). By this term they meant the 'mediation of indigenous elites...[which] mesh[ed] the incoming

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[11] Engels D and S Marks (Eds) *Contesting colonial hegemony. State and society in Africa and India*, (London, 1994), p 2

[12] These are that neither Africa nor India were fully capitalist, which Gramsci presupposed in his elaboration of this idea, in addition to which the 'colonial state' was a more contradictory undertaking than perhaps were other genera of the state species. As Engels and Marks observe, there were 'conflicting imperatives of the colonial and imperial state, on the one hand to ensure the economic viability of the colony, on the other to "maintain law and order" and contain civil turbulence, with a minimum of force and expense.' *Contesting colonial hegemony*, p 14

[13] This aspect of the debate is being revived, along with Hobsonian notions about the source of imperial initiatives, by the publication of the two-volume work by Cain P J and A G Hopkins *British imperialism* (London, 1993)

processes of European expansion into indigenous social politics'.[14] Apart from the controversial excentric theory of imperialism which they advocated, into which this notion of collaboration was tied, it was introduced into historical debate at a time (1960s) when the main focus in African studies was on African resistance to colonialism.[15] Notwithstanding the explicit meaning which they attached to it, the term 'collaborator' soon came to carry pejorative overtones, and the more honourable response, that of resistance, became its (far more widely studied) opposite.[16]

As suggested above, a strong message running through the later literature is that the social group itself, the chiefdom, was *made* under colonial conditions, rather than carried over from an earlier epoch. In regions such as east Africa, 'tribes' had been of little moment until 'colonial officials imagined tribes and then penned them into districts [and] missionaries formalised tribal languages and hallowed them in the Bible.'[17] Chanock makes a similar point: 'the package of tribe, chief, custom and judgements was largely of colonial creation'.[18] In south-eastern Africa, a more extensive phase of precolonial state-formation lent greater coherence to chiefdoms, although it would be mistaken to assume that those forged in precolonial times were carried over into colonial structures unaltered.

The nature of precolonial chiefdoms in southern Africa has received extensive attention. Towards the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, a cluster of important studies was published, of the Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, Pondo, Swazi and southern

[14] Robinson R and J Gallagher with A Denny *Africa and the Victorians. The official mind of imperialism* (Basingstoke, 1981), p 486

[15] This is a vast literature, but perhaps one of its main initiators, appearing a few years before the first edition of *Africa and the Victorians*, was Hodgkin T *Nationalism in colonial Africa* (London, 1956)

[16] For a useful critical evaluation, see Atmore A 'The extra-European foundations of British imperialism: towards a reassessment' in Eldridge C C (Ed) *British imperialism in the nineteenth century* (Basingstoke, 1984), pp 106-125

[17] Lonsdale J 'African pasts in Africa's future' in Berman B and J Lonsdale *Unhappy valley*, p 212

[18] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*, p 20

Tswana polities.[19] Together these represented both theoretical and methodological advances in the understanding of southern African state formation and the onset of colonialism. They were largely informed by a 'political economy' approach, seeking to understand how the exercise of authority was rooted in the material basis of these polities. Together with a few other later[20] contributions, they were, and remain, the benchmark of revisionist work on nineteenth century southern African state formation and, with the onset of industrialisation, conquest.[21]

Hammond-Tooke has taken issue with the historians of these precolonial chiefdoms and states in southern Africa (particularly in the 'Nguni' area), accusing them of using 'an oversimplified and...inappropriate model of how government in a putative transition stage between state and pre-state systems worked.'[22] Hammond-Tooke takes 'chiefdom' to be equivalent to a large polity,

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[19] Guy J *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom. The civil war in Zululand 1897-1884* (Johannesburg 1979); Peires J *The house of Phalo. A history of the Xhose people in the days of their independence* Johannesburg 1981); Delius P *The land belongs to us. The pedi polity, the Boers and the British in the nineteenth century Transvaal* (Johannesburg, 1983); Beinart W *The political economy of Pondoland 1860 to 1930* Johannesburg, 1982); Bonner P *Kings, commoners and concessionaries. The evolution and dissolution of the nineteenth century Swazi state* (Johannesburg, 1983); Shillington K *The colonisation of the southern Tswana 1870-1900* (Johannesburg, 1985)

[20] Notably on the eastern Cape: see Peires J *The dead will arise. Nongqawuse and the great Xhosa cattle-killing movement of 1856-7*(Johannesburg, 1989); Maclennan B *A proper degree of terror. John Graham and the eastern Cape frontier* (Johannesburg, 1986); Crais C *The making of a colonial order. White supremacy and black rresistance in the eastern Cape, 1770-1865* (Johannesburg, 1992)

[21] Since the early 1980s, social historians of South Africa have become progressively more interested in industrial and postcolonial phases of history, coming ever closer to the present: this is nicely symbolised in the chronological coverage of the volumes edited by (in order of appearance) Marks S and A Atmore (Eds) *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa* (London, 1980); Marks S and R Rathbone (Eds) *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa* (London, 1982); and Marks S and S Trapido (Eds) *Race, class and nationalism in twentieth-century South Africa* (London, 1987). As the main advances in social history have had as their subjects the crowded urban spaces and the becoming-capitalist countryside (see Bozzoli B and P Delius 'Radical history and South African society' and the other contributions to *Radical History Review* 46/7, 1990, for a survey of developments in South African historiography), so the precolonial and colonial eras became somewhat neglected. Cobbing's work on what he calls 'mfecane theory' (discussed in chapter 2) has served to return a certain amount of interest to this earlier phase.

[22] Hammond-Tooke W D 'Kinship authority and political authority in precolonial South Africa' in *African Studies* (Fiftieth Anniversary Issue: Festschrift for Philip and Iona Mayer) 50, 1 & 2, 1991, p 186

or ‘state’, as in the examples listed above, and posits that in the prestate phase, ‘power’, but not ‘authority’ (a distinction he draws from M G Smith) existed as a relation between clans.[23] He allows that ‘kinship idiom and kinship ties can be used to gain membership of the chiefdom; to lay claim to governmental roles within it; to recruit support ...; or to mobilise factions against a particular chief’,[24] but none of this involved authority, which in his definition was restricted to nonpolitical, administrative action.

Apart from the rather static, normative view of power as a condition of ‘situational equality’ which he presents, and the too-limiting notion of authority as hierarchical but nonpolitical, he seems intent on maintaining a fixed lineage dimension to the evolution of authority, whereas the historians he mentions (such as Bonner and Hamilton and Wright) are more intent on portraying the chiefdom as a grouping ‘whose geographical boundaries, composition, internal organisation, and cultural and ethnic affiliations were fluid and subject to internally and externally induced change.’[25]

Moreover, chiefdoms were not all equally powerful (all ‘states’ with centralised administrative, coercive and extractive capacities) or equally autonomous, and existed in relation *to one another* in a variety of possible ways. Chiefdoms which had grown large by incorporating others into a political amalgamation (such as the Ngcobo, discussed in chapter 2) could themselves be incorporated into even larger, more centralised polities, or states, such as the Zulu, without disappearing as recognisable entities.

There is an important sense in which ‘tribe’ is a colonial creation generally: the extra, superimposed level in the chain of command - the colonial administration -

[23] Hammond-Tooke, ‘Kinship authority and political authority’, p 190
[24] Hammond-Tooke, ‘Kinship authority and political authority’, pp 187-8
[25] Wright J ‘The dynamics of power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction’, PhD Thesis (Witwatersrand,1989), p 11. Wright’s and Hamilton’s research represent important developments in understanding precolonial

altered the interface between all levels of authority. From their side, administrators were anxious to impose uniformity: the important unit was to be the 'tribe' (a term implying fixity), whose relations *to the colonial government* were meant to replace those which had previously pertained between different polities. The 'fluidity' insisted upon by Hamilton and Wright, for example, solidified somewhat: thus the order and cohesion which ethnologists perceived in 'tribes' was well founded enough at the time (even though they are criticised for it now) but what they failed to realise what that these were of quite recent origin.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the characteristics of a colonial chiefdom, as understood here, must be clarified. It was a relatively small-scale, hiearachical polity (in terms of composition, geographical reach and resources, though in all of these there were wide variations) which recognised a single *inkosi*, or chief, as its 'executive head', as Comaroff described the incumbent.[26] The essentially political nature of the chiefdom must be emphasised; membership was not confined to certain lineages or clans, but was open to any who wished to *khonza,* or owe allegiance to, a particular chief and whose incorporation was legitimated through fictive or real kin relationships. Colonial administrators and missionaries began interfering in or proscribing this 'joining' process; it is argued that chiefs did not necessarily see this as a negative intervention, especially when land shortage became more exaggerated.

The term *inkosi* derives from the ritual authority of its bearer to perform the ceremony of *umkhosi*, or 'first fruits', which included blessing new crops, reviewing regiments and medicinal invigoration of the chief. Colonial edicts curtailed the holding of *umkhosi* ceremonies, although hereditary chiefs, who came from ruling lineages possessing genealogical depth, continued to preside over modified versions. The so-called 'appointed' chiefs (who were in the

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state formation both north and south of the Thukela river, especially on the role of ideology in the process.

[26] A description used by Comaroff of the Tswana, following Schapera, in 'Chiefship in a South African homeland' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 1,1, 1974, p 37

minority in Natal) either did not hold such ceremonies or invented suitable similar traditions.

The chiefly elite consisted of senior advisers, councillors, and close kinsmen. The term 'elders' has been avoided, because although age was important, it was not the only criterion of seniority. For example, Madikane Cele (whose life is sketched out in chapter 6) was one of Mqhawe's closest advisers and also of the same age group as he. The elite was constantly expanding and changing, largely by the appointment of *izinduna*, chiefly functionaries who were explicitly political appointees exercising authority on chief's behalf. This was one of the ways in which Natal chiefs sought to bolster their authority, as argued in chapter 4.

The ubiquity of chiefly authority as an echelon of colonial governance has generated a wide literature.[27] On Natal specifically, Welsh's 1971 study was one of the first studies to deal at length with 'Shepstonism' and the role of chiefs. He argued strongly that the legacy of colonial rule in Natal was one of racial separation and antagonism; that at the same time that African society was disintegrating under the pressure of colonial rule, colonists found a distinct usefulness in the 'maintenance of the tribal system'.[28] In her survey of the Natal colonial experience, Marks thought that chiefly power had been increased by the addition of a colonial echelon of decision-making: 'once a chief was firmly entrenched in government favour it became difficult for his followers to find an alternative chief and simply break away to form a new chiefdom',[29] although chiefs were made to feel their subordination to the white colonial government in a variety of ways. Etherington stresses the acute subordination of chiefs, citing the cases of Sidoi, Matshana and Langalibalele, whose chiefdoms were

[27] Apart from the East African sources already discussed, mention must be made of Packard R *Chiefship and cosmology. An historical study of political competition* (Bloomington, 1981), which contains a fascinating account of how Belgian attempts at 'indirect rule' gave opportunities to unlikely contenders for chiefly office among the Bashu.

[28] Welsh D *The roots of segregation. Native policy in natal 1845-1910* (Oxford, 1971), p 319

[29] Marks S *Reluctant rebellion. The 1906-1908 disturbances in Natal* (Oxford, 1970), p 42

'extinguished' by Shepstone, as examples of what might happen if chiefs went against colonial decree.[30]

While some have seen chiefly powers in Natal extended, and other have seen them whittled away, virtually all writers have portrayed chiefs as slipping down a precipitous slope, from a high point of popular legitimacy at the onset of foreign domination, into a trough of unpopularity by the time the foreigners departed. Lambert's recently published study of Africans and the colonial state in Natal, *Betrayed trust*, makes this point very exactly:

> By the end of the 1870s, the colonial administration was gaining the upper hand over chiefs and had reduced their potential threat to settler security. Yet to the extent that it remained unable to devise a viable administrative system for the African population, chiefs continued to retain some political control over their subjects...In the years ahead, the remaining powers of chiefs were to be whittled away until by the end of the century they retained little authority over their subjects. [31]

Where one focuses one's attention deeply affects the outcome of one's analysis. Those who, like Berman in Kenya and Lambert in Natal, have dissected the 'politics of control' in the colonial state have revealed the way in which authority shaded - or slid precipitately - into 'paternalistic authoritarianism', as Berman calls it.[32] Yet attending to the machinations of colonial administration has frequently resulted in the only conclusion that chiefs everywhere became corrupt and oppressive, the popular support they were deemed once to have enjoyed ineluctably eroded by their methods of coping with their ambiguous, not to say invidious, positions within the colonial order. They became 'collaborators' in the most dishonourable way.[33]

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[30] Etherington N 'The "Shepstone system" in the Colony of Natal and beyond its borders' in Duminy A and B Guest (Eds) *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910. A new history* (Pietermaritzburg, 1989), pp 170-186

[31] Lambert J *Betrayed trust. Africans and the state in colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1995), p 35

[32] Berman B *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya*, especially pp 104-115

[33] Berman, *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya*, especially pp 208-214

This result is in no way denied for a large number of cases. Yet the possibility that chiefs could act in the broader interests of their followers as a way of enhancing their positions, or that, through the exercise of colonially-defined authority, they were able to retain, or even create, popular legitimacy, seem to be unthinkable propositions. One of the conclusions of this study is that a chiefdom like the Qadi fits into this range, although the question of how 'representative' it was cannot be conclusively answered. Historians of colonial Natal who have mentioned the Qadi and Mqhawe have described them as unusual (see especially the discussion in chapter 5 below), but until the evidence is re-examined, it is impossible to be definite about this.

One of the reasons is that insufficient attention has been paid to the *ideology* of chiefship. Although this study is concerned more with its exercise than with its ideology, it would be mistaken to assume that the latter developed (or declined) along precisely the same curve as the former. Even in situations of acute land hunger and labour repression (or maybe because of these crises), in which chiefs were unable to satisfy the demands of their followers for protection and wellbeing, an ideology of chiefship could be strongly perpetuated, not only by 'outsiders' wishing to shore up what they perceived to be a disintegrating rural social order, but also by chiefs and their followers. Further, it is arguable that those with an interest in perpetuating both the ideology and the practice of chiefship 'from below' took their cue from the strongest and most successful practitioners, even if these were few in number in any colony, rather than from the majority of weak, ineffectual or oppressive ones.

In sum, how chiefdoms were made involves an examination not only of colonial policy (the administrative need for well-defined 'tribes') but equally importantly, of the needs and goals of chiefly elites, their distinctive contribution to the 'process of redistributing power in social life',[34] and also the needs of their followers (although their particular perspectives are only brifly addressed in this study).

[34] Chanock M *Law, custom and social order*, p 15

The colonialists' sense of 'tribe' - which after all, as Hroch reminds us in a different but related context, was not 'invented' out of thin air[35] - could coincide in some respects with the aspirations of those in a position to exercise authority over the coherent units which officials helped to bring into being. In Natal, many polities had suffered decades of political turmoil, and were looking for political and social stability.

This does not imply that chiefs enjoyed unrestrained benefits of colonialism, nor that gave it their full backing, nor that they were able to rule their chiefdoms without hindrance, but it does mean that their own interests in participating in the making of 'tribal' entities needs greater emphasis. New, or latent, faultlines within their polities were opened up in the process of conquest. Depending on circumstances (such as the presence or not of large settler populations, the strength and designs of the colonial state, the geopolitical situation of the chiefdom), sometimes these could be managed in such a way as to bolster their legitimacy from below; in other cases, they had to resort to open dependence on colonial overlords to help them through, or open resistance led to their destruction.

Except in this last instance, it may be said that chiefs generally retained a degree of allegiance, ranging from residual (in the case of ineffectual or oppressive chiefs) to popular (where the coherence of the chiefdom resulted from a process of 'chiefdom-building' in which commoners derived some benefit). This could not be fully appreciated in a past era of scholarship when 'tribalism' (and hence chiefly office) was seen as undermining the positive efforts of new state-makers in Africa to overcome the devastating legacy of 'divide and rule', as Vail points out.[36]

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[35] 'Ideas could not flow...by their own inspirational force. Intellectuals can 'invent' national communities only if certain objective preconditions for the formation of a nation already exist.' Hroch M 'From national movement to the fully-formed nation: the nation-building process in Europe' in *New Left Review* 198, 1993, p 4

More recently, studies have begun to make the point that the retention of such allegiance is a necessary part of understanding ethnicity in Africa today, and in the case of this study, of understanding the contemporary life-and-death political struggles and the persistence of traditionalist ideologies in the region of Natal-KwaZulu. Of course what has happened in the intervening years, between the end of colonial rule and the most immediate experiences of conflict (particularly, how a 'Zulu' identity has embraced 'Qadi' and other such identities) must contribute to an explanation too.[37]

In the case of the Qadi, as in many others documented by historians, it was not only the nexus of the colonial state that shaped the creation of 'tribe'. Perhaps the next most important influence came from missionaries. In their challenging work on the missionaries' role in conquest, Comaroff and Comaroff argue that what they term 'colonial evangelism' (even though their case study of the Tswana suggests a frontier zone, rather than a 'colonial' one) brought with it a particular 'social world' - missionaries as harbingers of industrial capitalism - which sought to dominate the social world of Africans.

In their terms, what is at issue is the slow, because contested, assertion of hegemony, 'that order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies - drawn from a historically situated cultural field - that come to be taken-for-granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it.'[38] Theirs is primarily a study in changing consciousness, of the way signs and symbols are detached from old meanings and through a long series of struggles, competing understandings and 'misunderstandings', come to assume new meanings.

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[36] Vail L 'Introduction' to his (Ed) *The creation of tribalism*, pp 1-2

[37] Among the key texts for this period are Marks S *The ambiguities of dependence in South Africa. Class, nationalism and the state in twentieth-century Natal* (Johannesburg, 1986); Cope N *To bind the nation. Solomon kaDinuzulu and Zulu nationalism 1913-1933* (Pietermaritzburg, 1993); Mare G and G Hamilton *An appetite for power. Buthelezi's Inkatha and the politics of 'loyal resistance'*(Johannesburg, 1987)

[38] Comaroff J and J Comaroff *Of revelation and revolution. Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa* vol 1,(Chicago, 1991), p 23

There are many stimulating insights contained in the Comaroffs' analysis, meshing together as it does a body of anthropological and historical data with a wide range of social theory. Some of these have helped to shape questions about the Qadi and their experience of missionaries, as well as broader ones about the origins of ethnicity.[39] As a work of social history, closer to the ground than the abstract notion of 'hegemony', however, it is frequently as frustrating as it is enlightening. Most importantly, while the authors are at pains to show the contradictions inherent both in the process of colonialism and in the forms of consciousness it imported, there remains too much that is aggregated and homogenised. On the one side were 'the Tswana', and on the other, 'colonial evangelists'. One accepts that there might be problems of evidence on the Tswana side, but this is also a matter of approach: the picture which emerges is too static.

Similarly, in the use of the term 'colonial evangelists', the question as to whether there might have been distinctions between (some) evangelists and (some) colonialists cannot even arise. At base, their very notion of hegemony forces them to think in terms of two great 'camps' facing each other, ready for a kind of battle: the Europeans and the Africans, these two 'social worlds'. It is precisely the sort of polarity which they rightly claim we need to move away from, but they seem trapped within it themselves.[40] Even their own rich evidence, for example that Africans made shrewd distinctions between whites,[41] would seem to question their central precept.

On a less rarified level, it remains valid to pinpoint differences in approach, intention and impact, between various interest groups. The fact that an

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[39] Comaroffs, *Of revelation and revolution*, pp 255-288

[40] While not suggesting that the Comaroffs accept such a position, this problem is redolent of the notion that the thought processes of pre-literate and literate peoples are fundamentally different. See Ong W *Orality and literacy*(London, 1982); Goody J *Literacy and traditional society* (Cambridge, 1981) and Prins G *The hidden hippotamus. The early colonial experience in western Zambia* (Cambridge, 1980)

American missionary, rather than a London Missionary Society one, settled among the Qadi is considered in this study to be signficant, for example. The reasons are explored in chapters 5 and 6, and in chapter 7 certain concrete results of this 'accident' are pursued in detail. Again, in Natal, it would be incorrect to reduce the deep division between Colenso and other missionaries to a level of insignificance, simply because all missionaries were engaged in the 'colonisation of consciousness'.

Traditionally in studies of the Natal-Zululand region, the focus on the chiefdom has been more usual in anthropological than in historical research.[42] Apart from Wright and Manson's study of the Hlubi,[43] there is no study tracing the fortunes and misfortunes of a single chiefdom through colonial rule in Natal. The choice of the Qadi as a case study originally grew out of a desire to follow the history of a place, Inanda; because the Qadi seemed to have played such a critical part in this history, it was clear that a great part of any such project would have to be devoted to a more detailed look at this chiefdom. Mqhawe's reign was the key one in rebuilding the chiefdom in Natal; since it stretched almost to each end of Natal's colonial period, it suggested itself as the time frame.

The sense of place, however, has not been abandoned. In order to make necessary connections between the chiefdom and other social groups with whom it had close dealings, (as well as within it), 'place' here has a strong sociological and historical, as well as a geographic, sense (although the dispersal of the Qadi beyond Inanda is also taken into account). Perhaps the most evocative expression of these combined senses of place is John Berger's, in the opening words of *A fortunate man*: 'Sometimes a landscape seems to be less a setting for the life of its inhabitants than a curtain behind which their

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41 Comaroffs, *Of revelation and revolution*, p 195

42 See for example three very useful studies of the Nyuswa, a closely related chiefdom of the Qadi: Vilakazi A *Zulu transformations. A study of the dynamics of social change* (Pietermaritzburg, 1965); Ngubane H *Body and mind in Zulu medicine* (London, 1977)*;* and Mbatha C 'Migrant labour and its effects on tribal and family life among the Nyuswa of Botha's Hill' MA Thesis (Natal, 1962)

43 Wright J and A Manson *The Hlubi chiefdom in Zululand-Natal. A history* (Ladysmith, 1983)

struggles, achievements and accident take place. For those who, with the inhabitants, are behind the curtain, landmarks are no longer only geographic but also biographical and personal.'[44]

John Tosh has noted that local history in general serves as a reminder that political history is not only about central institutions of state, but also about 'the assertion of authority over ordinary people; politics is likely to be interpreted less as an enclosed arena than as the sphere in which conflicts between opposing interests in society are fought out.'[45] Thus the 'politics and society' in the title finds a specific form of expression in this local context. Because it tries to establish networks of support, trace the shapes of schisms or show knots of prejudice, all in a fairly confined physical area, it is deliberately well-peopled. Throughout the duration of this project, an Inanda 'Who's who' has also been compiled, which now contains nearly four hundred entries. Admittedly this is a small proportion of the population at any one time, let alone over the whole period covered; nevertheless, it allows one to meet those who took important initiatives, or who influenced decisions, or who were most voluble in their protests, and to trace a host of local relationships over a long timespan.

This in turn has been central to the task of sorting out *political* affiliations, which were not only of great moment to those living in the Umzinyathi valley, for whom such matters were intensely personal, but also for the trajectory of regional and national (and more impersonal) politics in the generation or two after Mqhawe's death, as certain key local figures (notably John Dube, Pixley Seme and A W G Champion, as well as 'visitors' such as M K Gandhi) fanned out into more broadly-based political movements (a theme which, though noted, is beyond the scope of this project). Part of the purpose of this study is also to try to question received categories: for example, *kholwa* versus traditionalists; chiefs versus

[44] Berger, J and J Mohr *A fortunate man. The story of a country doctor* (London, 1967), pp 13-15
[45] Tosh J *The pursuit of history* (London, 1991), p 109

commoners; Indians versus Africans. It concludes that some of these have an uncomfortable validity, while others are in need of adjustment.

Virtually all the inhabitants of Inanda, whose aspirations and programmes are the subject of this study, were newcomers: the Qadi arrived in the late 1830s, British colonial officials within five years, missionaries and white settlers in the late 1840s, and Indian workers just over a decade after that. The sequence is profoundly important in shaping fields of opportunity and constraint - for example, had the Qadi arrived *after* the British, they would have been treated as 'refugees' and most likely would have been consigned to poor location land. But each group, in its own way, was also striving to overcome the insecurity of being newly arrived. Each had different resources for tackling this problem; none was able exert control, or carve a niche, in quite the way it would have liked.

While there is little reference to them directly, this project has been guided by two impressive examples of local history in central and southern Africa, Landeg White's *Magomero*, and Colin Murray's *Black Mountain*.[46] As both amply demonstrate, the broader social and political context of 'the local' needs to be woven in throughout if it is to avoid the charge of parochialism. The Qadi study depends heavily on the secondary literature on colonial Natal, which has been well studied in the past for reasons not unconnected to those which originally attracted so much colonial and missionary interest: the powerful and enigmatic Zulu state, whose legacy continues either to haunt or to inspire (depending on which of the competing imagined pasts one adopts as one's guide).

There have been two notable general studies of the region, the first by Brookes and Webb,[47] which tried to knit the somewhat antiquarian interest of an earlier generation of academic studies in white settlers and their achievements, and the

[46] White L *Magomero. Portrait of an African village* (Cambridge, 1987) and Murray C *Black mountain. Land, class and power in the Eastern Orange Free State, 1880s-1980s* (Edinburgh, 1992)

[47] Brookes E H and C de B Webb *A history of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1965)

history of Africans in the region (drawn almost exclusively from Bryant's work). Duminy and Guest have updated it and extended it to include Zululand.[48] It is not as coherent in its argument, because of its nature as an edited collection, but it is comprehensive in its coverage, and as such is an indispensable point of departure.

Two recent studies, by Lambert on Africans and the colonial state, and Freund on Indians in twentieth-century Natal,[49] continue what has become a deeply-entrenched pattern in scholarship on the region: its fragmentation into racial categories. While there is obvious justification in treating Indians and Africans separately, depending on the focus and rationale of individual analyses, and there have been some hugely important contributions to both 'sides',[50] the fact remains that the division shows no signs of closing. Studies which have dealt with African-Indian relations in more than passing fashion are extremely rare.[51] This study tries to address the issue of Indian-African relations in the last chapter.

Apart from the literature reviewed above, which has furnished information as well as concepts and ideas, it is important to discuss the nature of the primary sources assembled and consulted for this study. It relies heavily on what Paul

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[48] Duminy A and B Guest (Eds) *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910. A new history*

[49] Lambert, *Betrayed trust* and Freund B *Insiders and outsiders. The Indian working class of Durban 1910-1990* (Pietermaritzburg, 1995)

[50] Among those on Indians, see Swan M *Gandhi: the South African years* (Johannesburg, 1985); Bhana S and J Brain *Setting down roots. Indian migrant in South Africa 1860-1911* (Johannesburg, 1990); and Ginwala F 'Class, consciousness and control: Indian South Africans 1860-1946' PhD Thesis (Oxford, 1974). Most of the important sources on Africans have been referred to in the course of discussion thus far; see also Etherington N *Preachers, peasants and politics in south-east Africa, 1835-1880. African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand* (London, 1978) and Atkins K *The moon is dead! Give us our money! The cultural origins of an African work ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900* (London, 1993)

[51] One work meriting attention is Kuper L *An African bourgeoisie. Race, class and politics in South Africa* (New Haven, 1965), which focuses on the rise of an African middle class in Durban, and devotes some attention to the issue of African-Indian relationships. See also Marie S *Divide and profit* (Durban, 1986), a 'popular' study, but which stands virtually alone in confronting the racially divided nature, as well as the implications for labour and political organisation, of Natal's working class

Thompson calls 'the documentary method'.[52] Published official documents, such as evidence given before commissions, as well as the enormous record deposited in the Secretary of Native Affairs Minute Papers, and magistrates' reports, have formed the backbone of evidence. There is an obvious difficulty with such sources, in that they do not emanate from within the domain in which one is most interested, and frequently reflect the fears and misunderstandings of colonial administrators rather than the intentions and needs of African subjects.

This body of evidence is, however, remarkably rich. Firstly, it was the main preoccupation of magistrates and the SNA to try to gather as much information about Natal Africans as possible, with the intention of gaining control over them. As Ginzburg has remarked, 'the fact that a source is not "objective" (for that matter, neither is an inventory) does not mean that it is useless. A hostile chronicle can furnish precious testimony...'[53] Secondly, not all the evidence contained in this record is 'hostile': on many occasions, messages came from chiefs, or chiefs came forward to press claims and gave lengthy testimonies; also, many officials who worked with Africans in the locations believed they had their interests at heart. Thomas Fayle, whose weekly diary of the Inanda location through the late 1880s and early 1890s is a treasure trove of his perceptions of conditions and goings-on, considered himself to be a 'father' to Inanda location Africans: stern yet sympathetic, critical yet defensive. The records of both 'hostile' and 'friendly' witnesses, if used as the primary material out of which a colonial relationship can be analysed, will yield a vast amount of valuable information.

Such sources, as well as the missionary and settler accounts that have been used to supplement the 'official' record, of course only cover those aspects of Africans' life which came within the ambit of their different spheres of activity. There remain silences on many issues about which one would want, in such a

[52] Thompson P *The voice of the past: oral history* (Oxford, 1988), pp 48-53

study of a chiefdom, to know far more, such as how Mqhawe organised his transport riding business, to what extent he was able to call on tribute labour, whether there were tensions between homestead heads and his *izinduna*, and what caused these, how extensive the *ukusisa* practice was in his domain, or the identities of all his thirty two wives.

As a source which represents African voices more directly, oral testimony has the potential to fill in some of these blanks - if the events one is hoping to clarify have occurred within living memory, or at least only just beyond it.[54] Although several interviews were conducted, and informants willingly gave of what they knew, these proved to be more revealing of how Qadi history is carried forward now, rather than of events of a century and a half ago. Evidence given to official commissions constitutes a type of oral testimony, and has partly been treated as such. The interviews conducted by James Stuart[55] around the turn of the century - particularly those with Madikane Cele[56] (who, from Stuart's account, one would think was a 'humble tribesman', rather than a Christian preacher!) have been deeply important to the development of certain ideas in this study, especially about the Lala in Natal, and about relations between converts and traditionalists at Inanda.

Written sources by Africans are rare. For Inanda, there have been a few of great value. Firstly, some of the contributions to the Zulu Tribal History Competition, organised in 1950, proved to be important in understanding how traditions change; as an insight into the making of identities at this time, this is an

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[53] Ginzburg C *The cheese and the worms. The cosmos of a sixteenth-century miller* (London, 1981), p xvii

[54] And of course if one takes into account the particular methodological challenges of using oral sources. See Finnegan R *Oral traditions and the verbal arts. A guide to research practices* (London, 1992)

[55] Stuart, a colonial official who began his career as a magistrate, achieve prominence as the official investigator of the causes of the 1906 rebellion in Natal. His interest in Zulu history led him to interview many elderly men and painstakingly transcribe the results into hundreds of notebooks, now lodged in the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban.

[56] Madikane Cele in Webb C de B and J B Wright (Eds) *The James Stuart archive* vol 2 (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1979), pp 47-67

important source, especially if read against the backdrop of *The James Stuart archive* and the 'tribal' histories in Bryant.[57] Secondly, there is Fuze's book, the first history of African people in the region to be written in Zulu.[58] Its significance also lies in the fact that Fuze came from a lineage closely related to the Qadi, and further was A T Bryant's main informant of the Ngcobo paramountcy in the Thukela valley. Otherwise, written accounts by Africans are extremely fragmentary - applications for exemption, one or two essays by Inanda Seminary students, letters written by John Dube - but have been incorporated wherever possible.

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This study of the Qadi chiefdom is divided into five parts, chronologically arranged around local events of importance (such as the Qadi purchase of land, participation in the Anglo-Zulu war, or the departure of the missionary Daniel Lindley) although these in large measure correspond roughly to ones of colony-wide importance, most notably in the administrative and economic changes from the 1870s.

In terms of the focus on 'politics and society', the exercise of authority within the Qadi domain is best understood by means of an examination of the relations between the chiefdom and whichever larger political authority purported to exercise control over it. Thus, part 2 is entitled 'The encircling authority of state'. While it is important to keep in mind the precolonial/colonial divide, it is also important to appreciate that what this divide meant for the Qadi, and many chiefdoms like it, was a dislocation from one large, authoritarian state structure and relocation into another. Each had its own goals and style of governance,

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[57] Webb C de B and J B Wright (Eds) *The James Stuart archive* vols 1 - 4 (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1976-1986; further volumes planned); Bryant A T *Olden times in Zululand and Natal. containing the earlier political history of the Eastern Nguni clans* (London, 1929)

[58] Fuze M *The black people and whence they came*, Ed A T Cope (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1979)

and each allowed the Qadi (and others like them) different options and different constrictions.

Chapter 2 looks at the incorporation and expulsion of the Qadi from the Zulu state, largely by means of surviving oral traditions of these events. It takes as its starting point that oral traditions need to be treated 'less as factual statements than as largely political statements',[59] which served to legitimise both the authority of ruling groups over particular peoples and territories, as well as relations of subordinates to those ruling groups. This chapter also includes a discussion of the ideological category of Lala, about which Hamilton and Wright have suggested certain novel possibilities for the phases of Zulu state formation under Shaka and Dingane. The discussion here attempts to examine how Lala was reworked in the context of colonial Natal.

Chapters 3 and 4 follow the Qadi into Natal, and examine the contributions of the Qadi elite to evolving political relations in the colony. Chapter 3 looks at the rebuilding of the chiefdom in the Umzinyathi valley at Inanda. Brief mention is made of the Boer interlude, although this did not affect the Qadi materially, since their geographical location meant that they related far more closely to the small British settlement at Port Natal (later to become Durban). Qadi fortune as beneficiaries of a large number of cattle from the royal Zulu herd in 1843 is taken as a turning point. On the basis of the cattle, they found good land (the incoming administration was in no position as yet to decree where Africans should settle). This material wellbeing enabled a strong chiefdom to re-emerge. Not only did 'indirect rule' allow wide scope (especially for hereditary chiefs), but the Qadi chief and his elite displayed great resourcefulness in the way in which they set about securing the chiefdom, such as using aspects of hut tax payments, manipulating marriage and *lobolo* regulations, exerting claims to superiority over neighbouring chiefdoms, and buying land.

[59] Wright J B 'The dynamics of power and conflict', p 9

The 1870s mark a substrate social shift which was too profound to be dated to a particular year or event. This was the period of southern Africa's industrial 'take-off'; no more was it a region of strategic significance because of its location en route to somewhere else, such as India or the African interior. Capital and skill poured in to exploit the earth's riches, and with them them came all kinds of schemes and legislation to shake Africans out of their homesteads and into wage labour.

These shifts, discussed in chapter 4, reverberated in Inanda in distant but perceptible ways, which did not at first seem negative. Mqhawe participated with enthusiasm in the war against the Zulu state in 1879 (after all, its soldiers had been responsible for the death of both his father and grandfather), but got no real recognition for doing so, and became more hostile to officialdom. Worsening relations were compounded by the thwarting of his attempts to move the chiefdom back to Zululand.

The years from the 1880s are usually portrayed as ones of 'crisis' in histories of Natal. In common with other chiefdoms, but perhaps not as acutely, the Qadi felt various manifestations of crisis: land pressure, generational tension, ecological devastation. Yet 'crisis' has a somewhat terminal ring to it; while more energies undoubtedly had to be devoted to defensive strategies, still the elite engaged in 'chiefdom-building', for example in the way in which *izinduna* were appointed and the attempts to position the Qadi favourably in relation to other chiefdoms.

Beyond part 2, the study spreads outward, as it were, into two bigger concentric rings, dealing with issues which exercised a profound impact on the Qadi elite, but over which they had less grasp. First, relationships with missionaries are discussed in part 3, as they came right into the Qadi domain and in fact turned it into a mission reserve. Chapter 5 examines the backgrounds of the first generation of American missionaries at Inanda, the Lindleys. While they shared

certain general assumptions about the supposed inferiority of Africans, they also came from backgrounds which encouraged a greater degree of liberalism and commitment to education than was generally the case in Natal missionary circles. Further Qadi relations with the mission changed from total closure to an interest in its secular offerings (a common pattern for the period), so did Lindley's outlook change, becoming closer to Colenso's than to those of his colleagues in the American Zulu Mission. The chapter covers the period to the Lindleys' departure from Inanda in 1873.

Chapter 6 deals more with the Qadi elite's dealings with the *kholwa* at Inanda, than with missionaries per se. It starts out by examining how '*kholwa*-traditionalist' relations have generally been understood in Natal and how the Qadi case is understood to have differed from it. It suggests that neither capture fully the complexity of developments at Inanda, in which a split occurred within the ranks of the *kholwa*, precisely over dealings with the traditionalists. One faction, led by John Dube, who was Mqhawe's cousin, allied itself to the chief and was thus able to gain an autonomy from the mission which was denied the other faction, which remained closely hitched to the AZM. The implications of these divisions are traced in some detail.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the study of two educational institutions which were founded in Inanda, and which have strongly contributed to the identity of the place itself. One, the Inanda Seminary, was at the time of its founding by the AZM in 1869 the first boarding school for girls in Natal. The other, Dube's Ohlange, was the first institution to be opened on independent funding (important to which was Mqhawe's contribution) and purely African initiative, in 1901.

Chapter 8, on the question of private land and its manifold consequences, is on its own in part 4. While private property is so basic an issue to every society, settled or in transition, it comes last, in keeping with the 'outward' spread of chapters from those aspects over which the Qadi elite retained or created most

control, to those over which they held least sway. After a description of the privatisation of Inanda land, two basic themes are explored: firstly, the reasons for a growing African prejudice against Indian immigrants, and secondly, the carving out of an 'ethnic' niche in the labour market by Qadi workers.

The final part, containing the conclusion, tries to knit the study together by focusing on the question of chiefdom and identity. It suggests that if identity is 'the living result of what the interminable past has deposited',[60] then perhaps what is needed is a re-evaluation of (among other things) the history of chiefs in colonial Natal (and, by extension, Zululand), as one way of understanding subsequent identity formation, and more recent regional conflicts.

[60] Braudel F *The identity of France* vol 1 (London, 1986), p 23

PART 2: THE ENCIRCLING AUTHORITY OF STATE

Chapter 2: 'Shaka used to insult us and frighten us'[1]: the Qadi in the Zulu kingdom

In the autumn of 1837, after living for nearly two decades under Dingane's Zulu rule, the Qadi polity was crushed between Dingane's 'upper and nether grindstones'.[2] The king had ordered the Qadi to carry wooden poles from the forest where they lived to the royal court for building work; once in his enclosure, they were set upon.

> The Zulus were armed outside the cattle enclosure. When the Qadis were all inside, they started up suddenly, on becoming aware of a monstrous plot as the enemy shouted, 'They are inside!' and they were heavily engaged in the enclosure so that there was such a fierce struggle that in the end the enclosure burst open.....[3]

Whatever the motive for the attack – perhaps Dingane's retribution for an act of defiance on the Qadi chief Dube's part,[4] or his fear that if Dube was still alive, then Shaka must be too'[5] – the surviving remnants fled for their lives: a letter in the *Grahams Town Journal* in mid-1937, from 'original settlers, Natal', refers to 'the late slaughter by Dingaan of Dubo's [sic] people'.[6] The grindstones certainly had worked effectively.

This chapter recounts the precolonial history of the Qadi, and sets out the relationship between the Qadi chiefdom and the broader pattern of Zulu history, from the formation of the Zulu kingdom to the departure of the Qadi from it. Its material depends heavily on the way in which the events described are

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[1] Madikane Cele in Webb C de B and J Wright (Eds) *The James Stuart archive*, vol 2, p 55
[2] Ngcobo E H Z, 'The Qadi tribe',(File 22, KCM 64670),1950 Zulu Tribal History Competition Papers (ZTHC) organised by D McK Malcolm, (translations by E Dahle) Killie Campbell Library
[3] Cele B 'The Amaqadi tribe' (File 22, KCM 64756), ZTHC. The writer was a member of the leading Cele family at Inanda, to which Madikane also belonged.
[4] Mtshapi kaNoradu in *The James Stuart archive* vol 4 (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1986), pp 66-7
[5] Gumede M V 'History of the Qadi: Umlando wenkosi yesizwe samaQadi' (Paper). Dingane was implicated in a plot to kill his brother Shaka in 1828.
[6] Cited in Bird J *Annals of Natal 1495-1845* vol 1 (Pietermaritzburg, 1888), p 322

presented in several generations of oral tradition[7], although it is not the 'literal truth; that is at issue. Vansina long ago noted that 'a testimony is no more than a mirage of the reality it describes',[8] and Tonkin has recently argued that '"the past" is not only a resource to deploy... it also enters memory in different ways and helps to structure it. Literate or illiterate, we are our memories.'[9] Traditions, then, are 'complex intellectual productions that draw selectively on the different layerings inherent in the text';[10] they are continually remade, taking into account factors such as the oral genre (praise poetry, narrative or epic), the current political and social context, the nature of the audience and the status and needs of the teller.[11]

Thus the value of Qadi oral narratives, genealogies and chiefly praises[12] lies in tracing how those with a strong commitment to keeping Qadi traditions alive have presented them, and have invested particular details with greater or lesser moment, and what explanations might be offered for their reconstructions. This is frequently an impracticable task, because the necessary 'contextual' information has been lost, but occasionally sufficient circumstantial evidence can be rescued to suggest possible interpretations.

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[7] The sources used are: Madikane Cele and Mandhlakazi kaSitshi in *The James Stuart archive*, vol 2, pp 47-67 & 191; Matshipa kaNoradu in *The James Stuart archive*, vol 4, p 191; Fuze M *The black people and whence they came*, ch 40; Bryant A T *Olden times in Zululand and Natal*, ch 46; Stuart J and Malcolm D McK 'Epilogue' to their (Eds) *Diary of Henry Francis Fynn* (Pietermaritzburg, 1969), pp 257-9; Gumede, 'History of the Qadi'; and the following entries to the 1950 Zulu Tribal History Competition (ZTHC): Ngcobo, 'The Qadi tribe', Cele B 'The Amaqadi tribe' and Ngidi V 'The Mqadi tribe' (File 22, KCM 64734). While each of these accounts differs slightly in detail, only those variations for which there is sufficient explanatory evidence, or which are politically significant, are discussed.

[8] Vansina J *Oral tradition. A study in historical methodology* (Harmondsworth,1973), p 76. For a recent comprehensive survey of new developments in the field of oral tradition, see Finnnegan R *Oral traditions and the verbal arts*

[9] Tonkin E *Narrating our pasts. The social construction of oral history* (Cambridge, 1992), p 1

[10] Isabel Hofmeyr, personal written communication, 8 May 1994. See her study, *'We live our lives as a tale that is told': oral historical narrative in a South African chiefdom* (Johannesburg, 1993), for a full and fascinating treatment of this issue in the Valtyn chiefdom in the Transvaal.

[11] See for example Scheub H 'Oral poetry as history' in *New Literary History* 3, 1987. I am grateful to Isabel Hofmeyr for this reference.

It is also important to establish a 'lineage' of writers in order to clarify a sequence of influence in the development of ideas about the Qadi past. Recent generations of historians, Qadi and non-Qadi, have relied upon the earlier standard works of Fynn, Bryant, Stuart or Fuze for 'facts'[13] – perhaps revising these as new work became available.[14] Apart from the sourcing of 'factual' borrowings, these compilations of traditions were produced during a period (oate nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries) in which certain characteristics of African life were generally taken for granted, and which thus permeate the work of 'experts' and 'amateurs' alike.

Stuart and Fuze completed their research in the early years of the twentieth century, and provide rich evidence about African life in colonial as well as precolonial times. Stuart's meticulous record of interviews contains valuable detail from identifiable informants, an important factor in rendering his source material eminently more 'usable' than those such as Fuze or Bryant, who merged their informants' accounts with their own theories and memories into a single, continuous narrative. (Bryant occasionally acknowledged the assistance if informants, one of whim was Fuze.)

The accounts of all three – Stuart, Fuze and Bryant – have proved remarkably durable as authoritative compilations of tradition. They were all working at a time when there was a general assumption that the people whose traditions they were collecting belonged to 'tribes'. Tribes were seen as 'cultural units "possessing a common language, single social system, and an established customary law"...membership was hereditary….[and] tribes were related, so that Africa's

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[12] Mqhawe's *izibongo* are reproduced as Appendix 1. Because this genre is more formulaic than narrative, phrases and images tend to be frozen in time, rather than substantially reworked. Thus many allusions in the praises are now not explicable, even by their declaimers.

[13] Stuart's collection of oral testimonies, dating mainly from the first two decades of the twentieth century, was acquired by Killie Campbell for her archival collection in the 1950s and only became widely available from the 1970s, through the prodigious efforts of John Wright and the late Colin Webb in editing *The James Stuart archive*

[14] An example is Gumede's chiefly genealogy, originally drawing on sources such as Bryant (with variations of his own) but revised to match Madikane Cele's after the publication of *The James Stuart archive.* The Gumede variation reproduced in Diagram 1 is the pre-Cele version.

history was a vast family tree of tribes.'[15] Moreover, tribes were thought to be of ancient origin, unchanged for centuries. Altogether, the term tribe implied cohesion, unity, hierarchy and homogeneity, consonant with the search for orderly, diagrammatic patterns of kin relationships. This was the organising framework into which informants' memories or recollections were sorted, and according to which their words were interpreted. 'Post-tribal' analyses, which emphasise fluidity, porousness, invention and variety, and which portray chiefdoms as 'changing moral arenas of political debate',[16] have recognised that ethnic identities change over time, and that the histories of African polities contained in the traditions of the standard works are in reality those versions current at the time of collection, refracted through the collectors' lens of 'tribal' identity.[17]

Yet what many ordinary people continue to believe *is* their past is to some extent still derived from such sources – Stuart's histories in Zulu have been widely used in African schools in Natal, and Bryant remains one of the most widely available authors on 'Zulu history' in libraries ot this day. For this reason, their contributions continue (literally) to 'make history'; to be dismissive of them would be to lose touch with the school pupils, workers in evening classes and so on, go about constructing their pasts (even where interview techniques are encouraged). As it is, contemporary scholarship has found it difficult to disengage from the terms set by collectors such as Bryant and Stuart; for example, while the analytically important distinction between chiefdoms and kin groups/clans has been established subsequent to their epic works, it is difficult to

[15] Iliffe J, quoted in Skalnik P 'Tribe as colonial category' in Boonzaier E and J Sharp (Eds) *South African keywords. The use and abuse of political concepts* (Cape Town, 1988), p 69

[16] Lonsdale J 'The moral economy of Mau Mau' in Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy valley*, p 267

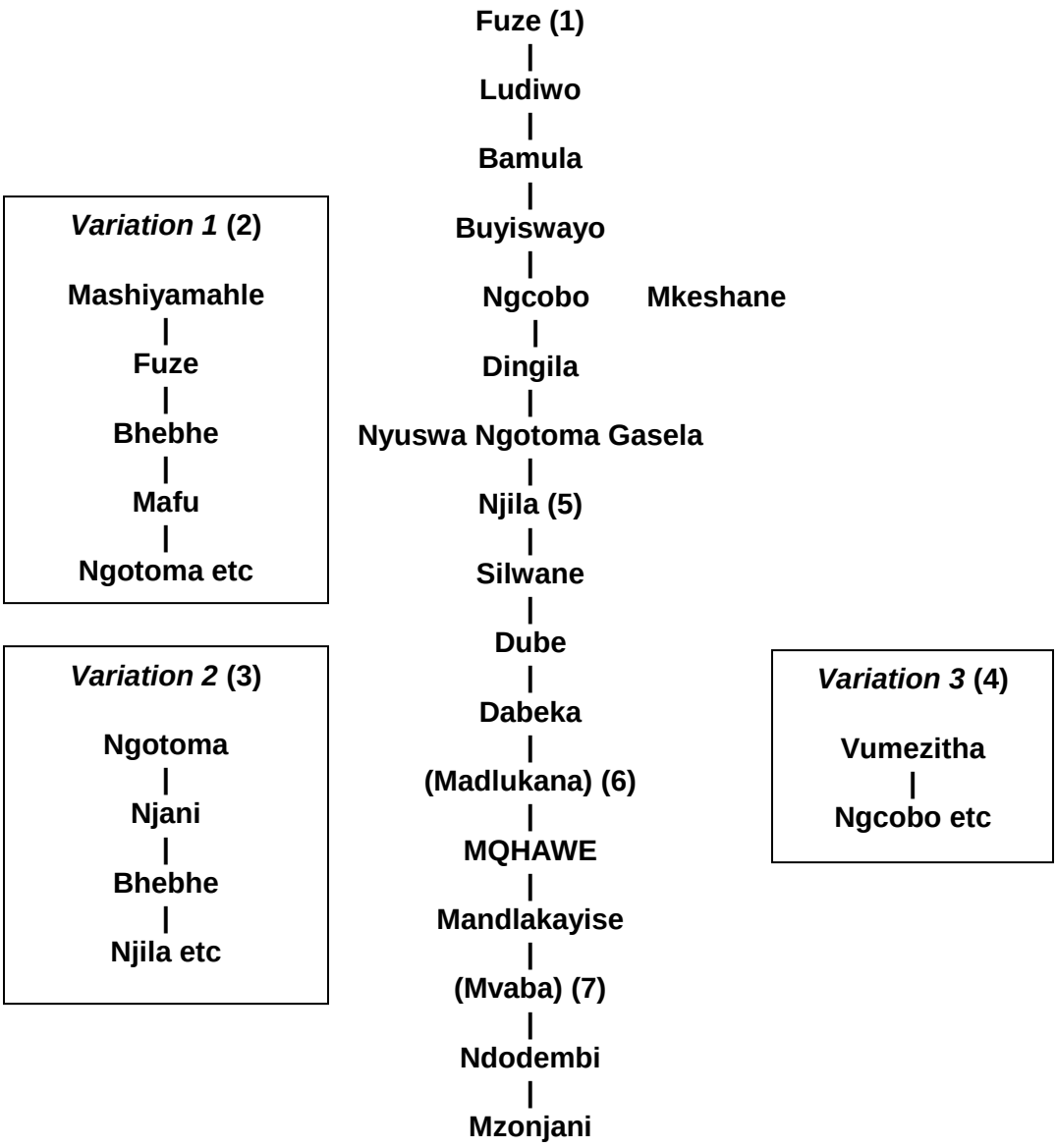
[17] Several writers have commented on the difficulties of using Bryant: see for example Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni": a second look at the work of A T Bryant' in Thompson L (Ed) *African societies in southern Africa* (London, 1969). More recently, Wright has mounted a devastating critique of sections of Bryant's *Olden times*. See Wright J B 'The dynamics of power and conflict', chapter 3. In similar vein, Cobbing has produced a very critical analysis of Stuart's work, in '"A tainted well": the objectives, historical fantasies and working methods of James Stuart, with counter-argument' in *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 11, 1988. It may be noted that

avoid referring to political relationships in anything other than kin terminology (as would be 'natural' in kin-based societies themselves), such as *chiefdoms* originating in *lineages.* This is merely an indication of the difficulty in developing new points of reference in step with the changing concerns of scholarship.[18]

has been no comparable (that is, mammoth) effort to collect more recent versions of oral tradition, which could provide rich comparative data: this form of scholarship itself no longer seems viable.

[18] Jan Vansina tackles the difficulty of such oral sources in a masterly way in his study of the peoples of equatorial Africa, *Paths in the rainforests: toward a history of political tradition in equatorial Africa* (London, 1990)

4 Genealogy of the Qadi Chiefs



(1) The main line is Madikane's version, in *The James Stuart archive vol 2,* pp 47 and 52
(2) The commencement of Gumede's version in 'Umlando wenkosi yesizwe samaQadi'
(3) Two additional generations between Ngotoma and Njila are given by Ngidi, 'The Mqadi tribe', ZTHC
(4) Bryant's version begins with Vumezitha, in *Olden times,* p 482, and *History of the Zulu and neighbouring tribes,* p 66
(5) From Njila onwards, there seems to be unanimity in the sources See also Fuze, *The black people,* pp 67-8
(6) Regent for Mqhawe, on whose accession he moved to Botha's Hill. Madlukana's heir there, Babane, converted to Christianity and the Qadi rejoined the main body under Mandlakayise. See Vilakazi, *Zulu transformations,* pp 9-10
(7) Regent for Ndodembi, when Mandlakayise became ill. Interview with E Ngcobo

According to tradition, the Qadi had come into being as a subordinate chiefdom within the large Ngcobo paramountcy, which had been entrenched in the middle reaches of the Thukela valley at strategic crossings of the river long before Zulu expansion, or, as Madikane Cele put it, 'in the times of Punga and Mageba'.[19] Bryant reckoned that the critical divergence in lineages occurred in the early eighteenth century, but it is unclear whether he calculated this dating from his collections of oral testimony (his acknowledged informant for this material was Magema Fuze[20]) or whether he derived it from his theories of migration and settlement.[21] Several chiefdoms are said to have grown around lineages issuing from the founding chief Ngcobo's heir Dingila (for example Qadi, Nyuswa, Ngongoma), while the Tshangase was founded by his brother Mkeshane.[22] (See Figure 1.)

In ruling lineages, the status of wives was of great consequence in shaping the fortunes of future generations.[23] In Dingila's case, the traditions say, his *indlunkulu*, or great wife, gave rise to the senior Nyuswa lineage; the *iqadi*, her understudy or support, to the subordinate Qadi lineage; and the *isizinda*, guardian of the homestead's ancestral grounds, to the smaller Ngongoma lineage.[24] In time, each of these became the ruling lineage of a discreet

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[19] Madikane Cele in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, p 51. Mageba and his son Phunga were among the founding chiefs of the Zulu ruling lineage. Cetshwayo listed them as great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather respectively of Senzangakhona, Shaka's father. See Webb C de B and J B Wright (Eds) *A Zulu king speaks. Statements made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the history and customs of his people* (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1978), p 3

[20] Fuze had been born in c1840 into the ruling lineage of the Fuze, a small chiefdom incorporated into the Ncgobo polity. He was tutored by William Ngidi at Colenso's Ekukhanyeni mission, and his book *Abantu abamnyama* or *The black people*, was the first major work in Zulu by a native Zulu speaker. Written at the turn of the century, it was only published in 1922. See Cope T 'Editor's preface' to Fuze, *The black people*, pp ix-xv

[21] Bryant, *Olden times*, ch 46

[22] Bryant, *Olden times,* pp 482-3; Fuze, *The black people,* p 161; Madikane Cele in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2*,* p 47; Gumede, 'History of the Qadi tribe'.

[23] Bryant A T *The Zulu people as they were before the white man came* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949), pp 415-21; Krige E J *The social system of the Zulus* (Pitermaritzburg, 1974), pp 39-41

[24] Bryant, *Olden times*, p 430; Bryant A T *A History of the Zulu and neighbouring tribes*, pp 66-7

chiefdom. At first sight, then, these traditions suggest that chiefdoms came into being by a process of segmentation.

Read allegorically, however, it is possible that the Ngcobo group of chiefdoms originated in exactly the opposite manner, by means of amalgamation. Wright has suggested that this political process – not of 'houses' growing apart, but of various independent chiefdoms forming alliances – occurred for reasons of defence against a common threat, allocation of resources, and so on.[25] Chiefly genealogies were among the devices employed by chiefs to affirm, or invent, blood ties to the dominant lineages, in order to establish a legitimate 'place' within a particular polity. As Hammond-Tooke notes, 'chieftainship was vested in a royal lineage, and celebrated in a genealogy that went back ten generations or more (commoner genealogies were much shallower). This genealogical depth is understandable in that members of the royal lineage were all putatively inheritors of the prized high office, and the ability to specify exact genealogical relationship to the ruler was one of absorbing interest and potential.'[26]

Whether through fragmentation or coagulation, the Nyuswa rulers assumed control over the whole Ngcobo paramountcy, which in turn consisted of an assortment of subject chiefdoms. Fuze and Bryant between them list the following associates of the Ngcobo: Fuze, Bhulose, Cele, Emgangeni, Emangatini, Ngidi, Thusi or Emamfeneni, Goba or Qamane, Wosiyana, Bhelesi, Tshangase, Gwacela, Enyamweni, Mutwa and of course Qadi, Ngongoma and Nyuswa.[27] All of them lived in close proximity, the Qadi inhabiting a wooded area called Eziqabaleni, at the confluence of the Nsuze stream and the Thukela.[28] Marriage was exogamous and there were certain prohibitions between closely related lineages, as the Qadi, Ngongoma and Nyuswa were

[25] Wright, 'The dynamics of power and conflict', pp 24-5, 34-6
[26] Hammond-Tooke W D 'Descent groups, chiefdoms and South African historiography' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11, 2, 1985, p 313
[27] Fuze, *The black people*, p 16; Bryant, *History of the Zulu*, p 72; *Olden times*, pp 483-5
[28] Gumede, 'History of the Qadi tribe'

believed to be.[29] Even in the early 1900s, Magema Fuze claimed that although marriage rules had undergone many changes, there was still a bar on Nyuswa-Qadi marriages.[30]

Up to the late eighteenth century, the degree of stratification within the large polities of the Thukela valley region, such as the Hlubi, Mbo, Qwabe and Ngcobo, is a matter for continuing debate. Some argue that budding states were widespread, whereas others suggest that in these polities, central control was always loose and rather tenuous; rulers 'were by and large unable to establish close control over subjected groups'; state formation was underway only in the larger polities to the north.[31] There is some resonance of the idea of a looser grouping in the traditions: Madikane Cele said that the Qadi were able to 'rule themselves': 'Amaqadi people say "Ngcobo" only; we do not say "Nyuswa"'.[32] The rather different responses of Qadi and Nyuswa to Zulu rule would seem to reinforce the point.

From the early years of the nineteenth century, the Ngcobo were sucked into the upheavals associated with the rise of a distinctive form of highly centralised, coercive state power in south eastern Africa.[33] The rival paramountcies of the

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[29] Krige, *The social system of the Zulus*, pp 28-9; Vilakazi A *Zulu transformations*, p 22; Bryant, *The Zulu people*, p 584

[30] In Vilakazi, *Zulu transformations*, p 22. It should be noted that in following chapters, evidence will be presented which suggests that such marriage restrictions were rather pliable in practice

[31] Wright J and C Hamilton 'Traditions and transformations: the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' in Duminy and Guest (Eds), *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*, p 64. Differing interpretations depend to some extent on what is considered a 'state': the degree of centralisation of decision-making and ritual functions, the ability to enforce control, and the extent to which ruling/dominant and subject groups were distinguishable, for example.

[32] Madikane Cele in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, p 52

[33] The nature of these upheavals is beyond discussion here, but it should be noted that there has long been debate about the origins of this radically new type of state. Control over trade with Delagoa Bay (see Smith A 'The trade of Delagoa Bay as a factor in Nguni politics, 1750-1835' in Thompson L (Ed) *African societies in southern Africa* and Hedges D 'Trade and politics in southern Mozambique and Zululand in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' PhD Thesies London 1978)) or ecological pressures in the region (Guy J 'Ecological factors in the rise of Shaka and the Zulu kingdom' in Marks S and A Atmore (Eds) *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa*) were the most serious explanations offered until the late 1980s, when a historical controversy concerning this issue was initiated by Julian Cobbing. He and others put forward the view that the intense conflict which wracked southern Africa in the early part of the nineteenth

Ndwandwe under Zwide and the Mthethwa under Dingiswayo, which both witnessed the militarisation of age regiments, were the precursors to the largest and most successful state of its kind, that of the Zulu. The collapse of the Mthethwa at the hands of Zwide's forces in c1817 opened the way for Shaka, a client chief of Dingiswayo's, to consolidate his position; 'in a few years of spectacular military achievement',[34] he had subordinated a vast number of chiefdoms to his authority and created a powerful state structure centred between the Phongolo and Thukela rivers, the territory of latter-day Zululand.

Hamilton speculates that the mid-Thukela chiefdoms were among the first to be incorporated into the rising Zulu state: they possessed large herds, which the king needed in order to replace those lost to the Ndwandwe, for provisioning his army and distributing as largesse.[35] She suggests that while the Mbo and Ngcolosi succumbed without much opposition, the Ngcobo strenuously resisted submission to the Zulu king.[36] Qadi traditions present the ruling Nyuswa as reacting differently to the Qadi themselves: 'throughout the whole of Shaka's troublous times, due perhaps to the prudent rule of Dube, son of Silwane, the Qadis remained in the Tukela valley comparatively in peace'.[37]

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century was the result of a desperate defence (state-building of the Zulu and others) against two prongs of European predatory activity: the depredations of slave traders in southern Mozambique and land-hungry Boers moving north-eastwards from the Cape. Cobbing argues that the purpose of what he dubbed 'Mfecane theory' has been to delete white culpability from the historical record; as such, it ought to be abandoned in its entirety. See Cobbing J 'The mfecane as alibi: thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo' in *Journal of African History* 29, 1988 and 'The myth of the *mfecane*' (paper). While Cobbing *et al's* ideas have given rise to a good deal of animated debate, including a number of stimulating conferences and symposia, severe problems remain with their correspondence to the available evidence. See Peires J 'Paradigm deleted: the materialist interpretation of the Mfecane' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19, 2, 1993, and Hamilton C (Ed) *The Mfecane aftermath* (Johannesburg, 1994). For a recent work on oral tradition which relies on the Cobbing version of events in the early nineteenth century, see Vail L and L White, *Power and the praise poem. Southern African voices in history* (Charlottesville, 1991), a work which shows clearly how the traditions of different lineages have borrowed from each other over time, thus rendering the search for 'origins' a sentimental rather than a viable historical one.

[34] Webb and Wright,'Introduction' to *A Zulu king speaks*, p xvii

[35] Hamilton C 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom' MA Thesis (Witwatersrand, 1985), p 475

[36] Hamilton C 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power, p 476

The same could not be said of their Nyuswa rulers. In the late 1810s, with Shaka's support, Sihayo became the new Nyuswa chief. In this time of unprecedented territorial and political expansionism by Shaka's forces, which demanded equally unprecedented responses from chiefs, Sihayo apparently tried to challenge Shaka's authority by withholding the cattle demanded by the king, and maintaining his own system of *amabutho* (warrior regiments, organised according to age) within the Ngcobo grouping.[38] Sihayo's attack on the Nzobeni section of the Qadi was possibly borne out of his determination to bring unwilling young men into line.[39] His doings incurred Shaka's wrath, however, and the Zulu leader had him killed. Thereafter, the Ngcobo polity was dismantled, and the Nyuswa, Qadi and other Ngcobo chiefdoms incorporated into the Mkhize paramountcy.[40]

According to Gumede,[41] Dube supplied men for Shaka's *amabutho* and these were of some importance in the final defeat of the Ndwandwe in 1826;[42] in his version of the tradition, Shaka and Dube even watched one of the battles together, on Mabengela mountain. Wright notes that it was often required of subaltern chiefs that they accompany Shaka to battle.[43] The more significant aspect of Gumede's narrative, however, is its connection to the circumstances of its telling in the 1980s. Shaka and Dube were emblematic of two distinct sets of leaders and political traditions in more recent itmes: the 'traditionalists' grouped around the Zulu monarchy, and the 'progressives', whose most eminent

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[37] Bryant, *Olden times*, p 493, and Jantshi in Webb C de B and J B Wright (Eds) *The James Stuart archive* vol 3 (Pietermaritzburg and Durban, 1982), p 183

[38] Fuze, *The black people*, p 67; Wright, 'The dynamics of power and conflict', p 167; Bird, *Annals of Natal*, vol 1, p 151

[39] Bryant, *Olden times*, p 467

[40] Hamilton and Wright, 'The making of the Lala: ethnicity, ideology and class formation in a pre-industrial context' (paper, 1984), p 12

[41] Gumede, 'History of the Qadi tribe', elaborated in interview, 1985 and in various speeches, 1985-1992

[42] Zwide's Ndwandwe paramountcy, which had suffered severe internal tension as the result of Shaka's rise to power, nevertheless continued to present a formidable challenge to the Zulu king. The war between the Ndwandwe under Sikhunyane, Zwide's successor, and the Zulu in 1826 marked the final defeat of the latter by Shaka's forces; most of the former Ndwandwe chiefdoms then submitted to Shaka. See Omer-Cooper J D, *A history of southern Africa* (Cape Town and London, 1994), pp 54-60

spokesman in the early twentieth century was Dube's grandson, John Langalibalele Dube.

By bringing the two nineteenth century chiefs to oversee victories symbolised an alliance which Gumede personally found very attractive, at a time when political conflict between Inkatha ('traditionalists') and the United Democratic Front ('progressives') had become so tragically violent: he favoured a path of tolerance and negotiation.[44] While he had at one time he had been a Minister in the KwaZulu government, his close cousin, Archie Gumede, was then a leader and patron of the UDF. Significantly, his version od the genealogy in Figure 1 begins with a link between the Qadi and the Zulu, in the figure of Mashiyamahle, 'of the Zulu house'.[45]

Because it meant an irreversible (as it turned out) departure from their ancestral lands in the Thukela valley, Qadi traditions are particularly voluble on the matter of Dingane's attack. What is notable about their basic message – the defenceless, unsuspecting Qadi performing their duty, attacked by a tyrannical and irrational king – is their striking similarity to accounts of the same king's much smaller-scale attack on another group of unsuspecting and unarmed victims, lured into the king's enclosure on a false pretext, almost exactly one year later. This was the far better known massacre of the Retief party of Voortrekkers in 1838, which had wide-ranging political and ideological ramifications. In fact the very first written account of the Qadi killings, that of Henry Francis Fynn (the closest one can find to an eye-witness) noted the parallel between the two attacks.[46] A T Bryant, missionary and historian-ethnographer of Zululand, probably drew on Fynn in constructing his account of the Qadi decimation, while

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[43] Wright, 'The dynamics of power and conflict', p 235

[44] For an overview see Sitas A 'Inanda, August 1985: "where wealth and power and blood reign worshipped gods"' in *South African Labour Bulletin* 11, 1986

[45] Gumede, 'History of the Qadi tribe'

[46] Stuart and Malcolm, 'Epilogue' to their (Eds) *Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, pp 257-9. For a cautionary note on using Fynn as a source, see Pridmore J 'The production of H F Fynn, 1850-1930' in Edgcombe D R, J P C Laband and P S Thompson (Comps) *The debate on Zulu origins* (Pietermaritzburg, 1992)

M V Gumede, the most important contemporary Qadi historian, in turn relied on Bryant. Whether or not the later writers were conscious of it, the association of the Qadis' fate with that of the Natal Voortrekkers must have seemed more palpably strategic in the years immediately after the events, when the Boers were nominally in control of the region, and served to strengthen the determination of those – (by implication, including the Boers and the Qadi particularly) who wished to see Dingane defeated.[47]

Victoria Ngidi, the only known female informant on Qadi history, has a variation in her narrative (an entry to the Zulu Tribal History Competition of 1950), which well illustrates the capacity of traditions to be eased into the shape required to affirm certain kinds of relationships and connections, long after the events they describe have passed. According to her, Shaka had been particularly impressed by two left-handed Qadi soldiers, Maphephesi Ngidi and Mbiyana Goba. He wanted them under his immediate control, in return for which he promised that Dube 'would get the milk' - that is, would endure forever. Dingane later feared Shaka's promise, and he turned on the Qadi.[48]

The father of Klaas Goba (who is discussed in chapter 6) was called Mbiyana Goba; there was also a prominent Ngidi by the same name, Mbiyana Ngidi, associated with the Inanda mission station in the second half of the nineteenth century. This Ngidi was ordained as a pastor in 1876 and placed at an American Zulu Mission (AZM) out-station of the Inanda location called Newspaper. He later led a section of the congregation out of the AZM, in one of the earliest secessions[49]. He was also closely related to William and Jonathan Ngidi, Bishop

[47] At the time of Mzonjani Ngcobo's installation in 1957 as the present Qadi chief, speeches were made (by whom was not reported) suggesting that the Qadi flight to Natal might have been responsible for Dingane's massacre of the Boers. It was said that the Commandant of Port Natal had an agreement with Dingane to send back recalcitrants; his (honourable) failure to return Dube's heir, Dabeka, led Dingane to take his wrath out on the Piet Retief party. See report in *South African Panorama* 7, 1957

[48] Ngidi, 'The Mqadi tribe'. Ngidi's account as a whole is more deeply couched in metaphor than any of the others.

[49] Dinnerstein M 'The American Board Mission to the Zulu, 1835-1900' PhD thesis (Columbia, 1971), pp 185-88; Marks, *Reluctant rebellion,*pp 62-3

Colenso's celebrated assistants. According to Etherington, these three Ngidi family members were important because they 'experimented with a wide range of beliefs, combing in novel ways ideas drawn from different cultures and religious systems.'[50]

It is not known whether Victoria was in any way related to Mbiyana, but it is tempting to think she was. Neither the Ngidi nor the Goba families associated with traditionalists at the Inanda mission. Rather, they represented other local political tendencies entailing complete breaks with the chiefdom. In the atmosphere of the 1950s - the promotion of tribalism on a grand scale - the author might have felt that her family's associations were in need of realignment, that the prowess and courage of earlier generations in the service of Shaka required emphasis. Again, she has an emissary called Ngidi 'fetching' the hidden Mqhawe later on (interestingly, given its later associations with rebellion)[51] from the Mome Gorge when it was time for this young man to become chief.[52]

Finally in this chapter, it is necessary to address the question of the Qadi polity's Lala identity. Bryant classified the whole Ngcobo polity in the Lala branch of his Tonga-Nguni group.[53] In his conception, Lala designated a bond of kinship: as he lamented in one of his accounts of the Ngcobo, 'practically all the youth of Natal is growing up in the delusion that they are 'Zulus', and that, not solely by conquest, but by blood. As a matter of fact, perhaps two-thirds of them are of Lala or Sutoid extraction'.[54] The Lala were therefore an 'Nguni sub-race' whose racial or ethnic distinctiveness was confirmed by linguistic usage, the *tekeza* or

[50] Etherington N 'Christianity and African society in nineteenth-century Natal' in Duminy and Guest (Eds) *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910,* p 293

[51] This was where Bambatha attempted a last desperate defence against the colonial forces come to ferret him out in 1906. See Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, pp 206-8

[52] Ngidi, 'The Mqadi tribe'

[53] Bryant, *The Zulu people*, pp 10-67; Marks S 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', pp 129-39

[54] Bryant, *History of the Zulus*, p 64. Bryant's point is in itself an interesting comment on the growing sense of national identity in the 1920s, an observation noted by Prof S Marks (personal communication).

tekela dialect. Bryant even constructed an elaborate migration route for this group, from the Transvaal to south of the Thukela.[55]

Others have proposed designations based on language, skill or culture. Wilson suggests that the term Lala ought to denote a linguistic distinction, based on dialect, similar to the one Bryant proposed.[56] She also notes that the Natal Lala were 'assiduous cultivators' and 'pre-eminent iron-workers'.[57] Hedges's study favours the iron-working connotation, claiming that 'among the northern Zulu a smith was usually called *umTonga*, while in the south he was known as *ilala*.' As skilled craftsmen whose wares were highly valued, smiths were often debased in social terms as a form of close control;[58] thus, *ilala* was a term 'used pejoratively in the 19th century to describe people who were poor or were outsiders to the community'.[59] Finally, Marks points to the possibility that the Lala were long-established Early Iron Age inhabitants of the coast and river valleys[60] and that there were general cultural continuities among the coastal peoples over many centuries.

The more recent work of Hamilton and Wright explicitly discounts any 'organic' Lala unity, as found in earlier contributions to the subject. Hamilton argues that, while the term had been in existence before the rise of the Zulu state, meaning an inferior person, its new rulers deployed it as a 'powerful ideological form of

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[55] Bryant, *The Zulu people*, pp 15-24. See also his *Olden times*, p 479

[56] Wilson M 'The Nguni people' in Wilson M and L Thompson (Eds) *A history of South Africa to 1870* (Cape Town, 1982), p 76. The Qadi *imbongi*, Khekhe Ngcobo, declaimed certain sections of the praises of the Qadi chiefs, from Silwane to the present, in *tekela* dialect. Recorded 2 December 1985 by H Hughes and V Erlmann

[57] Wilson, 'The Nguni people', pp 110-111

[58] The apparent paradox of blacksmiths being both highly valued and ideologically branded, has been noted in many parts of Africa. In Darfur, for example, 'blacksmiths are set apart and looked upon as a stigmatized group...Given the socio-economic importance of iron products, adequate institutional mechanisms for transmission of skills in iron technology as well as for maintenance of a regular supply of iron products from specialists possessing the skills become a critical issue. The association of the blacksmith occupation with a caste-like identity can thus be seen as such an institutional mechanism...' Haaland R 'Iron production, its socio-cultural context and ecological implications' in Haaland R and P Shinnie (Eds) *African iron working ancient and traditional* (Oslo, 1985), p 57

[59] Hedges, 'Trade and politics in southern Mozambique and Zululand', p 88

[60] Marks, 'The traditions of the Natal "Nguni"', p 136

subordination'.[61] Lala thus represented a *new* ethnicity of the Shakan period, 'taken up by the newly formed Zulu aristocracy and applied as a term of abuse to a particular category of the people tributary to the Zulu king, that is, to the partially incorporated peoples of the kingdom's south-eastern periphery'.[62] As Madikane Cele of the Qadi put it, '[Shaka] used to insult us and frighten us by saying that we did not have the cunning to invent things out of nothing, like lawyers. He said that we Lala could not do it.'[63]

At the Zulu court, Lala operated as an ideology of exclusion, aimed at chiefdoms whose members were not so much 'exploited "subjects" of the king...as despised "outsiders"...their leaders were excluded from the central decision-making process and their young men, far from being recruited into the ranks of the king's fighting regiments, were put to work at menial tasks like herding cattle at outlying royal cattle posts.'[64] Lala was confirmed by the *tekela* linguistic marker, in contradistinction to the *ntungwa* dialect spoken at court; even those who had not previously *tekela'd*, but who were designated as Lala, were required to adopt this linguistic usage.

According to Hamilton, two distinct groups of chiefdoms were subjected to this demeaning identification: those of the coastlands south of the Thukela, the Cele and Thuli, and those of the Thukela valley. Through his own policy of indirect rule, Shaka took control of the coastal chiefdoms early in his reign, appropriating their cattle and reducing many commoners to a state of immiseration.[65] They were the first to be subjected to ideological abuse, whereas the chiefdoms of the Thukela valley, which had been incorprated into the kingdom possibly even before those on the coast, were only subjected to the Lala designation later,

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[61] Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', p 466
[62] Hamilton and Wright, 'The making of the *Amalala*': ethnicity, ideology and relations of subordination in a precolonial context' in *South African Historical Journal* 22, 1990, p 19
[63] Madikane Cele in *The James Stuart archive*, vol 2, p 55; cited in Wright and Hamilton, 'The making of the Lala', p 16
[64] Hamilton and Wright, 'The making of the *Amalala*', p 16
[65] Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', p 473

under Dingane.[66] The Ngcobo polity had been broken up by Shaka and its territory had fallen to the control of the Mkhize paramountcy, which was strong enough to resist ideological abuse. It took root here only after Dingane's destruction of the Mkhize.[67]

This type of ethnic identification conforms to the model set out by Leroy Vail: 'an ideological statement of popular appeal in the context of profound social, economic and political change in southern Africa...the result of the differential conjunction of various historical forces and phenomena.'[68] Although they push the temporal frame further back than Vail does, into precolonial times, they too stress that ethnicity is *created* and *flexible*, requiring certain intellectual votaries - for Vail and others, missionaries and scholars, for Hamilton and Wright political leadership - to help it into existence and to manipulate it to particular ends.[69]

Although their interpretation of Lala is innovative and useful, they tend to compress the emergence of this particular ethnic category into a quite short period of time, in the process eliding the notions of *identification* (that is, the 'fingering' of certain groups by the new Zulu overlords) and *identity* (the conscious assumption by the 'fingered' groups themselves of a common status). In terms of Hamilton's outline, Lala would have been imposed on the Qadi at the roughly the same time that Dingane destroyed them. Chronologically, therefore, either the evidence of Madikane Cele needs more weight attached to it - that it had been the first Zulu king who had insulted his Qadi kinsmen - or the process of ideological type-casting occurred over an altogether longer period of time than Hamilton and Wright allow for, both before and after Dingane: it possibly even had its roots in the period before Shaka. While Lala *identification* might have

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[66] Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', p 474; Wright, 'The dynamics of power and conflict', pp 313-319

[67] Hamilton and Wright, 'The making of the *Amalala*', p 21

[68] Vail L 'Introduction' to his (Ed) *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa*, p 1l

[69] For a useful outline of the etymology of the term ethnicity, see Tonkin E, M McDonald and M Chapman 'Introduction' to their (Eds) *History and ethnicity* (London, 1989), pp 11-17. The way the term has been used in South Africa is traced in Dubow S 'Ethnic euphamisms and racial echoes' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, 3, 1994

been imposed by the Zulu aristocracy at a certain time, it may only have taken effect as a form of *identity* (and meant something different) later, in altered circumstances. In other words, it may have had 'popular appeal' to the Zulu rulers and to subjected chiefdoms at different moments and under different conditions.

Here it would be fruitful to turn back to the rich body of evidence in the Stuart archive. A survey of the frequency of meanings that informants attached to the term Lala in the four published volumes reveals a strong association with a geographic location south of the Thukela, as well as an overlap with dialectal difference.[70] Further, when all those considered Lala by those of Stuart's informants who had a view on the matter are listed together, a bewildering variety emerges: Butelezi, Embo, amaNqondo, amaJali, amaKanyawo, amaNgcobo, amaNdelu, Mkize, Tuli, Nyuswa, Cele, Qadi, amaDunge, amaPumulo, amaPemvu, Hlongwa, Bombo, Emalangeni, amaNgcolosi, Mpumuza, Zondi, amaCube, Swazi, Abambo, Bomvu, Mtetwa, amaNsomi, Thembu, amaDhlala, amaMpofana, amaTshangase.[71]

This evidence leads one to suspect that informants generally had in mind a period some time rather later than Shaka's. Fragments at least, and possibly larger sections, of many of the peoples listed above fled or chose to move south at some point during the rise to dominance of the Zulu kingdom (or, once Zulu power in Natal had been broken, to return there); that is, they found themselves

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[70] *The James Stuart archive*, vols 1-4. Lala was defined 47 times by informants. A breakdown reveals the following:
A group of people (geographical location unclear): 10
A group of people south of the Thukela:12
People definitely living north of the Thukela:1
Denoting linguistic difference: 9
Denoting metal workers: 3
Derogatory reference: 8
Denoting strange behaviour:4
Of course taking the other three planned volumes into account could change this picture considerably. The point must also be noted that by the time they gave their evidence to Stuart, many of his informants would have spent most of their lives under colonial rule, a fact which could - and probably did - deeply affect their recollections of earlier periods

in an area over which the British came to exercise control. Lala might therefore have become a term by which those 'seeking protection' from the colonial government referred to themselves. Bishop Colenso's dictionary entry for Lala, 'Common name for a person belonging to many tribes which were driven south of the Tugela by Tshaka, whose dialect is very harsh',[72] would support such an interpretation.

In the sense that this held out the hope of re-establishing chiefly authority, rebuilding herds and replanting crops in relative peace, Lala carried positive connotations to its bearers.[73] As Madikane put it, 'in the time of Mpande we in Natal had good fortune. The English came, and times were easy, and there was happiness'.[74] This was in sharp contrast to the derisive term used against the haemorrhage of people from the kingdom to Natal by the Zulu rulers: *amakhafula*, 'those spat out'. It is significant that Madikane Cele's testimony, alone among the surviving traditions, plays down the whole episode of Dingane's attack on the Qadi and makes much more of the chiefdom's later achievements in Natal. An inversion of Lonsdale's observation seems an appropriate comment: it was the people who had suffered most in the disasters who offered the least resistance to conquest.[75]

To colonial overlords the obverse of this meaning of Lala - neutralised, conquered, subject - would have been attractive too. Thus Joseph Kirkman described the broken remnants of the fighting force marching out of Port Natal against Dingane in 1838 as 'Amalala';[76] and the missionary Joseph Shooter could write with approval in 1857 of the way in which the 'Amalala seem to treat

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[71] *The James Stuart archive* vols 1-4. The spelling given in the original has been retained
[72] Colenso J W *Zulu-English dictionary*, first edition (Pietermaritzburg, 1861), p 262.
[73] A suggestion made in Wright J 'Notes on the politics of being "Zulu", 1820-1920' (paper, 1992), p 8
[74] Madikane Cele in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2 p 54
[75] Lonsdale J 'The conquest state of Kenya 1895-1905' in Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy valley*, p 29
[76] Kirkman J in Owen F *The diary of the Rev. Francis Owen MA* Ed G E Cory (Cape Town, 1926), pp 166-7

their wives', in contrast to the cruel treatment meted out by (steadfastly anti-Christian) Zulu men to their spouses.[77]

To those polities such as the Qadi, confronted with the dismembering of protective political bonds, the 'scattering of nations' associated with Zulu state formation seemed an unnatural time, when dogs and birds talked to people.[78] Old identities were destroyed along with the associations out of which they had grown; but experiences of war and disruption are also powerful shapers of new identities. What has been suggested above is that Lala was an ingredient of the consciousness of those setting up again in Natal from the 1830s. It had to do with their experiences in the Zulu kingdom, their ejection from it, their subsequent attitudes towards it, and their hopes for a better deal from the authorities south of the Thukela. While Lala as an ideological category had its origins in state formation to the north, it was imported and reworked to positive ends in the different state setting of colonial Natal.[79] In this new context, Lala was perhaps too diffuse to be labelled an ethnic ideology; the 'close kin' of ethnicity, regional consciousness,[80] might be a more suitable description, especially in the period up to 1879.

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[77] Shooter J *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu country*(New York, 1969), p 82
[78] Madikane Cele in *The James Stuart archive*, vol 2, p 56
[79] Hamilton and Wright speculate that after the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879, 'the *lala* identity was increasingly accepted and even promoted by certain categories of African people in Natal, in particular by elements of the newly christianised elite'. In 'The making of the *Amalala*', pp 21-2. They do not elaborate, however
[80] Vail, 'Introduction' to his (Ed) *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa*, p 4

Chapter 3: 'We of the white men's country'[1]: rebuilding the chiefdom, 1840s to 1870s

The imposition of colonial rule on Natal in 1842 generated concordance as well as confrontation, and produced concessions as well as controls, for its new subjects. Chiefly elites made efforts to secure the greatest benefit for themselves from the new arrangements, while simultaneously pursuing their old aims: replenishing cattle herds, securing sufficient land and, building on 'surviving sentiments of solidarity',[2] reasserting political authority over followers, so that reproduction could occur as in the past. As Chanock puts it, people moved forwards facing backwards, 'interpreting and dealing with new exigencies as they arose in terms of relationships and ideas they had already known'.[3] This chapter shows how the Qadi, in particular its elite, tried to realise their goals to the end of the 1870s, when conditions generally were still favourable for them to do so.

Because Mqhawe, like other chiefs, was left with much latitude by the incoming colonial administration, he was disposed to accept both its restrictions upon and demands expected of him; moreover, he was able to augment his position by turning most of these to advantage. For Lonsdale, this was 'the central paradox of the politics of control': that conquest, even in its most oppressive forms, could permit the enlargement of African power.[4] This does not mean, however, that Mqhawe enjoyed the undiluted benison of British rule. While he held Natal's new rulers somewhat in awe, there was much about the coming of the English he felt to be deeply objectionable: though a chief, he was still an African colonial subject. Yet a combination of circumstance and shrewd calculation meant that the Qadi elite were highly successful in consolidating their position, both in their

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1 Madikane in *The James Stuart archive, vol 2*, pp 56-7

2 Kiernan, 'History' in Kaye and Kiernan, *History, classes and nation-states*, p 34

3 Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*, p 15. Atkins made a similar point of Natal: 'the people, their subsistence economy, and the principles by which they ordered their universe continued on the whole to adhere to northern Nguni forms'. *The moon is dead!,* p 55

4 'The conquest state of Kenya 1895-1905' in Lonsdale and Berman, *Unhappy valley*, p 31

own terms and in relation to other chiefdoms: in nineteenth-century Natal, a saying arose (whether within the chiefdom or more widely is not clear), 'Maqadi amnyama angenkomo' - 'black Qadis are near a beast'[5] - that is, 'wherever there are cattle, they are sure to belong to the Qadi'.

The Qadi survivors of Dingane's attack - who probably included a high proportion of women and children - scattered southwards to the vicinity of Port Natal, led by Dube's son Dabeka. While much literature tends to assume that the composition of chiefdoms was similar at the start and the end of the journey, it is more likely that members of some Qadi homesteads settled en route, among other chiefdoms, and that those associating with the Qadi chief at the Port were a mixture of commoners from the old polity and other displaced or fleeing individuals and families. Certain homestead heads who had been close to the chief in the Thukela valley ensured a thread of continuity in the life of the polity in Natal; they seem to have formed the nucleaus of the elite around the chiefly lineage in Natal.

As with other immigrant groups, the men were drafted into a militia, organised by white traders at the Port for protection against the Zulu king. In reporting the arrival of the Qadi in May 1837 and their request for protection, the Port commandant, Alexander Biggar, had expressed 'serious apprehensions...that it may afford a pretext for the Zulu chief, Dingane, to carry into execution his long and often threatened intention of attacking and invading this settlement'.[6] These fears were real enough, as Zulu power south of the Thukela had not yet been broken. Yet the militia successfully raided Zulu villages in early 1838, capturing about five hundred women and children and four thousand head of cattle,[7] of which participants would have been rewarded with a share.

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[5] Ngcobo, 'The Qadi tribe', ZTHC. Whether this was said of the Qadi in colonial times, or whether this was thought in the 1950s to have been said of the Qadi in colonial times, is unclear: a case of ambiguity embedded in the traditions.

[6] Quoted in Stuart J and D McK Malcolm 'Epilogue' to *The diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, p 260

[7] Ballard, 'Traders, trekkers and colonists' in Duminy and Guest (Eds), *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*, p 121

After Dingane's killing of the Retief party in April 1838, the 1,500 men of this militia, some armed with guns but mostly 'with pig-skin shields and spears, many of them so old they used walking sticks'[8] and led by John Cane, marched out again on an expedition against the Zulu king, possibly hoping for the reward of cattle once more. As they departed, a few of the whites at the Port, including the Reverend Daniel Lindley, later to set up his mission station among the Qadi at Inanda, tried to dissuade them.[9] The fate of the expedition was related long afterwards to Bishop Colenso,[10] possibly by an eye-witness:

> Many were killed, being blocked by the drift; many threw themselves into the Tugela and were drowned. Twelve whites died, and all the coloureds except a few. Many blacks were killed, only a few being able to escape. They reached Thekwini...singly, all with the same report: "You see me, the only survivor". And such was the battle of Dlokweni.[11]

Fuze appended to this report, 'it was on account of this battle that there died Dabeka kaDube, the Qadi chief'.[12] Twice, then, in as many years, the Qadi had suffered defeat, dispersal, the untimely deaths of their leaders and the loss of a large number of men at the hands of the Zulu army. They were displaced yet again during the Zulu attack on Port Natal in the wake of the Dlokweni battle. These were bitter experiences, which moulded both their attitude towards the colonial authorities in Natal and the independent kingdom beyond its borders. It is small wonder that Mqhawe would be singled out for his 'zeal and courage'[13] in the field in the Anglo-Zulu war.

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[8] Kirkman J in Owen F *The diary of the Rev Francis Owen*, pp 166-7

[9] Smith E *The life and times of Daniel Lindley 1801-1880: missionary to the Zulus, pastor to the Voortrekkers, Ubebe omhlophe* (London, 1949), p 143

[10] John William Colenso was appointed as the first Anglican Bishop of Natal in 1854. His progressive approach (by contemporary standards) to mission work, his break with the colonial authorities as a result of their handling of chief Langalibalele's rebellion in 1873, and his interventions in theological debates of the time made him a controversial figure in the somewhat febrile atmosphere of colonial Natal. See Guy J *The heretic. A study of the life of John William Colenso 1814-1883* (Pietermaritzburg, 1983) for a detailed treatment of his contribution to Natal history

[11] Fuze M *The black people*, pp 76-7. This battle, in which John Cane was killed, was also known as the Battle of the Thukela.

[12] Fuze *The black people*, p 170

The Qadi, numbering probably less than a thousand and possessing few cattle, initially settled in coastal forest on the northern banks of the Umgeni, about two miles from the mouth.[14] Dabeka's heir Mqhawe, born in the late 1820s, was still too young to become chief and Madlukana acted as regent in his stead.[15] Keletso Atkins describes very vividly the many social and economic problems that refugees encountered in Natal and the various means they adopted to overcome them.[16] The Qadi probably had similar concerns: two of the most pressing were the 'reaccumulation of cattle funds'[17] and adequate land for grazing and cropping, in order to regain social stability.

Much effort was put into the acquisition of cattle, so that, among other things, *lobolo* arrangements could be normalised. The upheavals of the previous decade had led to the suspension of customary arrangements; generally, it would seem that there was more dependence on *promises* of the completion of *lobolo* transfers after marriage than parents of marriageable-age children would have liked. In other words, marriages occurred without a husband transferring any cattle, or far fewer than were customarily the case,[18] to his wife's father's homestead, these being promised at some later date only. While this enabled even cattle-poor young men to effect marriages, fathers of marriageable girls for their part would not have felt very secure in this arrangement, especially if they also felt the need to supply sons of similar age with their own *lobolo* cattle. These disruptions affected chiefly houses as well as commoners: Mqhawe

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[13] Inanda magistrate's annual report, 1879, SNA 1/1/35 872/1879

[14] Armstrong G S 'Family reminiscences', KCM 25650; Robinson J *Notes on Natal: an old colonist's book for new settlers* (Durban, 1872), p 3

[15] It has not been possible to establish Madlukana's family relationship to Dabeka and Mqhawe; he was most likely a bropther of Dabeka's.

[16] Atkins K *The moon is dead!,* especially chapter 2. Her discussion focuses on the particular difficulties of refugees arriving *after* Natal became a British colony. As such, it underlines the good fortune of a group such as the Qadi in having arrived before this event: the sequence was of great importance, as those arriving prior to British rule were not technically regarded as refugees, subject to strict legal controls over entry and residence, but were accorded the retrospective status of 'aboriginal inhabitants'.

[17] Atkins, *The moon is dead!*, p 28

[18] It is also possible that grain could have been substituted for cattle, as was the case in Pondoland at the time. See Beinart, 'Production and chieftainship in Pondoland', pp 125-6. Maize in Natal fetched high prices from the 1840s to late 1860s.

complained in the 1880s that he was still completing cattle transfers for his mother's *lobolo.*[19] He considered cattle to be fundamentally important for ensuring lasting social harmony; his testimony to the 1881 Native Affairs Commission was one of the most expressive of its kind: 'Our children are our own blood, and in nursing our children we admit that we are nursing the cattle'.[20]

More clearly pecuniary purposes also called for cattle. They were brought directly into agricultural production when the Qadi began to use ploughs in the 1850s, in response to high maize prices. Qadi men who went out to work did so as transport riders,[21] probably to accumulate funds to buy cattle. Mqhawe himself entered this business in the 1850s; it is possible that a certain amount of tribute labour was hidden in the way he organised riders. Less significantly, cattle were an acceptable form of payment of hut tax, although few were willing to part with their beasts for this purpose: in 1852, out of 251 huts accounted for, only twenty one beasts were offered in lieu of cash or grain.[22]

While most methods of building up herds were now costly and time-consuming - such as growing and selling maize (women's way of contributing) or hiring out one's labour (men's contribution) - an episode in 1843 gave the Qadi quick and 'low opportunity cost' assistance, which proved a turning point in their fortunes. The new Zulu king, Mpande, was making every attempt to secure his position north of the Thukela. One of those whom he considered a threat was Mawa, a powerful daughter of Jama, and sister of Senzangakhona. Shaka had placed her in charge of the Ntonteleni regimental quarters in the south east of the kingdom; she was allied to Gqugqu, one of the last surviving of Senzangakhona's sons, 'whose genealogical claims to the kingship may have been stronger than [Mpande's] own'.[23] Following Gqugqu's death in 1843,

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[19] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 221
[20] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 222
[21] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission, 1881*, p 224
[22] Magistrate's record book, 'Hut tax collections' 1/VLM 8/1
[23] Colenbrander P 'The Zulu kingdom 1828-1879' in Duminy and Guest (Eds) *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*, p 99

Mpande moved against Mawa, who fled with a large herd of royal cattle, enough to 'cover the site of Pieter Maritzburg'[24] and a 'considerable section of the people',[25] estimated at two to three thousand strong.

Although their movement was partially checked by one of Mpande's regiments, Mawa and her entourage did manage to cross into Natal and reach the Umdhloti river, where they were stopped by the British commandant at Port Natal. Mpande sent a messenger to the new British colonial administration in Pietermaritzburg demanding the return of the cattle Mawa had taken. Kofiyana kaMbengana kaGwayi, a 'government *induna*' who was on close terms with the Qadi,[26] was instructed to seize the cattle. Instead of being returned to the king or becoming government property, however, most were distributed among those who had assisted in their confiscation, while some were left in the possession Mawa's people.

The Qadi, and probably the chief in particular, benefited greatly from this booty: 'it is with those cattle that we had established ourselves, we of the white men's country', as Madikane Cele put it.[27] While acquisition of these cattle might have seemed like a kind of compensation for all the hardship the Zulu monarch had inflicted upon them, how acutely aware they must have been that without the protection of the 'white men's country', these stolen cattle of the Zulu country, and more besides, would be severely at risk.

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[24] 'Minute of the import of Panda's message, 11 February 1846', *Records of the Natal Executive Council, 1846-1848* p 70

[25] Mangati in *The James Stuart archive,e* vol 2, pp 216-7

[26] Kofiyana had fled from Shaka with others of the Tshabeni chiefdom; Fynn had 'brought them out of the bushes' and made Kofiyana one of his *izinduna*. He later became an important source of information and support to the colonial authorities, called by them their 'government *induna*'. One of Kofiyana's daughters married Dubuyana kaSirayo of the Nyuswa; their son Deliweyo was to be a close neighbour of Mqhawe's in the Inanda location. See Maziyana in *The James Stuart archive, vol 3*, p 275; Bazley in *The James Stuart archive* vol 1, p 58, and Mbovu in *The James Stuart archive,* vol 3, pp 30-1

[27] Madikane in *The James Stuart archive,* vol 2, pp 56-7

Now in a more favourable position to rebuild their polity, the Qadi needed suitable land on which to 'nurse' their herds and their children. At this time, when the British were just beginning to assert control over their new colony, it was possible to find land 'which not only allowed the maintenance of the homestead population, but also the strengthening of its position through the accumulation of cattle'.[28] The Qadi were able to secure just such land, by moving upstream beyond the old (and mostly abandoned) Boer farms of Piesang Rivier, Groeneberg and Inanda[29] to the Umzinyathi river, a tributary of the Umgeni. The area, Crown land from 1843, had been known as 'Mhlandlangwenya' ('Crocodile's spine'); the Qadi called it 'Mkhuphulangwenya', or 'Raiser of the crocodile'.[30]

This region straddled two relief zones. The Umzinyathi valley, down which the river flowed like a central artery, was where the 'rugged' fastnesses[31] of the middleveld or dry thorn belt began to flatten into the undulating coastal evergreen belt. Rainfall was relatively high (thirty to forty inches a year) and though falling mostly in the summer months, was distributed throughout the agricultural cycle, leaving only a short, relatively dry winter period.[32] Dense forest covered wide strips of either bank, a ready source of fuelwood and building materials as well as game. As a boy in the 1860s, local farmer G S Armstrong and his brother accompanied Qadi huntsmen and always returned

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[28] Slater, 'Changing economic relationships in rural Natal', p 155

[29] It would appear that the earliest use of the name Inanda was with reference to this Boer farm. Soon, Inanda was to be the name given to the lower division of Victoria county, the African location nearby, and the mission station. Less specifically, the area of the mission reserve and south-east towards the Umgeni and Phoenix came be known as Inanda.

[30] Ngcobo, 'The Qadi tribe', ZTHC

[31] Christopher, 'Natal: a study in colonial land settlement' PhD Thesis (Natal, 1969), p 16. The description of the environment which follows relies heavily on studies made over one hundred years after the Qadi settled in Inanda. As awareness of the environment has deepened since the 1970s, so have the links between weather patterns and human impact on ecology became clearer: factors such as vegetation and rainfall are not necessarily constant over long periods. Some contemporary accounts have also been consulted - their limitation is that many of them were compiled with the aim of encouraging European immigration, and so tended to present a more glowing account of general weather conditions, farming prospects and so on, than was perhaps the case in practice. Thus, the account of the natural environment presented here is intended to give no more than an impression of conditions in the early colonial period.

with good quality buckskin, which they could sell for two shillings apiece.[33] Later in the century, although there were still many baboons about, buck were very scarce;[34] nevertheless, John L Dube was still able to adorn the walls of his home with trophies of the hunt from expeditions into the valley as Mqhawe's guest.[35] At irregular intervals, small capillary-like streams joined the Umzinyathi. On either flank of the river, the soil was good for the staples of maize and sorghum, as well as vegetables. Sweetgrasses which could support year-round grazing probably predominated in the Inanda region in the mid-nineteenth century, later giving way to mixed sweet and sour types as a result of heavy grazing.[36]

5 The Umzinyathi Falls
(Campbell Collections)

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[32] Niddrie D L 'The climate and weather of Natal' in Burrows H R (Ed) *The archaeology and natural resources of Natal* (Cape Town, 1951), p 49
[33] Armstrong, 'Family reminiscences', KCM 25650. Armstrong was a prominent local farmer who is discussed more fully in chapter 8
[34] Fayle's diary 8 February, 1890, SNA 1/1/123 (201/1890)
[35] T Couzens and H Hughes, interview with Mrs A Dube, Ohlange, August 1980
[36] Christopher, 'Natal: a study in colonial land settlement', p 20

Occasionally a ridge or hill reared up in the landscape, giving commanding views of the valley. When he became chief sometime in the 1840s, Mqhawe established his own principal homestead, Ekumanazeni ('Place of quibbling') on one of these to the east of the Umzinyathi. Senior kin and counsellors such as Mzingulu, Mlomowetole and Hlomendhlini built theirs within easy walking distance of their chief's. Up and down stream, the chief allocated sites to the remainder of the Qadi homestead heads. The Qadi laid out their gardens and grazing grounds close to the living quarters of each homestead, and never far from water or fuel. So desirable was the valley that in 1904, even after sixty years of colonial land policy had done their damage, the Report of the Mission Reserve Superintendant concluded that it was, in effect, too good for African occupation.[37]

Smaller pockets of Qadi continued to *khonza*, or owe allegiance, to Mqhawe, even though they lived among other chiefdoms, far from the Umzinyathi; to *khonza* did not necessarily entail physical proximity. For example, Vilakazi cites the case of the Qadi regent Madlukana and his followers, who in the 1840s had moved into Nyuswa country in the Inanda location, deep in the Valley of a Thousand Hills. The Nyuswa chiefs had expected that, in return for land, the Qadi would *khonza* them, or 'turn their doors'. However,

> time passed and none of the Qadi 'turned their doors'. The original tribesmen who had concluded the agreement died, their children grew up and founded their own families and continued to owe allegiance to the Qadi chiefs. Still the legend went on in the memories of men that the Mabedlana Qadi would one day 'turn their doors'.[38]

This must have been especially galling for the Nyuswa chiefs, for Mabedlana was choice agricultural land, high and flat.

There were also small fragments of Qadi recognising Mqhawe in the Maphumulo district, on the Ndwedwe mission reserve, and between the Mona and Tongati

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[37] 'Report on the Inanda Mission Reserve', SNA 1/1/319 (871/1905)
[38] Vilakazi A *Zulu transformations*, pp 7-10

rivers. By the end of his reign, the Qadi were spread over six magisterial districts. Etherington noted that one of the later difficulties that colonial officials had in relying on 'tribal responsibility' was that 'it was often incompatible with government based on geographical units';[39] to magistrates, such 'detached portions of tribes' (the official phrase) were an unavoidable inconvenience. Yet chiefs like Mqhawe exploited this 'inconvenience' in a way which they hoped (but could not guarantee) would bolster their authority, using it as an opportunity to advance the status of members of the elite, as will be shown in chapter 4.

The Qadi were subject to the same administration as other Africans in the colony. For years, there was no obvious commercial value to the new colony - a string of crops, such as cotton, sesame, groundnuts, arrowroot, tea and coffee was tried (successive failures resulting in the emergence of a *rentier* class of land speculators) before sugar came to the rescue in the late 1850s. The only way for the colonial government to become economically self-sufficient was to allow homestead life to continue largely intact and to extract some sort of surplus from it. This took the form principally of a hut tax, although Africans also paid much in indirect taxes on imported goods. One result of this arrangement was, as Slater has argued, ‘a remarkable revival’ in the economic fortunes of what he terms ‘the lineage mode of production' in early colonial Natal.[40]

Though African labour furnished the largest single source of revenue until the 1870s, when it was eclipsed by rail and harbour tariffs, the £5,000 set aside for 'Native Purposes' annually was but a small item in a long list of expenditure, ranking in size with 'Immigration from Britain' and 'Conveyance of Mails'.[41] For years, Shepstone's office consisted only of himself and a couple of clerks. Fifteen years into colonial rule, there were eight magistrates for the entire

[39] Etherington, 'The "Shepstone system" in the Colony of Natal and beyond its borders', p 178
[40] Slater, 'Changing economic relationships in rural Natal, 1838-1914 in Marks and Atmore (Eds), *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa*, p 155
[41] From *Blue Book*,1864. The former was allocated 5,000 and the latter 4,700

population of the Colony, rising to eleven only in the 1870s.[42] Moreover, their duties were so broad-ranging[43] that, even had they desired it, magistrates could not pay any more than a minimum level of attention to Africans in their divisions. Fortunately for them, the 1848 Royal Instructions (the official guidelines on how the Colony should be governed), enshrined in an 1849 Ordinance, warned against tampering too greatly with 'any law, custom or usage prevailing among the inhabitants',[44] save for those repugnant to 'civilised' norms.

Several writers, most notably Martin Chanock, have shown that far from being a survival from earlier ages, customary law was a dynamic creation of the colonial encounter.[45] He observes of colonialism in central Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that 'the ideologies of custom could be preserved while the material practices were drastically altered...a neo-traditionalist representation [was] for many the only appropriate way to accommodate an understanding of these changes and to try to control them.'[46] While this insight is applicable to Britain's expanding holdings in most parts of Africa, colonial rule was far less coherent in the 1840s than it was to become in the 'new wave' of imperial expansion from the 1880s. The Natal colonial state, 'conquest' in only a very limited sense, was relatively incapable of imposing its will on the African population (the Cape and India were considered far more deserving of interest and financial support). Thus 'Shepstonism', as the policy of 'indirect rule'

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[42] 'Resolutions of meeting of magistrates', 1859, SNA 1/1/9 (172/1859); Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 111

[43] From the *Blue Books*, one can get a sense of their duties. These included: collection of hut tax; hearing and deciding court cases, both under Roman-Dutch and customary law; holding branch courts; requisitioning *isibhalo* labour; supplying statistical returns; issuing labour contracts; supplying African and later Indian policemen with rations; paying the wages of policemen and field cornets; keeping lists of refugees; granting permission to move homesteads; granting passes to leave the Colony; overseeing the local lock-up; making regular tours of duty around division; supervising building works at magistracy; liaising regularly with relevant departments in Pietermaritzburg. Berman characterises such a system of colonial administration as 'prefectural'; although field officers were permitted a degree of discretion, they were also seriously resistant to change. 'Bureaucracy and incumbent violence: colonial administration and the origins of the "Mau Mau" emergency' in *Unhappy valley*, vol 2, p 232

[44] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 14

[45] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*, p 15

[46] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*, p 13

elaborated by the first Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone (1843-1875), became known,[47] was as much one of default as of design.

In essence, this meant relying on chiefs to continue exercising authority. Chiefly office (and with it, the exercise of customary law), the keystone in the colonial administrative edifice, was adapted by the Secretary for Native Affairs to suit the terms of colonial rule. Firstly, he envisaged a distinctly subordinate role for chiefs: 'the chief is...so to speak, a lieutenant, instead of a supreme chief, obedient to the magistrate who is over him',[48] and to the new 'Supreme Chief', the Lieutenant-Governor and *his* principal *induna*, as Shepstone liked to think of himself.[49] Secondly, by means of what Vilakazi termed a 'levelling effect', each chief, whether hereditary or appointed, heading a tiny chiefdom or a huge one, was reduced to a status of 'equal' subordination to the Secretary of Native Affairs: each was, as it were, at the end of a wheel spoke, joined to the Secretary at the hub. Some distinctions were noted, but more in terms of who was 'difficult' and who not. Shepstone did not much like hereditary chiefs, for example: with 'their dangerous associations of ancient tradition',[50] he felt they were not as malleable as appointed ones, deriving their authority rather more from ‘custom’ than from the colonial state. Hereditary chiefs far outnumbered appointed ones, 56 as opposed to nine in the early colonial period.[51]

Thirdly, chiefs were stripped of some of the powers that officials believed they had previously relied upon to enforce their will, but which were now considered either 'repugnant' or dangerous (often the same thing): 'smelling out' witches, imposing capital punishment, removing followers to or receiving them from,

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[47] Since this account focuses on chiefs' reception and manipulation of colonial conditions, this is not the place for a full account of 'indirect rule' in Natal. The best recent contribution is Etherington N 'The "Shepstone system" in the Colony of Natal and beyond its borders'. See also Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, especially chapters 2-8 and 11

[48] Mann R J *Natal. A history and description of the colony* (London, 1876), p 232

[49] See Shepstone, 'Answers to questions asked by H E The Lt Governor, 16 October 1863', Shepstone Papers A96, volume 90

[50] Shepstone, quoted in Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 116

[51] Lambert, *Betrayed trust*, p 25

another 'tribe' without permission, calling up regiments or celebrating the ceremony of first fruits (again, without prior permission), communicating with chiefs outside the colony, and hearing serious criminal cases. (Some of these practices did in fact continue, in breach of the rules. Mqhawe, for example, got away with 'smelling out' one Magwana whom he considered responsible for the death of his brother Macekeni in the 1890s.[52]) In addition, chiefs had new tasks to perform which did not seem likely to win popular favour, such as overseeing the orderly payment of the hut tax, and meeting magistrates' requisitions for *isibhalo* labour.

Yet what chiefs were still permitted - or simply left - to do provided not only a basis for creative, strong chiefly rule, but also ample raw material for the ideological adornment of their position; they were among the first to realise that 'political structures are not only systems of constraint but also fields of opportunity'.[53] Most obvious was plain financial reward. In all the judicial cases that Mqhawe heard, such as *lobolo* claims, marriage discords, garden disputes, herbalists' claims for services rendered, defamation of character, breach of agreements, and claims for damages arising out of stock wandering among crops, plaintiffs had to pay him a fee beforehand. In addition, there were the fines he imposed on wrongdoers. He was particularly heavy on brewers of *isitshimiyana*, an intoxicating drink made from sugar byproducts such as treacle: 'Any man who makes it I eat his cattle up.'[54] According to his son, Mandlakayise, Mqhawe fined even minor transgressions, such as being cheeky. 'As a rule, he does not lose any opportunity of imposing fines on members of his tribe', commented one official.[55] Fines were in all likelihood an important source of revenue in maintaining his growing chiefly establishment.

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[52] Magwana's application to remove, 14 March 1891, 1/VLM 8/2
[53] Lonsdale, 'States and social processes in Africa: a historiographical survey' in *African Studies Review* 24, 1/3, 1981, p 141
[54] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 227
[55] Ndwedwe magistrate, 31 October 1905, SNA 1/1/329 (2844/1905)

The system of customary law had an inbuilt deterrent against appeal, that is, it contained a strong bias toward acceptance of the chief's decisions. Plaintiffs could not bypass the chief by taking their complaints direct to Verulam - magistrates would insist that they used the 'proper channels'. After the chief's court, an appeal to the magistrate would cost another fee (initially five shillings, raised to £1 in 1859[56] to the magistrate, on top of which there was little likelihood - for the Qadi at least - of an altered outcome: 'my decision is always upheld by the Magistrate', Mqhawe frankly admitted.[57] As a result, very few Qadi cases went on appeal. The first recorded, of Mtshitshiwa, who entered an action for six head of cattle and their increase, was in 1862.[58] There were many more from small chiefdoms and appointed chiefs in Inanda.

Because officials (especially of the coercive kind, to enforce laws) were thin on the ground, and operated in a preliterate context, the system relied more on personal than bureaucratic rule, as in other parts of colonial Africa later on: 'native administration was best carried through "by personality rather than legislation"',[59] which suited chiefs very well. Messengers to and from chiefs and magistrates were constantly criss-crossing the countryside, gleaning news and information as they went. On the whole Mqhawe was on good terms with whoever was the incumbent resident magistrate at Verulam, 25 miles from his village.[60] He gave them little cause for complaint; indeed, while his reign was almost coterminous with colonial rule itself, magistrates came and went and he thus acquired a reputation as a respected authority on customary law. Moreover, if the need arose, it was comparatively easy for chiefs to get an appointment with the SNA. As Mqhawe put it, '[i]n the olden times Sir T Shepstone would take his chair under the tree, and then after being heard, a

[56] Resolutions of a meeting of magistrates, 1859, SNA 1/1/9 (172/1859)
[57] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 223
[58] 'Record of cases, Verulam, 1861-1865', case of Mtshitshiwa, 9 September 1862, 1/VLM 1/4/1/1. It must be noted that the surviving magistrate's records for Inanda until the 1880s are scant and scrappy, so can provide no more than a surface impression of actions and claims
[59] Lonsdale, quoting A Kirk-Greene, in 'States and social processes in Africa', p 149
[60] See Appendix 4 for a list of the magistrates of Inanda and Ndwedwe

decision in the case was given, and it was finished'.[61] All chiefs were required to pay their respects at least once in person to the 'Supreme Chief' in the capital; Mqhawe and his retinue made the journey in 1861,[62] and visited the capital on several other occasions.

A clear example of how chiefs used colonial coordinates to calculate status was in the matter of hut tax payments. Almost before the first African converts could read their bibles, chiefs acquired special books which they soon adopted as a cachet of their rank: books were not the symbolic preserve of the educated and christianised only. It did not matter that chiefs were unable (in most cases) to decipher the contents; they knew well enough what the coming of this particular book meant. For these were hut tax receipt books, which only chiefs possessed, since chiefs were reponsible for their peoples' due payment of the seven-shilling tax (doubled in 1875), demanded annually after harvest from 1850.

As a dispute between Mqhawe and one of his *izinduna* who wished for promotion clearly demonstrated, having one's 'own book' became part of the distinction of chiefly status;[63] by the same token, it was common for followers to indicate their allegiance by declaring which chief they 'paid under'. Since all homestead heads (bar those on privately owned land or Christian converts) had to pay the hut tax, nearly everyone had to be 'under' one chief or another. Thus, hut tax insinuated itself into the self-definition of 'chiefs' and 'people' in a way which helped to bolster a strictly hierarchical sense of order.[64] Later on, bureaucratic demands

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[61] *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1881*, p 221

[62] Gebuza informing Mqhawe of Lt Governor's order, 16 May 1861, 1/VLM 1/4/1/1. On the question of personal rule, Douglas Hay noted of eighteenth-century England that '[w]here authority is embodied in direct personal relationships, men will often accept power, even enormous, despotic power, when it comes from the "good King", the father of his people, who tempers justice with mercy'. In Hay D *et al Albion's fatal tree. Crime and society in eighteenth-century England* (London, 1975), p 39. While colonial rule in Natal was hardly 'despotic' (and by now there was a "good Queen"), this observation captures something of the 'paternalistic authoritarian' tendency both of officials' dealings with chiefs and of chiefs' dealings with their followers.

[63] Dispute between Mqhawe and Mantingwana, July 1884, SNA 1/1/72 (344/1884)

[64] Such a hierarchy was reinforced in more visible ways too, at the annual hut tax payment: it became practice for the younger men from the chief's own homestead to pay first, so setting an example to the rest of the chiefdom.

and growing population size required that 'tribal' officials other than chiefs assist in hut tax collections. Accordingly, several *izinduna* got their own books, a criterion some used to press for improvements to their status: a threateningly centrifugal force, as far as chiefs were concerned, which they were frequently unable to counteract. Mqhawe, for several reasons explored below, was more successful than many in opposing such radiating tendencies.

The Marriage Law of 1869 presented similar opportunities to those offered by the hut tax. By the late 1860s, *lobolo* disputes were beginning to clog magistrates' courts as desperate plaintiffs sought to claim, or reclaim, large numbers of cattle. Over the previous two decades, there had been a steep rise in the number of cattle required to effect a marriage in Natal: whereas eight to ten head had been the norm in the late 1840s, by the late 1860s, forty to fifty were required by commoners and around one hundred for the daughters of chiefs.[65] In addition, there is some evidence that money was becoming a substitute for cattle: the Inanda magistrate reported in 1859 that 'ten pounds sterling [is] the value of a damsel of average attraction', although he did not specify in which chiefdoms exactly this transition was occurring.[66]

While the figures suggest growing material wealth and replenished herds, they do not reveal the degree to which marriage was becoming an unattainable luxury for those young men who could not assemble the required number of head: they can not, in other words, portray the extent of differentiation occurring within Natal chiefdoms.

Again, as in times of scarcity, promises rather than cattle were received by many ordinary brides' fathers. And angry fathers were going to magistrates (when they got no joy from chiefs) in a bid to extract their animals. In the early 1860s, the vast majority of appeals in the Inanda magistrate's court were for the recovery of

[65] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 68

cattle, though few were from the Qadi.[67] It is possible that young Qadi men were generally able to furnish the required number of beasts (or their monetary equivalent) before the marriage and, under Mqhawe's strict chiefly gaze, to honour their pledges thereafter. Although there is no direct evidence, Mqhawe had probably set up a wide network of *sisa* relationships, that is, loaning out cattle (and other stock) 'to build up a patron-client relationship with poorer men'[68] by allowing them to use the chief's cattle, as the Cunu chief Pakade did.

To an extent, the Marriage Law of 1869 benefited commoners, especially young men, by capping the number of head fathers could receive for their daughters at ten head. Yet the overall effect was to reinforce a rigid social scale: hereditary chiefs could still demand unlimited numbers of cattle, while appointed ones could ask a maximum of twenty.[69] Moreover, the law opened up another category of chiefly functionary, that of 'official witness'. This was an officer who had to attend all marriage ceremonies to ensure that young women were not being married against their wills, and that the new £5 marriage fee (set at a high rate to discourage polygyny, but discontinued in 1875) was collected and passed to the government.

In terms of the legislation, brothers and sons of hereditary chiefs were permitted a maximum of fifteen head for their daughters. Once the law was in place, chiefs wasted no time in trying to secure the status of 'brother' or 'son' for deserving official witnesses and *izinduna* who were not already so related by blood.

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[66] Inanda magistrate's annual report, 1859, SNA 1/3/8 (214/1859). See also Atkins, *The moon is dead*!, pp 31-32

[67] 'Record of cases, Verulam, 1861-1865', 1/VLM 1/4/1/1. One issue which will tentatively be explored in chapter 4, but which is relevant here, is to relate the type of judgements chiefs delivered to their ages, or position in the 'developmental cycle': where chiefs were young, it could be that they tilted in sympathy towards the needs and demands of their own generation, thereby (possibly) coming into conflict with elders. Similarly, problems of controlling the younger generation would have arisen most acutely when chiefs were themselves elderly. Of course one would have to take into account countervailing tendencies also, such as the impressionability of young chiefs by elders' counsels, and the issue raised here, namely, the 'line of cleavage' between chiefs and commoners. This merely needs to be noted because in much of the literature there is an assumption that chiefs are always elderly

[68] Lambert, *Betrayed trust*, p 28

Mqhawe sent several such applications to the Inanda magistrate; they were usually looked upon favourably. Thus the legislation provided another front upon which the interests of chiefly echelons could advance, another instance of constraint turned to opportunity, which will be explored in greater depth in the following chapter.

Generally, even though chiefs were so necessary to colonial administration (or more likely because of it), most officials regarded them with contempt. Whatever officials thought, however, Africans themselves - especially chiefs - were very keenly aware of distinctions in status between different chiefs, not only the obvious ones such as whether hereditary or appointed, but also what degree of legitimacy was attached to their claims over ancestral lands in the colony, the size and location of their chiefdoms, their political astuteness, their success in consolidating an elite around them, and so on.

Chiefs kept in close touch with one another. One of the most widespread and absorbing subjects for communication was their marriage arrangements, and of course those of their children. (Mqhawe's marriage connections are discussed below.) More political issues preoccupied them too: Mqhawe consulted Thetheleku, and probably others besides, before giving evidence to the 1881 Native Affairs Commission, for example. Magistrates were expected to submit monthly returns to the SNA's office of all the cases they heard between Africans. It is evident from the SNA's comments and instructions on these returns that, from very early on, he placed a premium on conformity, so that similar offences across the colony should carry similar punishments. This is an indication not only of how the poorly staffed SNA's office tried to apply laws more evenly but also of how chiefs constantly communicated with each other to check on the machinations of their local magistrates - and on the nature of each others' judgements. Any disturbance in what they regarded as an acceptable pattern -

[69] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, pp 82-83

such as the unwarranted elevation of some 'little' chief[70] - was also quickly registered in complaints to magistrates, indicating their familiarity with colony-wide developments.

Hereditary chiefs, the most senior grouping among chiefs, 'hardly considered themselves as being ruled' in the early days of colonial Natal. In the 1880s, they still held sway over the majority of homesteads, nearly 64,000 huts, as opposed to appointed chiefs' jurisdiction over 24,700.[71] Mqhawe, as a hereditary chief of the largest chiefdom in his division, whose peoples' residency predated colonial rule, occupied a prestigious niche among Natal chiefs, a position which became more evident as he grew older and accumulated praiseworthy achievements, some of which are celebrated in his *izibongo*, or praises (see appendix 1).

As a young chief, Mqhawe, remembered as a 'short, stockily built, dark skinned man'[72] exercised tight control over his people. Always 'punctilious over matters of etiquette', he did not allow followers to turn their backs on him when arriving at or leaving his homestead or court. They would advance on their knees, singing his praises. Mqhawe maintained this 'respectful approach' all through his life.[73] Wherever he went, he was accompanied by a large mounted retinue; observers like Lindley and Armstrong often spoke with envy of the quality of the horses. His closest adviser was Madikane kaMlomowetole, of the same age cohort as he.

Among his other duties, Madikane arranged several of Mqhawe's marriages,[74] including that to Ntozethu, daughter of the hereditary Chief Pakade of the Cunu. Pakade, a hereditary chief, had gathered around him remnants of various

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[70] For example, Mqhawe objected vociferously to the appointment of Mfanefile Khuzwayo as chief of the Amabedu, a 'mere commoner', as far as he was concerned. See SNA 1/1/296 (1497/1902). It is likely that this also indicates a division between hereditary and appointed chiefs.

[71] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 114

[72] Lugg H C *Life under the Zulu spear* (Pietermaritzburg, 1975), p 63

[73] Armstrong, 'Family reminiscences', KCM 25650

[74] In many ways, Madikane's life story parallels Paulina Dlamini's, recounted in *Serving two kings*, Ed S Bourquin (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1986). For Madikane, see chapter six below

chiefdoms and welded them into the largest chiefdom in Natal, centred on the Weenen district. He had marched with government troops against Langalibalele's Hlubi in the late 1840s. Believing it would offer protection against the Zulu kingdom, he requested a missionary in 1847, but the first missionaries, from the Hermannsburg Missionary Society, only settled among the Cunu in 1856. Very few Cunu expressed an interest in them.[75] Ntozethu was Mqhawe's principal wife and mother of his heir, Mandlakayise. There was a small hitch in the arrangements when Nocolo, Pakade's mat-bearer, allegedly made Ntozethu ill in order to prevent the marriage, but Pakade 'smelt out' the wrongdoer - he was in all likelihood receiving around one hundred cattle in *lobolo* - and the union took place.[76]

Unfortunately, there is almost no information on Mqhawe's other marriages, of which there were thirty two in all.[77] Many, like that to Ntozethu, would have been carefully effected in order to link the Qadi to other chiefdoms in the colony so as to enhance its own chief's status, thereby also creating a kind of pantheon of senior chiefdoms. Almost certainly he took brides from two other hereditary chiefdoms: the Mpumuzi section of the Inadi chiefdom, based in the Zwartkop location under Thetheleku, with whom he was on close terms,[78] and Langalibalele's Hlubi chiefdom: he was reputedly sympathetic to Langalibele's cause in 1873. At least some of his children's marriages were arranged with similar intent: his eldest daughter, Nomasonto, married the Khumalo chief Bhulushe, and another daughter, Nokwendlala, married chief Manzini.[79] Mqhawe's was to become a large chiefly condominium indeed; he eventually had

[75] Russell, *Natal, the land and its story* (Durban, 1972), p 44; Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, pp 133 & 274; Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, pp 317-8; Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 104

[76] Madikane in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, pp 58-9

[77] Armstrong, 'Family reminiscences'

[78] Meintjes, 'Edendale 1850-1906. A case study of rural transformation and class formation on an African mission on Natal', PhD Thesis (London, 1988), p 283. Thetheleku's father, like Mqhawe's, was killed in the battle against Dingane in 1838; he was an assessor at Langalibalele's trial in 1874. Lambert, *Betrayed trust*, p 27

[79] SNA 1/1/261 (2336/1897)

four homesteads to accommodate it, at Ekumanazeni, Ntungweni, Ekuteketeli and KwaZini, all in the Umzinyathi valley.

Like several other chiefs, Mqhawe maintained a system of regiments, of which there were five among the Qadi by the 1880s.[80] Organised according to age, each displayed distinguishing feathers and skins. The chief called them up periodically to learn songs and pay their respects. On these occasions, they carried sticks and shields and engaged in mock fights - the real thing was outlawed in the Colony. 'They arrange themselves in battle array as if they were engaging an enemy', Mqhawe explained. 'They never come to blows' - although there might be disputes about the valour of each regiment, and the *izinduna* might have to restrain excited warriors. Beer and milk were brought from all over emaQadini - 'the place of the Qadi', for such occasions. The chief kept the regiments two or three days before they dispersed to their homesteads. They were also summoned for the most important festival of first fruits, where he 'laid down the laws'. Assembling the regiments was one of the recognised means by which chiefs tried to maintain control over scattered people;[81] it was thus an important ingredient in the making of Qadi identity, which in this, as in most instances, depended far more on an ideology and practice of masculinity than on women's roles within the polity.

In the early years, until land shortage caused tensions, Mqhawe kept on peaceable terms with his immediate neighbours, the Pepeta under Myekwa (succeeded by Kamanga in 1879) and the Tshangase under Umguni kaMtshiyana (succeeded by Rodoba as regent for Macebo in 1878). Both were much smaller chiefdoms than the Qadi. The Tshangase, living in 361 huts by the

[80] The information in this paragraph is drawn from Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Native Affairs Commission 1881*, p 230

[81] Lambert J 'African society in crisis, c1880-1910' in Duminy and Guest (Eds), *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*, p 374. Lambert holds (p 380) that by the 1880s, chiefs were disbanding regiments because they could not feed them at gatherings. It is not clear how extensive this disbandment was, however.

late 1870s, were clustered at Tafamasi.[82] Having originally lived in the Thukela valley near Krantzkop, the chief Umguni crossed into Natal about the same time as Dabeka; Umguni reportedly had very few people with him until Dingane's defeat by the Boers and Mpande in 1838, when more joined him on the Umgeni.[83] Whether they had any dealings with the Qadi at this time is unclear.

The Pepeta certainly did. Having been forced to flee from their 'original place'[84] by Shaka, they were living about Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg and herding Boer cattle in the late 1830s. They were unsettled by conflicts between the Boers and the British at Port Natal, apparently not knowing to whom they ought to owe allegiance. Smartly, though, the Pepetas' principal *induna*, Mfino, was one of the earliest to present himself at the English camp, with a gift of cattle he had stolen from the Boers. The chief, Myekwa kaMajiya, then brought the rest of the Pepeta closer to Durban; they settled around the Umzinyathi. They were soon displaced by the Qadi. The Pepeta reluctantly moved some distance away, to lands at Amatata.[85] Mqhawe's version of their movements in Natal was that the new Volksraad in Pietermaritzburg forced them to move, and chief Myekwa approached Madlukana, the Qadi regent, for assistance. He agreed to help the Pepeta, but withdrew his protection when the British took control of Natal. Myekwa, discomforted by this turn of events, claimed, 'You have have protected me; I want to dwell near you'.[86] Whichever most closely approximated events, relations between the two chiefdoms were tense thereafter.

What emerges is that a hierarchy of better-endowed and under-resourced, more and less influential, chiefs was emerging out of the shockwaves of dislocation

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[82] Inanda Magistrate to SNA, 3 September 1878, SNA 1/1/31 (1140/1878)
[83] Bird, *Annals of Natal vol 1*, p 133; Maziyana in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, p 268
[84] Shepstone recorded the Pepeta as having 'ancient residence' near the Upiso mountain on the Inadi river, a tributary of the Thukela. After Shaka attacked them, the chiefdom split up, to be reunited in Natal along the Umgeni near Table Mountain. See Bird, *Annals of Natal* vol 1, p 134
[85] Statements by Pepeta informants to W G Campbell, 11 November 1885, SNA 1/1/88 (801/85)
[86] M Edwards to SNA, 6 August 1886, SNA 1/1/91 (597/1886). This account accords in most respects with that given by the 'Pepeta tribe' to the Inanda magistrate, in SNA 1/1/88 (801/1885), and by Mr F Gijima, a Qadi *induna* living at Amatata: interview by H Hughes and S Nkomo, Amatata, 20 October 1988

when the British arrived. As a result of relations of power (and powerlessness) between chiefdoms, weaker chiefdoms had been forced onto poorer lands and were subsequently more tightly trapped by colonial land policy. The 1846-7 Locations Commission, including Shepstone (who dominated it) and Lindley (a strong supporter of his) set out a series of sprawling locations, ten of which were eventually gazetted. They were most undesirable from an agricultural point of view;[87] some of the inhabitants, like the Pepeta, and also the Ngcolosi deeper in the location, had been consigned this land by stronger chiefs even before the location boundaries were drawn around them.[88]

Demarcated in 1847, the 300 square mile Inanda location, to which most Africans living between the Umgeni and the Umdhloti rivers were to be confined, all fell into the so-called rugged belt. Land rose to an altitude of about 3,000 feet, with a relative relief (or degree of ruggedness) of 500 to 2,000 feet.[89] Although the soil was capable of supporting staple crops, the numerous steep inclines made cultivation in many parts extremely difficult, compounded by a markedly lower rainfall which was badly distributed and tended to fall in heavy storms, so exacerbating erosion on precipitous, exposed slopes.[90] This was, in sum, 'one of the most utterly confused and broken regions it has been my lot to witness. The hills in this basin are all one height but they are so tossed, riven, cut, cleft, rolled and distorted, that the place seems like chaos...'[91] Preston-Whyte and Sibisi note that this topography has created 'a residential distribution which consists typically of numerous small clusters of homesteads which are

[87] They were also neglected: the commission's recommendations as to what should occur within each location,an adequate number of magistrates to introduce Roman-Dutch law, provision of industrial schools to train Africans in the skills they could contribute to colonial development and agricultural assistance, were never implemented.

[88] On the Ngcolosi background, see 1/NWE 3/1/1, Memo of 22 October 1894. In virtually every work on colonial Natal, Shepstone is credited with single-handedly 'cajoling' the colony's Africans into the locations. Yet details of exactly how many were persuaded to move, how the move was effected, and other such details, remain shrouded in mystery. One wonders whether this portrayal of 'Shepstone as shepherd' is mostly a myth whose time for debunking is overdue. No more than half of Natal's African population ever lived in the locations: see Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 179.

[89] Burrows H R (Ed) *Archaeology and natural resources of Natal*, p 40

[90] Pentz J A *An agro-ecological survey of Natal*, p 5

largely isolated from each other by valleys, streams and the heights of ridges'.[92] Here, it was quite impossible to arrange gardens and grazing ground close to homesteads.[93] By the turn of the century, the small patches of richer soil in this generally inhospitable environment had become the focus of bitter disputes and witchcraft allegations.[94] Later, to those who did not have to make a living from it, this area become known as the scenically beautiful Valley of a Thousand Hills.

The location incorporated not only chiefdoms such as the Pepeta and Tshangase, various sections of Nyuswa, Ngcolosi, Ngongoma, Wosiyana and several other smaller ones, but also some Qadi homesteads higher up the Umzinyathi; young Qadi men ready to establish their own homesteads and new followers were mostly placed inside the location from then on. This was partly because of space constraints - less arable land was all that was available - but also because in 1856, the Qadi area was officially demarcated as a mission reserve of the American Board's Zulu Mission. Although the chief was not able to place new followers on it - this was the prerogative of the missionary in charge, though he routinely consulted the chief - he probably regarded the missionary's 'gate keeping' responsibility as something of a protection for those already established in homesteads on the reserve. (The implications of living on a mission reserve are more fully explored in part 3.)

Where Mqhawe differed from most other hereditary chiefs was that in his pursuit of effective authority, he not only relied upon 'tradition' and essentially retributive measures but made efforts to secure tangible benefits for his followers: chiefly success had some 'trickle down' effect, in that he organised the reallocation of some resources, largely derived from commoners in the first place, in the broader interest. He thereby retained a higher degree of legitimacy than was

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[91] A lady*, Life at Natal a hundred years ago*, p 126

[92] Preston-Whyte E and H Sibisi 'Ethnographic oddity or ecological sense? Nyuswa descent groups and land allocation' in *African Studies* 34, 4 1975, p 286

[93] Report of Surveyor-General, 16 September 1861, SNA 1/1/11 (116/1861)

[94] Mbatha M B 'Migrant labour and its effects on tribal and family life among the Nyuswa of Botha's Hill', p 2

probably the case in chiefdoms whose leadership was perceived as ineffectual in dealing with their followers' most pressing needs, partly because they did not possess a decent resource base to begin with.

By the 1870s, Mqhawe rightly saw that land shortage would soon seriously upset relations both within the chiefdom and with its neighbours. Consequently, he began exploring the possibility of buying land on behalf of the chiefdom, on which he and his close circle could allocate sites without reference either to magistrate or missionary. As the present chief, Mzonjani Ngcobo put it, 'the land we were living on was not ours...to have that farm would be security'.[95] Mqhawe turned to Bishop Colenso, to whom he had probably been introduced by Daniel Lindley. In late 1875, Colenso located a possible purchase: a farm called Nooitgedacht of just over 9,000 acres, on the south bank of the Unkomanzi river, west of Pietermaritzburg.[96]

Situated some 115 miles from the Umzinyathi valley, this midland farm suited the Qadi chief very well. In the cattle ranching belt, it was good land for herding, would support a large number of homesteads, was close to markets in Pietermaritzburg and also to one of his main allies, Thetheleku. The money to buy it was raised largely from a 'tribal levy', which dated from this time.[97] All Qadi, including the smaller, scattered sections, were expected to contribute towards the total amount of £1,863.16.9,[98] £1,000 of which was lent by Bishop Colenso himself. The property was bonded as security for repayment of the loan, which had to be completed within ten years. The land was transferred to Mqhawe in trust in February 1878; the loan, plus interest, was paid off by late

[95] Chief Mzonjani Ngcobo, interviewed by Mandla Ngcobo, Inanda, 20 April 1992.
[96] Colenso to Colonial Secretary, 18 January 1876, SNA 1/1/29 (872/1877)
[97] 'Report on Nooitgedacht', 14 December 1948, CNC Box 127 (22/154); Chief Mzonjani Ngcobo, interviewed by Mandla Ngcobo 20 April, 1992
[98] Deed of transfer, copy in CNC Box 127 (22/154)

1881.[99] An annual quit-rent was payable, intended to met by the continued operation of the 'tribal levy'.

In terms of the Deed of Transfer, the farm was ceded to Mqhawe and his heirs on behalf of the Qadi. A Board of Management, whose members were listed in a schedule attached to the Deed, was to oversee its affairs. These names represented virtually the entire inner circle of the chiefdom: several of Mqhawe's senior relatives, such as Mankanyana, a son of Mpunzi kaDube, most of Mqhawe's brothers, senior among whom were Sicoco, Macekeni, Tongwe and Bambai,[100] his older sons, such as Hawana, counsellors inherited from his father like Hlomendlini, Mlomowetole and Mzungulu, and his own appointees, such as Madikane, Mlibo and Ukakonina (James Dube).[101] Structures such as this also helped to integrate the smaller sections of Qadi into the central affairs of the chiefdom: all the sections were represented.[102] For example, Mlibo was *induna* of the Qadi near the Tongati River,[103] and Mankanyana of another isolated portion in the location, near the source of the Umzinyathi.[104]

The Qadi (or probably the chief and his advisors) called the farm Incwadi, 'the book', indicating their sense of the potency of the written word. Approximately twenty homesteads trekked there from Inanda in 1878, to be followed shortly after by another forty or so. By mid-1878, the Inanda Qadi had been reduced by 282 huts, or about a quarter of their total, thus easing pressure on land there.[105] The Board of Management appointed Mqhawe's brother Sicoco as *induna* over Incwadi. There were white sitting tenants on portions of the farm, whom

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[99] Hathorn Mason and Churchill to H E Colenso, 8 September 1893, in Colenso Papers A2O4 (29), Letters July-December 1893

[100] Relationships to Mqhawe gleaned from following documents: SNA 1/1/131 (1158/1890); 1/1/139 (340/1891); 1/1/142 (730/1891); 1/1/119 (1003/1889)

[101] This schedule must have been drawn up prior to James Dube's death in 1877, even though it is dated 1878

[102] Mandla Ngcobo, 'Private land purchase and tribal security in Natal: the case of the Qadi and Nooitgedacht farm, 1878-1948', p 4

[103] SNA 1/1/148 (1230/1891)

[104] 1/VLM 3/2/6

[105] Campbell to SNA, 2 July 1878, SNA 1/1/30 (798/1878)

Mqhawe allowed to remain as long as they paid their rents to the new owners.[106] It is not known what became of them.

Because of their relatively favourable position with regard to land and cattle, and the growing prestige of their chief, the Qadi was a sought-after chiefdom to which homestead heads lacking a suitable affiliation might attach themselves. Mqhawe himself recounted an early case of this process of becoming Qadi:

> [When] the Dutch were owners of Natal, Matingwana was then big and influential amongst us. When the English took possession...Matingwana went to fetch Manzini who was an old chief of his people...living with Umnini. [Manzini] had no territory and was brought to me, when I had become chief of my tribe. At Matingwana's request I gave Manzini a place to live on. Then Matingwana had some disagreements with Manzini and left and joined my tribe. I placed [him] where he lives now, on the Umhloti [i.e. in the Inanda location].[107]

To have been approached with a request to house a chief (and presumably some of his followers) and moreover to have been in a position to oblige, is an indication of the respect which Mqhawe was able to accrue for himself; the changing loyalty of a 'big and influential' broker, Matingwana, is another. As land shortage came to be felt, however, Mqhawe was quite happy to have both magistrate and missionary discouraging resettlement of homesteads into emaQadini. The Incwadi people were protected too; the problems of *amazosha* - unwanted newcomers - only arose there in the 1940s.

[106] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881,* p 225
[107] Mqhawe's account, in SNA 1/1/72 (344/1894)

Chapter 4: 'We do not dwell in peace in this land'[1]: maintaining the chiefdom, 1880s to 1906

As pressures on Africans all over southern Africa became increasingly complex from the 1880s,[2] three broad themes concerning the way he ruled his chiefdom were to thread their way through the remainder of Mqhawe's life: growing distance from colonial officials, divisions within Qadi society, and open hostility to neighbours. In the wake of the Anglo-Zulu war, Mqhawe, always restlessly in search of more land, made several attempts - each one thwarted by officials - to move the chiefdom back to Zululand. Frustrations mounted, culminating in a fatal faction fight with the Tshangase in 1891. After this incident and its immediate consequences, which coincided with growing government severity towards Africans and a series of ecological disasters, Mqhawe's relations with officialdom deteriorated. He became 'intemperate' (probably exacerbated by ill health), and openly challenged what he saw as oppressive policies. It may be that his stance amounted to no more than 'trifling with government', as one official called it,[3] as in the end he usually gave in and complied with the law. Nevertheless, even token resistance could help to heal some of the splits within the chiefdom, notably concerning its younger members.

With colonial officials doing their utmost to foment a war with the Zulu king, most Natal chiefs responded well to the call for African troops in late 1878. Mqhawe, who confidently predicted that rumours of an imminent Zulu invasion after the defeat at Isandhlwana were completely unfounded,[4] enthusiastically assembled four hundred of his men for service in the 5th Battalion of the Natal Native Corps.

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1 Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Native Affairs Commission, 1881*, p 220

2 For an overview, see Marks S 'Southern Africa 1867-1886' and 'Southern and Central Africa 1886-1910' in Fage J D and R Oliver (Eds) *The Cambridge history of Africa* vol 6 (Cambridge, 1985), chapters 7 and 8

3 Ndwedwe magistrate, 23 November 1905, SNA 1/1/329 (2844/1905)

4 Confidential report, Inanda magistrate to SNA, 7 February 1879, SNA 1/1/31 (4402/1879)

He and his brother Macekeni were among its 'Native Officers'.[5] Several other Natal chiefs joined their men in the field too, among them Thetheleku.[6] Whatever their reasons, whether to settle old scores or in the hope of future favours,[7] they were to get little by way of recognition or reward from their colonial masters. Even while they were fighting, the Inanda magistrate hoped that the hut tax collection could be delayed due to disruptions caused by men being away; the SNA refused to countenance any such concession.[8]

From the 1880s onwards, and especially after Responsible Government in 1893, policy towards Africans in Natal shifted, as the white population grew and the colony hitched itself to the economic transformation wrought by mineral extraction beyond the Drakensberg. The Department of Native Affairs put much more effort into controlling the movement, settlement and conduct of Africans, in rural areas as well as towns. Yet chiefly authority was not eroded quite as extensively as some observers have claimed.[9] For example, the Native Administration Act, passed just after Shepstone's retirement from office in 1875, was intended to curtail chiefly power by removing all criminal cases from chiefs' courts, and enjoining chiefs to report all civil proceedings to the magistrate. Yet older, well-established hereditary chiefs such as Mqhawe, continued much as before.[10]

Again, after 1869, chiefs were paid officials of government. Their salaries were not large, however: it has been suggested that the petty sums, some as low as £6 a year, were a strong sign that chiefs increasingly derived their 'breath' from

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5 Inanda magistrate, 31 December 1878, 1/VLM 3/2/1

6 Circular from SNA to Magistrates, 24 October 1879, SNA 1/1/35 (895/1879)

7 Though chiefs were paid £5 per month plus four pounds of meat and one and a half pounds of mielie meal in rations a day, (Meintjes, 'Edendale, 1850-1906', p 373) this was unlikely to have played a part in decisions to enlist.

8 Correspondence between Inanda magistrate and SNA, March 1879, SNA 1/1/33 (484/1879)

9 For example, 'in the years [after the Anglo-Zulu war], the remaining powers of the chiefs were to be whittled away until by the end of the century they retained little authority over their subjects.' Lambert, *Betrayed trust*, p 35

10 SNA 1/1/210. According to Lambert, many chiefs disregarded the new instructions. 'Africans in Natal, 1880-1899', p 21.

government, as Theophilus Shepstone put it, rather than from their people.[11] This is possibly to attach too much importance to the actual amounts. More important was, firstly, the acknowledgement, to which chiefs themselves were sensitive, that they were performing functions vital to the administration of the colony, and secondly, the ranking: Mqhawe's annual payment of £30, plus an *ad hominem* amount of £10, was the most that any chief could earn. When requesting a rise in 1886, he made it quite clear that he was aware of the pay scales for chiefs throughout the colony and thought he should be entitled to more than he was currently earning, on the grounds that he was a chief 'of higher standing' than certain others on his notch.[12] This suggests that chiefs were keenly aware of how officials viewed them, as well as constantly comparing their status. Mqhawe's salary, then, confirmed his seniority rather than his subservience. Once again, chiefs were evolving their own concepts of rank out of the material which officialdom unwittingly, as well as wittingly, supplied.

Chiefs and their own functionaries kept as close a watch on government policy towards Africans as officials were keeping on them. A location supervisor, Thomas Fayle, was appointed to Inanda in 1889, to report on life in the location;[13] as he travelled about with his ubiquitous notebook, he was largely unaware that he was as much a source of information to chiefs as to the SNA, for whose information he filed a weekly diary.[14] Mqhawe occasionally asked Fayle to deliberate in minor disputes which the chief would normally have seen to himself. This was not so much a sign of weakness or dependence on Mqhawe's part, as a method of incorporating Fayle as his functionary, of

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[11] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 125. Berman makes a similar point in connection with the salaries paid to chiefs in Kenya: although the variations in rates were much wider there, even the highest, he notes, 'would still have been inadequate for a chief to meet the demands of maintaining his own household and network of followers.' *Control and crisis in colonial Kenya*, p 249 fn 36, also p 212

[12] Inanda magistrate, 26 February 1886, 1/VLM 3/2/4

[13] List of duties of supervisor, 29 August 1889, and appointment of supervisor of Inanda location, 21 January 1889, SNA 1/1/114 (452/1889)

[14] Fayle was one of only four supervisors of locations appointed in the late 1880s. In 1893, he was transferred to Zwartkop location. By then, he was the only remaining supervisor; he was not

asserting a 'proper' political hierarchy in his part of the location, in the same way that he was to do with the missionaries.

Always defensive of arrangements which they felt suited their interests, Mqhawe and certain other chiefs complained vociferously when they heard that an Administrator of Native Law (ANL) was to be appointed to the location in 1890. They were resentful of being shunted away from the local seat of power at Verulam, since they were fully aware that the ANL was subordinate to a magistrate. Again, provision had been made in 1875 for the codification of customary law; when the first proper Code was enacted in the early 1890s,[15] Mqhawe's senior counsellors and *izinduna* showed themselves to be acquainted with all its clauses even before it took effect.[16] The Qadi chief was often more familiar with regulations than the Secretary (Minister from 1893) for Native Affairs himself: when in 1905 the Minister, H D Winter, flatly denied Mqhawe's exasperated claim that for years chiefs had had to make a written deposition to a magistrate before they were permitted to make an appointment with SNA, his under-secretary Samuelson was obliged to take Winter aside to inform him that Mqhawe was correct.[17]

This example also suggests that chiefs felt that greater bureaucratisation led to an unfortunate distancing from government, contrary to the personal nature of communication they had previously enjoyed. Yet chiefs did not merely protest: they made use of the expanding bureaucracy to entrench their positions and enhance their prestige. Closer delimitation of magisterial districts meant that dispersed chiefdoms had to relate to ever more magistrates or Administrators of Native Law (ANLs); by the 1900s, for instance, the Qadi were spread over seven

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replaced in Inanda. His diaries are a rich source of information and detail about social relationships and practices among the chiefdoms of Inanda.

[15] A very unsatisfactory and sketchy Code was enacted in 1878, but was so brief that it could hardly be said to encapsulate the tenets of customary law. See Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 166

[16] Fayle's diary, 29 August 1891, SNA 1/1/146 (1006/1891)

[17] Samuelson, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-1907*, p 484

magisterial districts.[18] This in turn provided chiefs with ample possibilities to place individuals in official positions, so as to advance the material and political standing of trusted lieutenants. Each 'tribe', or section of it if located away from the main body, had to have two official witnesses (more if size warranted) to preside over marriage ceremonies. Likewise, larger and/or scattered chiefdoms increasingly required district headmen to exercise authority on the chief's behalf. Colonial administrators would have preferred discreet 'tribes' which fitted neatly inside magisterial boundaries, but accepted existing arrangements as a necessary inconvenience.

Chiefs frequently applied to local magistrates for the appointment of new *izinduna*, much to the irritation of those who could not see the point of more chiefly functionaries. In essence, such appointments had become part of a chiefly reward system, since *izinduna* could ask a higher number of cattle for their daughters than the commoners' stipulated ten head. Mqhawe, heading a chiefdom that was both large and scattered, employed this form of advancement wherever the opportunity arose. For example, he requested that his brother Bambai be appointed an official witness specifically for the purpose of asking fifteen head for his daughter[19] and that Mrabula, a junior *induna*, be appointed district headman over the Qadi around the source of the Umzinyathi for the same purpose.[20] He wanted Dulinike Zibaya to be an extra official witness among the Maphumulo Qadi, where Tulumana was district headman and Ntshingwayo already an official witness. On this occasion (one of the only such), Mqhawe failed to secure the appointment.[21] Higher up the scale, he applied for both Tulumana and his brother Sicoco, in charge of Incwadi, to be accorded the

[18] The Umzinyathi valley by then was in the Ndwedwe district (which entirely consisted of the location) and the Qadi farm was in the Impendhle district. Others were in the Inanda (mostly on private land), Camperdown (those who had moved with Madlukana), Maphumulo, Lower Tugela (between the Mona and Tongati streams) and New Hanover (at the source of the Umzinyathi) districts. The new magisterial districts were delimited in 1894

[19] ANL to Inanda magistrate, 11 February 1891, 1/NWE Add 1/3. Brothers of chiefs were supposedly allowed to get fifteen head anyway; it is unclear why Mqhawe felt this extra step necessary.

[20] ANL to Inanda magistrate, 4 March 1892, 1/NWE 145/1892

[21] SNA 1/1/209 (1282/1895)

status of full chiefs so that they could get twenty head for their daughters.[22] No wonder that colonial Natal became, as Vilakazi called it, 'a land of *izinduna*'.[23] It was made so by politic chiefs as much as by pragmatic officials.

There was of course a danger to chiefs that *izinduna* on their way up the ladder of rank might hive off to become chiefs themselves; while this could well have been occurring in chiefdoms where leaders lacked legitimacy, it does not seem to have been so in the Qadi chiefdom (with the possible exception of Macekeni, discussed below). Instead, there was more benefit to be gained by retaining affiliation to a highly esteemed parent body: the sense of identity among the elite was strong, as would be revealed in the months succeeding Mqhawe's death in 1906 (see chapter 9).

Until the end of the 1880s, the Qadi continued to have reasonably adequate material resources. Though population density was actually greater on the mission reserve than in the location - approximately six acres per person in the reserve as against 10.2 in the location in the mid-1890s[24] - the land there was better able to cope with the strain. By 1890, just over eight hundred ploughs were in use in the Inanda location, the majority of which were used in the Qadi area,[25] and through the 1880s, harvests of maize, sorghum and vegetables were good. The Qadi were singularly fortunate in their proximity to the Inanda mission station, for the road which ran from it to the nearest rail head at Duff's Road, 'safe and quite passable for all vehicles', was the only one serving Africans in the entire location.[26] Even then, the part which dipped down into the Umzinyathi valley was in a state of disrepair; the further up the valley that people were located, the more difficult it was to reach markets.[27] This road was finally repaired only in 1890, to enable easier access for the new Administrator of

[22] On Tulumana, see SNA 1/1/209 (5444/1985); on Sicoco SNA 1/1/180 (41/1894). Both were appointed chiefs under Section 4 of Act 13, 1894
[23] Vilakazi, 'A reserve from within' in *African Studies* 16, 1956, p 94
[24] Compiled from *Blue Books on Native Affairs*, 1894 and 1895.
[25] Magistrate's annual report 1890, SNA 1/1/129 (868/1890)
[26] Report of road inspector to Colonial Engineer, 4 June 1889, SNA 1/1/113 (1002/1889)

Native Law, based at Tafamasi (one of the reasons why some smaller chiefdoms in the location tolerated his arrival).

Because hut tax could on the whole be met from sale of cereal surpluses, young men could remain at their fathers' homesteads instead of being sent out to work for cash. In most years, the Qadi were prompt and reportedly 'cheerful' in their hut tax payments, although also constantly enquired when the government intended giving them respite. Proceeds from the harvest were also used to buy cattle: 'no sale takes place unless for cattle', reported Fayle.[28]

Despite relative agrarian security, at least up until the mid-1890s, however, there were several developments that chiefs did not like: as Mqhawe put it in his opening statement to the 1881 Native Affairs Commission, 'We do not dwell in peace in this land'.[29] While there continued to be opportunities to manipulate colonial policy to their needs, chiefs also realised that the various rising challenges to their authority from within were the backwash of that same policy. All over the location and mission reserve, there was overcrowding, with 'kraals and gardens every few hundred yards',[30] caused by natural increase as well as by the advent of newcomers who had been displaced from private lands (discussed in chapter 8). People were no longer allowed to hunt freely for game (although those who continued to keep dogs for the purpose still had to pay dog tax, another source of deep-seated bitterness), nor could they easily collect building wood, for which there was now a charge.

In Inanda alone by the 1890s, Mqhawe presided over approximately five hundred homesteads, or 1449 huts housing about five thousand people. The Qadi constituted one quarter of the population of the Inanda location; the next largest chiefdom was the Nyuswa under Deliweyo (about 3,500 people) and the

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[27] Report of Inanda magistrate, 30 May 1889, SNA 1/1/115 (574/1889)
[28] Fayle's diary, 14 December 1889, SNA 1/1/121 (1382/1889). See also Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 187
[29] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 220

Tshangase, with just over two thousand.[31] Well over half the Qadi homesteads were now in the location, rather than on the mission reserve.[32] Nearly half of the Qadi - another 1433 huts, or roughly five hundred homesteads - were scattered over the Qadi farm (367 huts), Maphumulo (457 huts), Umgeni (256 huts), Lower Tugela (98) and private farms in Inanda (255).[33]

One sign of pressure was in the composition of homesteads, which according to contemporary observers, consisted of far fewer huts than had been the case forty or fifty years before. A sample survey carried out in 1891 revealed the following information on the Qadi:

[30] Report of Inanda magistrate, 30 May 1889, SNA 1/1/115 (574/1889)
[31] Inanda magistrate's annual report, 1889-1890, SNA 1/1/129 (868/1890)
[32] Report on hut tax collection, 1896, SNA 1/1/223 (930/1896)
[33] Extract from *Blue Book on Native Affairs* 1897, in SNA 1/1/246 (1036/1897)

6 Qadi homestead size and composition, 1891

Homestead head	No of huts	Total no of people	Composition of people
Goqiya	2	7	
Mbonjeni	2	13	
Mamvokwe	6	18	
Tumbela	4	15	
Ncwabana	6	29	
Zinyo	10	29	
Zimema	6	19	
Nozibindi	3	11	1: m, f, 4c 2: m, f, 1c 3: w, h
Gojo	1	3	1: m, f, 1c
Mgodi	2	8	1: m, f, 2c 2: m, 3c
Bangambi	1	5	1: m, f, 3c
Naqayingana	4	13	1: m, 3 c 2:m, 3c 4: m, 2c 4: m, 1c
Mbulwana	2	8	1: m, 4c 2: 3c

Note: No breakdown was given for the first seven homesteads; for the rest, m = mother, f = father, c = child/ren, w = wife, h = husband

Source: Extracted from survey by ANL Tafamasi and Inanda Magistrate, SNA 1/1/144 (858/1891)

It is difficult to draw conclusions from this limited information, which is probably not as accurate as enumerators would have liked, due to the intense suspicion with which the exercise was received. However, the marked tendency to smaller numbers of huts, even in homesteads that were clearly not new, indicated a low occurrence of polygyny and would support the findings of others that 'increasing pressures on rural society have led to...a fall in the size of settlement groups'.[34]

[34] Marks and Rathbone, 'The history of the family in Africa: introduction' In *Journal of African History* 24, 1983, p 158

As Preston-Whyte and Sibisi have also shown, the topography of the location had itself necessitated demographic adaptations.[35]

Mqhawe knew that Qadi land would sooner or later be exhausted by people and animals; to retain respect he would have to continue efforts to acquire more, as he had done with Incwadi. Through the 1880s, his belief grew that the solution to land pressure was to remove the entire chiefdom back to Zululand. Perhaps he had other reasons too, for he told the Inanda magistrate that 'he and his people really belong to the Zulu country and his father died there fighting'.[36] He sent a deputation of senior *izinduna* in 1886, to request land in the Nkandhla district, but the Resident Commissioner, Melmoth Osborn, told them there was no room for them.[37]

The following year, Mqhawe himself embarked upon the same mission; he told the SNA on his return that the land he wanted had been taken by John Dunn.[38] He did not give up, but another journey north in late 1890 was just as fruitless. On this occasion, he reportedly told Malimate (Osborn), 'I have never disobeyed the government in any way; I have always tried to do my duty to the best of my ability. And tomorrow if I were called upon to put down a rebellion in any part, I would not be the last in the field.'[39] His declaration of loyalty fell on deaf ears; although he simmered with resentment thereafter, he never gave up hope of moving back to Zululand.[40]

As much a sign of his displeasure as of agricultural conditions, Mqhawe complained to the government that there was famine among his people in the 'hungry months' of 1890-1. There was indeed a partial maize crop failure,

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[35] See Preston-Whyte and Sibisi, 'Ethnographic oddity or ecological sense?'
[36] Mqhawe's conversation with Inanda magistrate, SNA 17 December 1890, SNA 1/1/131 (1138/1890)
[37] Osborn to SNA, 20 November 1890, SNA 1/1/131 (1138/1890)
[38] Memo from SNA, 1 October 1890, SNA 1/1/131 (1138/1890)
[39] Fayle's diary, 21 February, 1891, SNA 1/1/138 (233/1891)
[40] Fayle's diary, 7 May 1892, SNA 1/1/156 (502/1892)

affecting homesteads down near the Umgeni. Even there, however, a few homesteads, such as Nondhlilewana's and Nongena's, still had healthy fields of maize, and most had some sorghum and sweet potatoes.[41] The Qadi response to the maize shortfall was to plant less of it and more sorghum in the following season; their 'hungry months' until that crop ripened in March 1891 were particularly hungry; there were reports of food scarcity by January.[42] The magistrate hoped that these shortages would see more Qadi men going out to earn wages, although by the following year the crops had all recovered to their normally expected levels.[43]

There were other signs of stress. Mqhawe's brother Macekeni was also his principal *induna*, and as such had his own court to try cases on the chief's behalf, as was the situation throughout the colony. In the early 1890s, he attempted to mount a challenge to Mqhawe's position. Perhaps he was exploiting the distinction between location and mission reserve; certainly the Qadi in the location were facing more acute pressures than their reserve counterparts (discussed below), and he was based at the KwaZini homestead, situated in the location.[44] Fayle reported that he 'is much liked by the natives in the neighbourhood of his kraal, who one and all address him as *Inkosi*, or *Umntwana wenkosi* (Chief or Child of the chief)'.[45]

Perhaps there was also an element of competition for control of regiments: groups of young men from KwaZini and Ekumanazeni had on several occasions in the previous months nearly come to blows.[46] One Umtshima caught with a gun for which he had no licence claimed Macekeni had given it to him.[47]

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41 Report by Inanda magistrate, 12 March 1890, SNA 1/1/123 (322/1890)
42 Fayle's diary, 17 January 1891, SNA 1/1/137 (94/1891)
43 Fayle's diary, 5 March 1892, SNA 1/1/153 271/1892)
44 Fayle's diary, 19 March 1892, SNA 1/1/154 (328/1892)
45 Fayle's diary, 21 March 1891, SNA 1/1/139 (340/1891)
46 Fayle's diary, 21 February 1891, SNA 1/1/138 (233/1891)
47 ANL to Inanda magistrate, 8 December 1890, SNA 1/1/134 (1478/1890). Mqhawe would have been very sensitive to such an occurrence, having been refused permission himself to carry a gun in 1881. In all, there were forty two guns were in Qadi possession. They were confiscated on the death of the owner

Mqhawe, determined to nip a potential revolt in the bud, called a 'tribal gathering' to discuss the matter. He told the assembly, 'The government know Umqhawe only as chief of the Amaqadi, and I am young enough yet to keep my position, and intend doing so'.[48] Events were soon to overtake the dispute between them and secure Mqhawe's position.

Another division pressing on Mqhawe's attention was a growing one between young and old. As Mqhawe became older - by the time of the Anglo-Zulu war, he was in his fifties - he had to confront the fact that younger people were facing problems which his own generation did not necessarily feel or perceive in the same manner, were dealing with the world in ways which were often at odds with his approach, and had ways of bypassing his authority, by removing to farms, towns, or missionaries, or appealing to alternative authorities. As Lonsdale has observed, 'growing bitterness between the generations was one of the most fundamental consequences of alien rule, as the access of the young to wages and education made futile the wisdom of the old.'[49]

There had been a small manifestation of youthful protest during the war, when it was evident that Mqhawe's willingness to fight was not as strongly felt by some in the lower echelons of Qadi society. In April and May 1879, 34 Qadi men had deserted; the commandant of the 5th Battalion noted in an exasperated tone that 'desertion is so frequent that strong measures are become necessary to stop it', but did not specify what these measures were.[50] In the same way that the children of the first Christian converts had failed to inherit the zeal of their parents, these foot soldiers did not harbour the same hostility to the Zulu king as their parents felt. Younger men who had mostly been born in the colony enjoyed comparative peace and stability, and had most probably volunteered more out of loyalty to their chief than out of enthusiasm to engage an old enemy. After all,

[48] Fayle's diary, 21 February 1891, SNA 1/1/138 (233/1891)
[49] Lonsdale J 'The politics of conquest in Western Kenya 1894-1908' in Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy valley*, p 56
[50] Memo from Commandant Nettleton, 14 June, 1879, 1/VLM 3/2/1

the great majority stayed at their posts and fought; there was a general difficulty, however, in persuading them not to carry their assegais about when the war came to an end.[51] The generational chinks, though perceptible, were not then too serious.[52]

They would grow, though. Mqhawe, who steadfastly held to the belief that 'the strength of the son is the property of father'[53] considered the attitude of some young adults, both men and women, to be defiant. While still not frequent, there were now certainly more instances of younger men challenging Mqhawe's judicial authority by taking cases on appeal, as Dumakude and Matimisi did in 1891, in a case itself reflecting generational tensions. Mqhawe had seized an ox from one and a heifer from the other as fines for defaming Matimisi's father, Madhlingwana. This had seemed too severe a punishment to them; unfortunately for them, however, their appeal was dismissed on a technicality.[54] More Qadi were engaging lawyers to defend them, a practice Mqhawe disliked intensely: 'It is a strange thing to see a man stand up and talk about a case in which he is not interested'.[55]

Younger women, too, were exhibiting signs of independence: the Inanda magistrate was filled with disbelief when in 1885, a Qadi woman named Majwabala brought an action on behalf of herself for damages against her husband and his kin.[56] Such a trend had clear implications, as far as Mqhawe

[51] Memo from SNA to magistrates, 6 January 1880, SNA 1/1/71 (2008/1879)
[52] Some recent and current research into Natal colonial history focuses on generational divides: see for example Atkins's work and the research in progress of Benedict Carton. This can reveal all sorts of tensions and dynamics, as long as seniority of *rank* is distinguished from seniority of *age*: chiefs, for example, are often assumed to be elderly, as are 'elders'. While most Natal chiefs did manage to rule to good ages, it is also true that many became chiefs while quite young. Their own place in the 'developmental cycle' had an impact on how they related to different interests/sections within the chiefdom
[53] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 226
[54] Dumakude and Matimisi vs Mqhawe, 11 March 1891, 1/NWE Add 1/4 70/1891
[55] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 221. The first instance that could be traced of a Qadi man hiring legal assistance was in 1877. Certain legal practices opening in the Verulam at this time, such as J J Hugman and Campbell and Dumat, were probably heavily dependent on an African clientele for their survival
[56] SNA 1/1/80 (91/1885)

was concerned: he complained that 'formerly we could marry our daughters where we liked, but now all has gone wrong...[our daughters] say "Rather than marry a man I do not like, I will go and wander"'.[57] He recognised that women now had options previously unavailable to them, such as the missionaries' willingness to offer protection to the 'victims' (as they saw them) of polygyny and 'brideprice'.

Again, it was young men who bore the brunt of *isibhalo* labour - older men flatly refused to go on the grounds that they received no more pay or rations than mere *izinsizwa*, youths. Calls for *isibhalo* intensified as Natal transformed itself into an service colony, in order to met the needs of industrial development to the interior. *Isibhalo* had been unpopular ever since its introduction in 1848 but in earlier times, it was not usual to order *isibhalo* labour from a chiefdom which already had men out on government projects; this helped to reduce the burden both on men and their chiefs. Also, labourers were generally employed close to their home areas, on road or harbour work. Now they had to go much further afield, mostly upcountry - a source of great bitterness. Moreover, if they felt pressure to sell labour power, men preferred employment which paid more than the miserly government rates, which had actually decreased in net terms to about a third of the local market wage and a twelfth that on the goldfields by 1889.[58]

In the 1850s and 1860s, Mqhawe had tried to minimise the burden on young kinsmen by sending out refugees who had attached themselves to Qadi homesteads. There were never enough of these to fulfil all the chiefdom's obligations, however, and the chief continually complained both of the difficulty of meeting the annual quota - as head of the largest chiefdom in the district, he was responsible for almost quarter of it - and of the lack of reward from the

[57] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 221
[58] SNA's calculation, Memo 13 August 1889, SNA 1/1/117 (846/1889). See also Memo on reduction of wages, 2 June 1886, SNA 1/1/109 (418/1886)

government in carrying out this odious task. This was one responsibility, it seems, which could not be turned to any advantage.

Even the magistrate at Verulam recognised how much the issue upset relations within polities. On one occasion in 1892, he received a requisition for fourteen men. He objected. The SNA commanded him to comply, but he refused to do so. The requisition was cancelled on the grounds that the SNA had recently undertaken 'not to call for any more men for some time'.[59] The pressure, however, was unrelenting: in 1895, the magisterial area of Ndwedwe supplied 315 men, the highest number of *isibhalo* workers of any district in the colony, although it did not top the table of numbers for which it was *liable* to supply.[60]

Finally, both young men and women - those ready to set up homesteads of their own - were the ones to feel the land squeeze most acutely. Commoners were, from the 1880s, frequently having to lay out gardens in disputed territory, which resulted in friction between neighbours of different chiefdoms. This was an obvious distinction between location and mission reserve: the latter was occupied almost exclusively by the Qadi, and it was thus insulated from the heat of ethnic tension which flared up when land disputes translated into rivalry between chiefdoms in the location. But there were Qadi in the location too, and they were to clash seriously with both their immediate neighbours, the Pepeta and the Tshangase: the most physically contested soil in the location proved also to be the most ideationally fertile in the creation of ethnic identity. Ironically, even though chiefs were largely helpless in the face of their followers' distress over land, this was one of the most significant shapers of identity - and thus also of the entrenchment of chiefly authority - from below.

[59] Correspondence between SNA and Inanda magistrate, SNA 1/1/157 (667/1892)
[60] Statistics to June 1895, SNA 1/1/206 (4211/1895)

7 Chiefs of the Inanda Location, 1890s
L to R front row, Sotobe, Mbozane, Mqhawe, Ncapai,
Deliweyo, Swaimana (Campbell Collections)

The two 'faction fights' discussed below show that the immeditate setting of conflict involved the young at ceremonies most closely associated with their own rite of passage to full adult status, *ukwomulisa* (engagement) and marriage feasts. That is why Fayle's principal responsibility as location supervisor was to attend such ceremonies and to note any contraventions of regulations, such as carrying knobsticks, and to prevent onlookers from participating in the *giya* dancing. The potential for trouble was strongest at gatherings involving large numbers of people from two different chiefdoms, especially if these were involved in some dispute.

Marriage feasts did not always implicate two chiefdoms - Fayle attended many ceremonies in which both the *ukhetho* (groom's) and *udwendwe* (bride's) parties were Qadi. Mqhawe himself took a Qadi bride; the daughter of his brother

Bambai married a Qadi man from Incwadi.[61] These examples do not necessarily contradict the anthropological literature which holds that Nguni peoples were exogamous,[62] since the 'chiefdom' was a political, not a kinship, unit. However, it is worth noting that marriages involving people from the same chiefdom contained a slightly different potential for identity, particularly from womens' point of view. Most women did not grow old in the polity into which they were born, and to some extent this affected the way they related to their husbands' chief; women born as well as marrying within a single chiefdom may have felt a greater sense of continuity, and therefore depth, in their political identifications.

Inter-chiefdom rivalry in the location first spilled into open conflict in the mid-1880s.[63] At a wedding feast in late 1885, the Pepeta party set upon the more numerous Qadi guests, and routed them. Although they were fined more heavily in the subsequent trial (£5 each, compared to the £1 each imposed on the Qadi participants), the Pepeta were very boastful that 'an important tribe had been worsted in fight by a petty tribe'.[64] In response, the smarting Qadi dug and planted new gardens on lands the Pepeta had previously used for grazing. The Pepeta chief Kamanga immediately protested to the magistrate and hired a firm of solicitors to defend his interests.

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[61] Fayle's diaries for 7 November 1891, SNA 1/1/148 (1274/1891), and 1 May 1892, SNA 1/1/156 (502/1892)

[62] A problem only arises, in fact, when the term 'tribe' is used to denote a kin group, such as a lineage or clan, rather than a political entity, as has been the case in much literature in the past. See for example Krige, *The social system of the Zulu*, and Fuze, *The black people*

[63] As recently as 1987, some scholarly work was still suggesting that 'faction fights' were manifestations of the 'natural' tendency to fission in African society: see Argyle, 'Explaining faction fights'. Another recent work suggests that while pressure on resources did play a part, grudges and revenge were more to blame for ongoing struggles: see Minnaar A deV *Conflict and violence in Natal/KwaZulu: historical perspectives* (Pretoria, 1991). While this might be the case in more recent times, it does not adequately capture the 'pattern' of such conflicts in colonial times. A more sensitive analysis can be found in Clegg, '*Ukubuyisa isidumbu*, "bringing back the body": an examination of the ideology of vengeance in the Msinga ad Mpofana rural locations, 1882-1944' in Bonner P (Ed) *Working papers in southern African studies* vol 2 (Johannesburg, 1981); while Lambert links faction fights to dwindling land resources (*Betrayed trust*, pp 128-131), this is an area still in need of attention

[64] W G Campbell to SNA, SNA 1/1/88 (801/1885)

Hiring lawyers in such cases was a comparatively new phenomenon. Yet weaker chiefdoms lacking the network of connections - to markets, missionaries, white farmers and so on - which stronger ones such as the Qadi were able to cultivate, had little other option. For their part, officials were wary of what they considered to be unnecessary meddling in relations between Africans and the government; yet lawyers did ensure that issues were promptly dealt with, and their clients had at least a fair chance of a satisfactory outcome.

In this instance, the Pepeta's lawyers pressed for the removal of the offending Qadi gardens, and the marking out of a boundary line between the chiefdoms - something Mqhawe favoured in principle, though disagreed on where it should be drawn in practice. The SNA did not yet like the idea of fixed boundaries inside the locations, believing they caused more difficulties than they solved.[65] Nevertheless, accepting the lawyers' pleas that the matter was extremely urgent, he reluctantly agreed. To Mqhawe's chagrin, the SNA ordered the Qadi gardens back to the east of a new boundary line. That, however, was not the end of it. The SNA had mistakenly drawn the line through a portion of the the mission reserve, which he had no right to do, as the resident missionary was quick to point out. Though Mqhawe finally had to abandon the gardens, the boundary had to be redrawn so as to prevent Kamanga encroachment on the reserve.[66] And the Qadi continued to harass the Pepeta; on two occasions in late 1888, Qadi regiments, led by some of Mqhawe's sons on horseback, threatened Pepeta dancing parties.[67]

Compounding the land dispute was the prevalence of leprosy, called *uzoko* by Africans, among the Pepeta. First reported in the late 1870s, the Pepeta themselves were very secretive about it, fearing that all who contracted the disease would be isolated on Salisbury Island in the Durban bay.[68] Scientists at

[65] SNA's memo, 19 August 1885, SNA 1/1/88 (521/1885)
[66] All correspondence in SNA 1/1/88 (801/1885)
[67] Statements by Kamanga and Mqhawe, 9 October 1888, SNA 1/1/109 (892/1888)
[68] Fayle's diary, 23 March 1889, SNA 1/1/113 (319/1889)

the time believed that leprosy was infectious and incurable;[69] accordingly, the method of treating it at the Cape, as in Europe, was by means of confinement.[70] Evidently, officials in Natal had intimated that they would follow a similar course. When Fayle investigated reports of fresh cases of leprosy in early 1889, he could not help noticing also the widespread privation in that part of the location: poor crops, untidy homesteads, demoralised people: 'this is the poorest I have seen yet', he commented.[71] Though it is a complex one, both Iliffe and Deacon have suggested a link between poverty and the incidence of leprosy.[72]

Rumours about the communicability of leprosy have always been rife, as there still remains uncertainty about how it is spread. 'We are not afraid of it because we have been told only this tribe [i.e. Pepeta] can have it', said one African witness to the 1881 Native Affairs Commission. Mqhawe was evidently less certain; one of the reasons he had wanted a boundary line even before the fight was to confine leprosy to the other side of it.[73] Unfortunately, imaginary lines on maps could not contain the spread of this disfiguring disease, even though it was not highly contagious; by mid-1892, there were outbreaks in Qadi homesteads bordering Kamanga's people.[74]

Many of the themes and tensions outlined in this chapter crystallised in the biggest faction fight yet witnessed in the Inanda location, between the Qadi and Tshangase. Apart from all the anxiety lately surfacing in the Qadi domain, developments within the Tshangase polity also made people feel unsettled. In late 1890, the principal *induna*, Nozitshadu, died.[75] Though Rodoba would have

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69 Iliffe J *The African poor. A history*, p 216

70 Deacon H 'A history of the medical institutions on Robben Island, Cape Colony, 1846-1910' PhD Thesis, Cambridge, 1994), p 205. I am grateful to Jennifer Maddock for arranging for me to see this reference

71 Fayle's diary, 23 March 1889, SNA 1/1/113 (319/1889)

72 Iliffe J *The African poor*, p 215; Deacon, 'A history of the medical institutions', p 208. Deacon not only traces the history of treatment on Robben Island, but also examines the social metaphor of leprosy in the colonial setting of the Cape

73 SNA's memo, 19 August 1885, SNA 1/1/88 (521/1885)

74 Information provided by Madikane Cele, Fayle's diary, 11 June 1892, SNA 1/1/157 (636/1892)

75 Inanda magistrate, 10 December 1890, SNA 1/1/134 (1478/1890)

liked to feel more assured in his position as chief, he was young and acting as regent only, (his government pay, like Kamanga's, was £10[76]) and his position was in fact far from secure. In addition, Mamzungulu, the mother of the rightful heir, was doing all she could to keep matters that way.[77] Rodoba had relied heavily on Nozitshadu, who had been a much-respected elder, largely responsible for the coherence of the chiefdom. Now Rodoba was struggling to assert his authority.

In late March 1891, just after the gathering of the harvest, the time of year when beer flowed most plentifully and marriage feasts were celebrated, a wedding was planned for one of Mqhawe's nieces, who was marrying at the homestead of the Tshangase *induna,* Nkwenkwezi, near the Mpofu stream. There were Qadi and Tshangase homesteads in this vicinity.[78] Being such a close relative of the chief's, the bride's party was very large, over five hundred strong. Several of Mqhawe's brothers, sons and senior *izinduna* were in attendance, all in the charge of Macekeni. Although Fayle noted that in the preceding months there had been 'ill-feeling' between the Qadi and Tshangase, he did not think there would be any trouble at the marriage.[79]

He changed his mind on the day. Vainly trying to keep proceedings under control, he was certain that both the Qadi and Tshangase had come prepared for a showdown: the Qadi men were well armed and formed into regiments, and the Tshangase had invited about fifty Pepeta men, who had no part in the ceremony. In the two parties were a number lately returned from working in Durban or on the mines.[80] Macekeni would not respond to Fayle's request that the Qadi onlookers leave for home before the *ukhetho* party began its part of the dancing. Instead, the Qadi began to *giya* themselves, contrary to the regime Fayle had

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[76] *Blue Book on Native Affairs*, 1897
[77] See attorney's remarks on case of Mamzungulu v Rodoba, 11 December 1889, SNA 1/1/121 (1339/1889)
[78] J Todd to SNA, 24 April 1891, SNA 1/1/140 (416/1891)
[79] Fayle's diary, 14 March 1891, SNA 1/1/139 (314/1891)
[80] Fayle's diary, 14 March 1891, SNA 1/1/139 (314/1891); 4 April 1891, SNA 1/1/140 (394/1891)

imposed on such ceremonies since his appointment. They then set upon the Tshangase dancers, three of whom died of their wounds. There were several serious injuries on both sides.[81] The marriage was called off: 'I get my daughter and Nkwenkwezi will get his cattle', said Mqhawe afterwards.[82] But Nkwenkenzi had to bring a civil action against Mqhawe for the return of fifteen head (he had handed over twenty, but was legally entitled to reclaim only fifteen) before the matter was sorted out.[83]

The atmosphere in the weeks following was extremely tense. As rumours of planned fresh attacks on both sides flew about, women and children spent many nights in the bushes. The Qadi were generally very subdued; there was little merriment at marriage feasts, and a general sense of nervousness about the court case, set for June, hung over the chiefdom. Mqhawe's role in the whole affair remained myterious: he claimed not to know anything, blaming Macekeni, yet he ordered out his regiments 'in defence' in the nights after the fight.[84] Since they had not been the aggressors, the Tshangase were more confident: the men were being doctored in May (whether in preparation for revenge or to hasten the healing process no-one would say [85]) and 'the Amatshangase occasionally shout out to the Amaqadi from Tshangase location, "lozi lube lunye", "it will be one", as much as to say, "it will be our turn next".'[86]

Altogether, 355 accused were committed for trial in June, over half of whom were Qadi. After four days of deliberation, the judge found Macekeni primarily responsible for the fight, and sentenced him to eighteen months' hard labour in

[81] Fayle's diary, 1 April 1891, in Native High Court, Verulam Session, II/7/14, Riots and Homicides 1891.
[82] Fayle's diary, 18 July 1891, SNA 1/1/143 (819/1891)
[83] Inanda magistrate, 2 April 1891, SNA 1/1/261 (363/1891). This case also suggests that Mqhawe was manipulating the regulations by 'adopting' his young relative - whom he referred to as his 'daughter' - in terms of the practice of *ukwethula*. This meant that the girl could be married (presumably on his brother's behalf) for twenty cattle. He did this again in 1894. Officials objected to his behaviour but did not seem to be able to find a way of stopping him. See correspondence, SNA 1/1/261 (363/1891) and SNA 1/1/261 (2336/1897)
[84] ANL Tafamasi, 21 May 1891, SNA 1/1/141 (515/1891)
[85] Fayle's diary, 9 May 1891, SNA 141 (515/1891)

Durban gaol. Fines of £20 or £30 (alternatively periods of nine or twelve months' imprisonment) were imposed on thirteen other members of the Qadi elite who had been at the fight. The rest were fined £10 each or six months in gaol. All the Tshangase accused were acquitted.[87] The Qadi, clearly expecting heavy fines, had come prepared and paid the total amount of £2,190 promptly.[88] Several chiefs had come to watch the trial; they thought that Mqhawe and the Qadi had been humiliated, and lesser chiefs in the location considered this a good thing.[89] The incident prompted many chiefs, including Mqhawe, to request definite boundaries to be drawn between chiefdoms in the location.

Though in some ways the fight had seemed as much a denouement between Mqhawe and Macekeni as a climax to Qadi-Tshangase discord (which smouldered on, but did not flare again into physical attack), Mqhawe did all he could to get Macekeni's sentence commuted to a fine. However, in November 1891, Macekeni died in gaol, according to the prison surgeon of 'fatted degeneration of the heart'.[90] Mqhawe did not believe this at all, and accused one Magnana, who had been brought up by Macekeni's mother, of witchcraft.[91] He felt his brother's death very keenly and ordered all ploughing and planting in Maqadini to stop.[92] There was probably a hint of mockery in his 'earnest message of sympathy' to Queen Victoria on the loss of her grandson the following January, although no officials noticed it.[93]

While he still claimed loyalty to the government, Mqhawe's relations with it alternated between scratchy and hostile after the fight. Over the next few years, he brushed with authority many times, although to a large extent he became

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[86] Fayle's diary, 18 April 1891, SNA 1/1/140 (443/1891)
[87] Native High Court, Verulam Session, II/7/14, Riots and Homicides 1891.
[88] *Natal Almanac, Directory and Yearly Register* 1892, p 137
[89] Fayle's diary, 20 June, 1891, SNA 1/1/142 (676/1891)
[90] ANL Tafamasi to Inanda magistrate, 11 December 1891, SNA 1/1/150 (1414/1891)
[91] Case between Bambai and Magnana, ANL's court, Tafamasi, 7 December 1892, SNA 1/1/150 (1414/1891)
[92] Fayle's diary, 28 November 1891, SNA 1/1/149 (1350/1891)
[93] Mqhawe's message to Queen Victoria, relayed through ANL Tafamasi, 1 February 1892, SNA 1/1/152 (140/1892)

preoccupied with the machinations not of officials but of missionaries, concerning developments on the mission reserve in the first half of the 1890s (see chapter 6). Yet two disasters which threatened to undermine the Qadi, the locust plague of 1896 and the rinderpest pandemic, which Africans called *ibhememe* or *ukotula*, must have seemed like ordeals sent by officialdom to test him.[94]

Locusts struck in early 1896, just before harvest. Ndwedwe and Impendhle, the two magisterial districts in which the majority of Qadi lived, were among the areas worst affected by locusts, where there was a sixty to eighty per cent crop loss.[95] Within the location, the Qadi between the Mona and Tongati rivers had their crops totally destroyed; the locusts were not quite as bad further south.[96] To avert famine, people began planting sweet potatoes (which were impervious to locusts) but as these would not ripen until late in the year, many men had to find employment to earn hut taxes and buy food: much American grain had been imported into Inanda, which could be obtained for 18/6 a sack.[97]

Then came rinderpest. The Qadi had periodically suffered cattle losses due to lungsickness and lice in the past;[98] all such diseases were extremely difficult to control, due to crowding in African areas. But none was as devastating as rinderpest. The first Qadi area to be reached was Incwadi, where herds were decimated.[99] It arrived in the Inanda location in August 1897. Fayle (who had returned as inoculation supervisor) reported that Africans showed no inclination

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[94] Although no direct evidence could be found from Inanda, many Afican communities in southern Africa did believe the rinderpest was sent by whites: see van Onselen, 'Reactions to rinderpest in southern Africa, 1896-1897' in *Journal of African History* 13, 1972

[95] Ballard C '"A year of scarcity": the 1896 locust plague in Natal and Zululand' in *The South African Historical Journal,* 15, 1983, p 39

[96] Report by Ndwedwe magistrate, February 1896, SNA 1/1/215 (1559/1896)

[97] Ndwedwe magistrate, 13 October 1896, SNA 1/1/231 (1800/1896)

[98] Lungsickness seems to have been endemic in the location: see Fayle's diary, 26 October 1889, SNA 1/1/120 (1157/1889). The Incwadi herd was infected, too: Fayle's diary, 6 August 1892, SNA 1/1/159 (894/1892). Lice were responsible for cattle loss in the winter months of 1891: Fayle's diary, 1 August 1891, SNA 1/1/145 (879/1891)

[99] Report 26 August 1897, SNA 1/1/253 (1775/1897)

to inoculate, 'but this will follow as the disease spreads'.[100] It did not. Africans were most reluctant to inoculate, for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it was an expensive and time-consuming business. Serum cost one shilling per head, on top of which each inoculation cost sixpence. Three doses were required, and for the whole course of treatment, cattle were supposed to be sheltered, which was mostly impossible in location/reserve conditions.[101] Secondly, there seemed little point in inoculating once the disease had already taken hold in a herd. Thirdly, Africans were suspicious of serum coming from outside the area. Fayle reported that 'down the Umzinyathi stream, I found they were to a man all of them against the use of preserved serum' - they preferred local serum, which was in acutely short supply.[102] If they were going to treat their cattle at all, they preferred bile and carbolic acid, both of which Fayle was experimenting with (he claimed with good results), but which were discountenanced by government.[103]

Fourthly, there was of course no guarantee that cattle would survive, even if treated. Women seemed even more suspicious of inoculation than their menfolk: Fayle noted that they 'are a source of hindrance, they persist in arguing with their husbands that a beast after inoculation cannot be eaten, and are masters of the siutuation in many instances'.[104] By early September, a few Africans were following white neighbours and requesting inoculation. However, when inoculated cattle belonging to whites around Verulam began dying, they changed their minds.[105] By the end of October, only about two hundred cattle

[100] Report of inoculator, August 1897, SNA 1/1/251 (1737/1897)
[101] On costs, see Fayle's report, 29 October 1897 SNA 1/1/263 (233/1897); on treatment see Fayle's report, 15 November 1897, SNA 1/1/258 (2236/1897)
[102] Fayle's report, 6 December 1897, SNA 1/1/258 (2236/1897)
[103] Fayle to SNA, 27 September 1897, SNA 1/1/256 (2095/1897)
[104] Fayle's report, 30 October 1897, SNA 1/1/258 (2236/1898)
[105] Fayle's report, 11 September 1897, SNA 1/1/255 (1985/1897) and 25 September, SNA 1/1/256 (2095/1897)

had been inoculated, out of an estimated pre-rinderpest total of 24,500 cattle in the location.[106]

The Qadi were the last chiefdom in the location to be reached by rinderpest. They had waited with fear and foreboding as the disease rolled inexorably eastwards and southwards - well over a thousand head had already died in the location when it arrived in November. A few began to inoculate, but it seems as if they preferred their own methods of limiting the disaster. Some of these were successful: Fayle reported the treatment by serum 'derived by a Native from a beast of his own, the results [of which] are so good that they soon spread it abroad'.[107] Others, driven by desperation, fell victim to shady dealers travelling about the location and peddling a variety of so-called cures.

However, the most widespread response of Qadi cattle owners, in the location but more especially on the mission reserve, was to drive their cattle to Durban for sale,[108] in the hope of recouping at least some of their losses later. Mqhawe wondered whether the government would change the *lobola* laws in the much altered circumstances;[109] he was irritable on behalf of fathers who had lost their herds, and who were trying to detain their daughters at home until their fortunes improved. The young women seemed to be growing restless: the local magistrate thought that 'immorality' was increasing among them, because, unlike married women and widows, they were not punishable for misdemeanours in terms of the Code of Native Law.[110]

For some years after the rinderpest, the low numbers of cattle in the location temporarily eased tensions between chiefdoms, as less land was required for production.[111] Africans began rebuilding their herds as soon as they could; they

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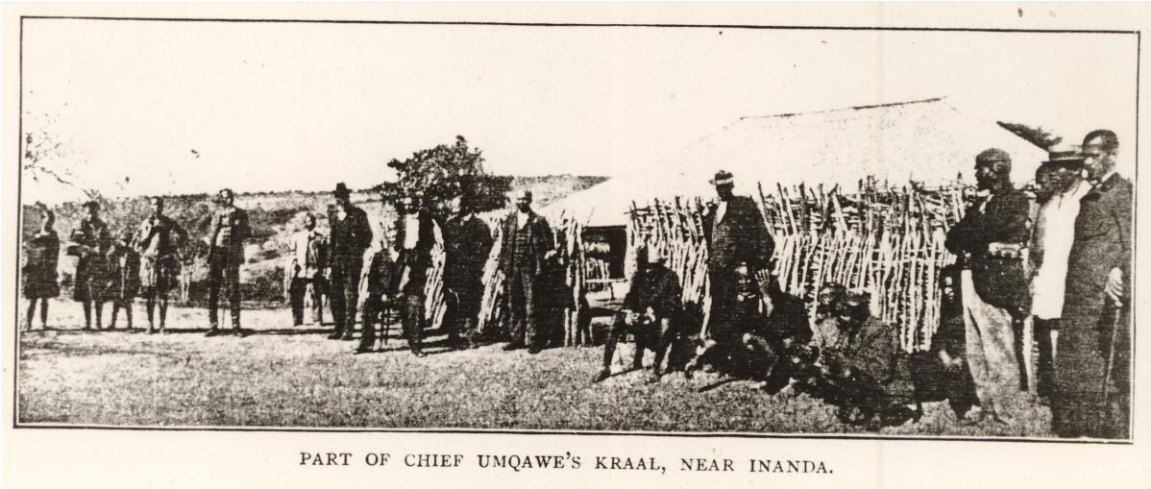
106 Ndwedwe Magistrate's report, 1895, in *Colony of Natal Departmental Reports* 1894-5
107 Fayle's report, 6 December 1897; also entry for Charlie, chief Mqhawe, Report of inoculator, 26 February 1898, all in SNA 1/1/258 (2236/1897)
108 Fayle's report, 15 December 1897, SNA 1/1/258 (2236/1897)
109 Ndwedwe magistrate, 17 November 1897, SNA 1/1/255 2590/1897)
110 Ndwedwe magistrate, SNA 1/1/308 (143/1904)
111 Hulett, *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 231

purchased beasts ‘all over the Colony’ and within the first year, the number among the Qadi had risen from one hundred to 550 head.[112] In the meantime, some turned to small stock and chickens in response to good market prices for these items.[113] Many men had to submit to their first experience of contracts on the goldfields. [114] A total of £531 was remitted to Qadi under Mqhawe in 1897.[115]



8 Ekumanazeni, Mqhawe's homestead, in 1903
(Report of the deputation sent by the American Board
to its Mission in South Eastern Africa, Boston 1904)

The two calamities, locusts and rinderpest, did nothing to heal Mqhawe’s festering relationship with government. Partly because of his close association with his cousin John Dube (discussed in chapter 6), and partly because of Mqhawe’s own ‘intemperate’ behaviour towards them, officials increasingly questioned his loyalty, and took punitive action against him. He deliberately delayed hearing cases, and was in turn fined for all kinds of minor breaches of the law, such as failure to produce hut and dog tax receipts. According to Marks, he was accused of ‘harbouring treasonable designs’ from about 1898,[116] which would certainly not have been mitigated by his refusal, on several occasions in the early 1900s, to send out men for *isibhalo* labour. The magistrate claimed

[112] *Blue Book on Native Affairs* 1898, p B39
[113] *Blue Book on Native Affairs* 1897 p 161
[114] *Blue Book on Native Affairs* 1898, p B39
[115] *Blue Book on Native Affairs* 1897, p 24
[116] Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, p 75

that there were 'large numbers of young men in his tribe who loaf about'.[117] His stand earned public admiration from the young men of his chiefdom as well as from Harriette Colenso,[118] who thought Mqhawe 'was doing his duty to the community'.

Then in 1904, he announced (via Nkisimana, who had become principal *induna* after Macekeni's death) that he would not comply with the census regulations of that year, or offer assistance in enumerating the Qadi. The magistrate could not have understood the irony in accusing Mqhawe of behaving as Langalibalele had done in 1873,[119] for Mqhawe had thought of assisting Langalibalele but then was persuaded not to do so (an incident discussed more fully in chapter 5). He was the only chief in the Colony to take this stand against the census, but it did not last long: after consulting other chiefs and his *izinduna*, he agreed to assist in the counting after all, and to instruct homestead heads to visit the magistrate's office and furnish the information required.[120] Not many months after, he sent word (again via Nkisimana) that his people could not and would not pay the the new rents for mission reserve land,[121] a heavy burden indeed on the Qadi, given that a large proportion of the chiefdom was located on mission reserve land. (This matter is more fully dealt with in chapter 6.)

Some officials believed that he was being influenced by his heir, Mandlakayise, lately returned from a period of study in the United States. While the son does seem to have been generally more assertive towards government than his father - the Ndwedwe magistrate called him 'the most reserved and unapproachable Native of any social position whom I have met'[122] - and was assisting in Qadi

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117 Ndwedwe magistrate, 26 October 1905, SNA 1/1/329 (2844/1905)

118 H E Colenso, *Minutes of Evidence to South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905,* vol 3, p 418. A daughter of Bishop Colenso, she was a missionary best known for her energetic defence of the Zulu king Cetshwayo and his heir Dinuzulu in their confrontations with colonial authority. See Marks S 'Harriette Colenso and the Zulus, 1874-1913' in *Journal of African History* 4, 1963

119 Ndwedwe magistrate, 28 April 1904, SNA 1/1/310 (862/1904)

120 Ndwedwe magistrate, 30 April 1904, SNA 1/1/310 (862/1904)

121 Ndwedwe magistrate, 19 October 1904, SNA 1/1/314 (2184/1904)

122 Ndwedwe magistrate, 30 April 1904, SNA 1/1/310 (862/1904)

affairs because of Mqhawe's illness, Mqhawe's own approach had been consistent for more than a decade. And whatever Mandlakayise's influence, Mqhawe was still head of the Qadi; he, not his son, would be identified by others with any attitude towards government that he adopted. Because of his several signals of defiance, some Africans even believed he had magical powers.[123]

His last act of defiance was displayed in early 1906, when he instructed his people not to pay the new poll tax. In February, soon after martial law was declared, the Qadi at Incwadi were reported to be especially restless and to be plotting an uprising.[124] The Ndwedwe magistrate was worried that the Qadi would cause trouble at Inanda too, by refusing to pay. Although they had been called on to do so from January 20, non-payment was a punishable offence only after the 31 May: as the Ndwedwe magistrate pointed out, 'it is exceptionally bad policy to give an order to a native which cannot be enforced'.[125] Chiefs were probably aware of this temporary loophole; by the middle of February, exactly £1 had been collected from the Qadi in Inanda.[126] In an effort to reduce tension, G S Armstrong (now a Member of the Legislative Assembly) arranged a meeting in his home between Mqhawe, his closest Qadi advisers and the USNA. According to this official,

> The conduct of his [ie Mqhawe's] followers was not satisfactory. They came in a large body carrying sticks and wearing their hats; they did not put down their sticks until after they had been called on to do so and then they did it reluctantly. They did not take off their hats and salute until they were leaving.[127]

As on previous occasions, Qadi resistance subsided after this show of displeasure, even though one section of the chiefdom, at Maphumulo, was at the

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[123] Translations from *Ilanga lase Natal*, 2 March 1906, in SNA 1/1/337 (804/1906). According to Marks, such millenial-type fantasies were widespread in Natal at the turn of the century. Magical powers were mostly associated with the Zulu king, who was thought capable of appearing in different forms, portents 'either of imminent deliverance from the Natal government or of further disaster'. *Reluctant rebellion*, p 164

[124] Telegram from Impendhle magistrate to SNA, 14 February 1906, SNA 1/1/136 (507/1906)

[125] Ndwedwe magistrate, 23 January 1906, SNA 1/1/334 (72/1906)

[126] 'Poll tax returns, Ndwedwe, up to and including 19 February 1906', SNA 1/1/283 (38/1906)

[127] Report of the USNA, 9 March 1906, SNA 1/1/336 (568/1906)

storm centre of the second phase of the rebellion. Mqhawe sent messages to his people there, informing them that 'he was loyal, and warning them against the consequences of joining or assisting the rebels'.[128] Despite all the trying challenges he had faced, his disposition to seek opportunities in the interstices of colonial power could not translate into sustained defiance and all that that entailed. In the event, 'four hundred Qadi aided Colonel McKenzie in the Mapumulo district'.[129]

After a long illness, Mqhawe died during the night of 17 November 1906. Among the many mourners who were with him when he died or came to pay their respects in the morning, were Nkisimana, Mandlakayise, Madikane Cele, John Dube, G S Armstrong, several other white farmers and business people, the Rev Stephen Pixley, and many Inanda Seminary teachers. Together they symbolised the remarkable network of contacts and supports he had created for his chiefdom in the long years of his rule.

Occurring as it did in the same year as the Bambatha rebellion, and only a few years before the ending of colonial rule in Natal, it is tempting to view Mqhawe's death as bracketing the end of an era. In some respects, this is the case, both in a colony-wide sense, and for the Qadi. The rebellion marked a critical moment in Natal Africans' defence 'against the exposure of total hire'[130], while the ending of colonial rule ushered in a reorganisation of relations between ruler and ruled in South Africa, even though regional distinctions in the formulation and execution of policy would continue for many decades. The Qadi chiefdom itself had lost the leader who had overseen the entire process of its rebuilding under colonial conditions, into one of the more successful polities in Natal. Yet in an important sense, the rhythm of Qadi politics did not alter exactly in time to these events, momentous as they were. The very foundations which Mqhawe and his circle had laid, not least in the sense of identity which the elite had achieved for itself

[128] Memo on Chiefs' attitudes to the rebellion, Ndwedwe, SNA 1/1/349 (2806/1906)
[129] Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, p 334

and for the chiefdom as a whole, would ensure a viability for many decades to come. This question will be returned to in the conclusion.

[130] Williams R *The country and the city* (London, 1973), p 102

PART 3: THE ENCROACHING AUTHORITY OF THE MISSIONARIES

Chapter 5: 'Quite a stir in our neighbourhood'[1]: Mqhawe and the missionaries to the 1870s

Mqhawe's 'long conversation'[2] with the missionaries began in 1847, when Daniel Lindley chose a site for his new Inanda mission among Qadi homesteads. Initially, however, the interaction was marked more by tense exchanges and stubborn silences than by open dialogue. The missionary's intrusion reduced the garden land of some of the Qadi, and for several years he and the chief 'struggled for possession of the best and'.[3] While there was enormous interest in his Sunday services - about three hundred local people attended regularly[4] - none was willing to convert to Christianity, a common pattern for first-generation missionaries in the colony.[5] Mqhawe resolutely stayed away, but no doubt had his spies in the congregation.

The Qadi closed ranks around their chief when a leading and elderly female member of the Qadi elite 'defected' (as Mqhawe saw it) to the mission. 'If the opposition to the truth here were that of individuals I should not mind it, but it is that of a united community', he complained in 1849.[6] Yet a decade later, relations between Lindley and Mqhawe were cordial, a set of close connections between traditionalists and some of the converts had developed, and as a result of his association with the Qadi chief, Lindley had adopted a more pliant policy towards African customs and admission to the church, at variance with official American Zulu Mission (AZM) policy. The purpose of this chapter is to trace and explain these shifts.

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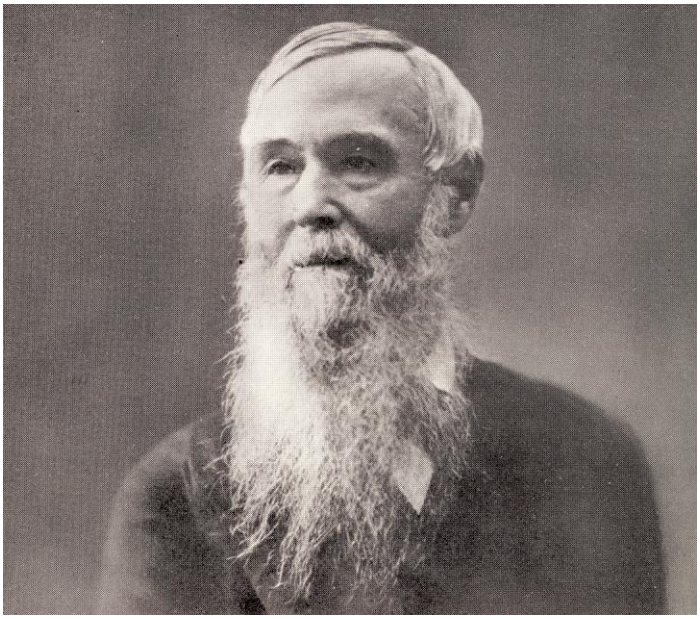
[1] Lindley to Adams, 15 January 1849, File 1849 A/2/27, American Board Papers, A608
[2] Comaroffs, *Of revelation and revolution*, p 198
[3] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 70
[4] Lindley, 'Tabular View 1848' File 1849, A/2/27, A608
[5] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, pp 47-9
[6] Lindley to Adams, 28 January 1849, File 1849, A/2/27, A608. The Bishop of Cape Town visited Lindley the following year and reported in similar vein: 'When he first came here, the heathern flocked around him...but [then] they found that the gospel would interfere with their heathen customs and practices...much oppostion has been offered to the mission work.' Gray, cited in Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 44

The first thirty years of mission work at Inanda are virtually synonymous with the names of Daniel and Lucy Lindley: to this day, the mission station they founded at Inanda is popularly known as 'Lindley mission'. Since their religious ideas and approach to mission work (particularly Daniel's) helped to produce a highly unusual set of relationships with the area's Africans (dealt with in chapter 6), it is appropriate to look into their backgrounds and the organisation which sent them to southern Africa. The Comaroffs are surely correct to insist that 'the missionary encounter must be regarded as a two-sided historical process; as a dialectic that takes into account the social and cultural endowments of, and consequences for, all the actors - missionaries no less than Africans.'[7]



9 Daniel Lindley
(Kotze, *Letters of the American missionaries)*

[7] Comaroffs, *Of revelation and revolution*, p 54. This point is probably more pertinent to the *initial* missionary encounter of a particular society, than to later, ongoing phases in the relationship. In the case of Inanda, the available information is extremely lobsided: while there is a good biography of Daniel Lindley, there is almost nothing written on his wife, Lucy; there is somewhat more information about Mary Edwards, the first principal of Inanda Seminary, but only scant documentation about Lindley's successor, Stephen Pixley. In addition, the material has an in-built male bias, since all office-bearers in the church were men. This particular imbalance was redressed to some extent with the establishment of organisations specifically catering for women missionaries. Even then, the frequently substantial contributions of missionary wives, as distinct from women missionaries, remain neglected.

Daniel Lindley was born in 1801 into the tight-knit Presbyterian settlement of Ten Mile Creek, western Pennsylvania, founded by his grandfather some twenty years previously. 'Legatees of a monumental dogmatic tradition' and 'committed to a concept of education and instruction'[8] neither the Presbyterians' doctrinal system nor the requirement that their ministers undergo a rigorous higher education in a seminary or university was particuarly suited to thre exigencies of frontier life. This may be one reason why the more flexible creeds of the Methodists and Baptists were more popular in westward settlements.

Up to the last years of the eighteenth century, their dogmatic tradition was sternly upheld by what Kiernan called 'the humourless gravity of the pious'[9]: for example, there are descriptions of 'camp meetings' (services lasting several days) in which those entitled to take communion were publicly separated from those deemed to be unworthy.[10] However, exclusivity gave way to greater tolerance, and a more egalitarian principle that all who wished could submit to the sovereignty of God. These were the ideas at the heart of the so-called Second Great Awakening, a liberalising movement which swept through American nonconformism around the time of Daniel Lindley's birth, and which was profoundly to affect his later mission work.

Lindley's father, Jacob, epitomised the essence of revivalist liberalism. Having been ordained on completion of his studies at Princeton, he observed a stiff moral and religious code, yet was also boldly progressive on such burning issues of the day as vaccination (which the more conservative considered a 'blasphemous interference with divine providence'[11]), and was deeply committed to enlightenment through education. He was a founder and first principal of the

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8 Ahlstrom S *A religious history of the American people* (New Haven and London, 1972), p 444

9 Although he was writing of a different context, he was describing the same denomination. Kiernan V G 'The Covenanters: a problem of creed and class' in Krantz F (Ed) *History from below* (Oxford, 1985), p 55.

10 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 12

11 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 19

University of Ohio at Athens from 1806, and became its Professor of Rhetoric in 1822, until his resignation in 1826.[12]

In the 1830s, Jacob Lindley became the spiritual leader in Ohio of a revivalist evangelical movement which had been excinded (or barred) from the Kentucky Presbyterian Synod, the so-called Cumberland Presbyterians. Adherents were not only considered too revivalist in their belief that human effort could influence God's will,[13] but also wished to waive traditional educational requirements for the ministry. This faction spread across Ohio 'like four drops of oil spattered across a pool of water'[14]; Lindley seems to have been attracted more by their doctrine than their educational flaccidity, which he tried to stiffen by opening a college to train young men for the ministry. It was abandoned, however, for lack of funds.[15]

Daniel Lindley thus grew up in the midst of great religious flux and debate. More practically, he also grew up on a farm, which enabled him to acquire a range of skills which would be useful in southern Africa. In 1822, true to his father's beliefs and his faith's demands, he entered the University of Athens for a rigorously classical education. There was at least one black American in his class, John Newton Templeton, later a prominent educationist. After earning a B A in 1824, he prepared for the ministry at Hampden-Sydney (later Union) Theological Seminary. Over the next seven years, he alternately studied and taught, in order to earn enough to support himself.[16]

When he graduated in 1831, he took up his first post at Rocky River in North Carolina, a stronghold of revivalist Presbyterianism. It was of course also a

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12 Welsh E B *Buckeye Presbyterianism. An account of the seven presbyterian denominations...within the State of Ohio* (Ohio, 1968), p 247; Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 25

13 This represented a direct challenge to parts of the Westminster Confession, the founding theological and doctrinal charter of virtually the entire non-conformist movement. See Ahlstrom, *A religious history,* p 131

14 Welsh, *Buckeye Presbyterianism*, p 168

15 Welsh, *Buckeye Presbyterianism*, p 172

16 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, pp 23-33

stronghold of slavery. Although he had a horror of the institution, in his two years there he never openly advocated abolitionism to his mixed slave and slave-owning congregation, according to his biographer, Edwin Smith.[17] Yet in a later letter from Inanda, Lindley made his feelings quite clear. Faced with the prospect of sending two of his teenage daughters home to be educated and cared for by his sisters, he wrote to the Secretary of the American Board, 'These sisters are kind-hearted, generous, intelligent Christian women, but they are slave-holders. To me this description... ends much like that splendid one given of Naaman the Syrian, which closes with these doleful words, "but he was a leper".'[18]

Nevertheless, he retained his life-long membership of the Concord Presbytery, although it notoriously upheld slavery.[19] It was, apparently, characteristic of Lindley not to become involved in public controversy and at times even to equivocate, perhaps because he recognised the many layers of reality, the many 'faces', that any one person, or community, could present to the world. Thus, in South Africa, he worked closely with the Boers while profoundly disagreeing with them about their treatment of Africans, and welcomed the British to Natal despite his strong republican sensibility. It was this quality which contributed also to the emergence of uncommon social relationships at Inanda.

Clearly central to his worldview was the religious liberalism he learnt from his father. Although he did not become embroiled in the Cumberland controversy - he was already in the mission field - he shared his father's general disposition in such matters.[20] He did not believe as did some Presbyterians (the so-called 'Old School') that the American Board was 'too Congregationalist' and that in order to control doctrinal issues more tightly they should set up their own missionary

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17 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 41
18 Lindley to Rufus Anderson, 27 December 1853, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 292
19 Dinnerstein M 'The American Board Mission', p 88
20 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 28

organisation.[21] Importantly, he also shared his father's commitment to learning - this shaped much of his work in the mission field.

It is not clear why Lindley chose foreign mission work. His somewhat tortuous letter requesting appointment does not disclose his reasons, save to mention that he been considering the possibility for about two years, and that 'it is evident that more men from somewhere ought to go with the Gospel to the heathen.'[22] The organisation to which he had applied was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (or American Board). It grew directly out of the evangelical enthusiasm generated by the Second Great Awakening and was one of the new voluntary, independent, interdenominational associations formed in the USA specifically for mission work.[23]

The formation of the American Board was one result of joint Congregational-Presbyterian efforts, dating from their so-called Plan of Union in 1801, to co-ordinate westward expansion, while respecting each others' ministries. Its actual foundation was the work of a group of ministers in Connecticut and Massachusetts; its headquarters were set up in Boston in 1910. The Board's earliest successes were amongst the Cherokees and the chiefdoms of Hawaii, where its policy of concentrating efforts on converting chiefs achieved some success.[24] Lindley probably followed this work with interest; not many years later, reflecting on the prospects for peaceful co-existence of whites and Africans in Natal, he referred disapprovingly to the way in which the state of Georgia had harassed the Cherokees and moved them out westwards.[25]

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21 Welsh, *Buckeye Presbyterianism*, p 100. In South Africa, all Lindley's converts were baptised, and the priests he trained were ordained, as Congregationalists.

22 Letter reproduced in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, pp 52-3

23 Ahlstrom, *A religious history*, pp 442-3

24 Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', pp 11-16. The Board had looked to the experience of the Christianisation of Europe in developing this model. See Hillgarth J N 'Modes of evangelisation of Western Europe in the seventh century' in Chathain P N and M Richter (Eds) *Ireland and Christendom* (Stuttgart, 1987) and Mayr-Harting H *The coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1991). I am grateful to Dr H Pryce for these references

25 Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 54

The first overseas missions of the Board were to India and Ceylon (1812), the Sandwich Islands and Palestine (1819) and China (1830). In 1833, the Commissioners decided to focus more of their attention on Africa, and sought the advice of Dr John Phillip, superintendant of the London Missionary Society in South Africa. He pronounced that land of the Zulu to be 'a noble field for missionary labour'.[26] It was therefore with the charge to convert the Zulu king, and thus the whole Zulu people, that the first group of American missionaries was dispatched to southern Africa at the end of 1834.

Shortly before his departure, Lindley married Lucy Allen.[27] Born in 1810 in Chatham, New York, into a well-to-do home, she had an unhappy childhood with a stepmother with whom she did not get on. At the age of sixteen, her father tried to marry her off to an elderly associate of his; when she refused to comply with this arrangement, her two brothers became responsible for her and supported her in a smart New York boarding school. Here, she was converted to Christianity. On completion of her studies, she went to live in Richmond, Virginia. Through the connections of the local Presbyterian minister, she found a position as governess on a plantation near Urbana in 1832.

In addition to looking after the children of the house, she held classes for the slaves, treading the borderline between what was legal (teaching them about God) and illegal (teaching them to read and write). From this experience, she developed a sympathy for those who had been harshly subordinated on the basis of their colour. Years later, during the American civil war, she wrote from Inanda of a white woman whose brother, a slaveholder, had been ruined: 'But for being impolite, I would have told her that I did not pity him a bit'.[28]

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[26] Cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, pp 50-51

[27] The information on Lucy Lindley is compiled from Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, pp 54-60

[28] Cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 370

While employed on the plantation, she decided she wanted to be a missionary. In April 1834, three weeks after she and Daniel Lindley had been introduced they were engaged, and in November they were married. About the same time, Lucy's best friend, Jane Smithey, married another missionary on his way to southern Africa, Alexander Wilson. Little is known of the circumstances of these marriages; it might be inferred, however, that part of the attraction of these men was their missionary calling. Women who wanted to do missionary work could not yet go very far into the field on their own.

The earliest experiences of the group, comprising the Lindleys, the Adamses, the Venables, the Champions, the Grouts and the Wilsons, are well known[29] and only a brief account is necessary here. Once they had arrived in Cape Town, the missionaries split into two parties, one bound for Mzilikazi's domain in the interior (Lindley, Wilson and Venable), and one for Dingane's Zulu kingdom. Both parties spent most of the next few years extracting themselves from conflicts between various African polities and the Boers. The 'inland' group spent some months with the LMS missionaries at Griquatown and Kuruman, where they were critical of the LMS approach, because it aimed to convert individuals, 'not nations'.[30] On their arrival at Mosega in 1836, they were frustrated by severe illness and were continually threatened with attack, being hopelessly caught up in fighting between the Ndebele and the Boers. After only six months, they escaped eastwards under Boer protection to the Wesleyan mission at Thaba Nchu, itself only recently established after much displacement.[31]

They then joined the 'coastal' group of American Board missionaries in Natal. The latter, however, had made no more headway than their colleagues. Adams had established a station at Umlazi, hundreds of miles from the seat of Zulu

[29] See Westra P E 'Sarah Lindley's "A short account of Mr and Mrs Daniel Lindley's work in Africa"', parts 1 and 2 in *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 46, 4, 1992 and 47, 1, 1992; Kotze D J (Ed) *Letters of the American missionaries 1835-1838* Cape Town, 1950); Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', pp 17-32; Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, chapter 3

[30] Cited in Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 17

power. Champion and Grout had reached further north and had made contact with Dingane, but this had borne no fruit. The Lindleys (by now with three small children) tried unsuccessfully to set up a mission at Imfumi; once again, they were forced to flee as Dingane attempted to assert his authority over the region south of the Thukela river, destabilised (once again) by the Boers.

In view of the seeming impossibility of setting up stable mission stations among Africans, Lindley discharged himself from the Board in order to minister to the Boers in Natal. He believed that unless these new rulers of Natal (the Republic of Natalia was declared in 1838) could be persuaded to live peacably with the African inhabitants, efforts to christianise the latter would be futile. As he wrote to the Commissioners in Boston, 'The emigrants cannot be left out of any plan wisely laid for the advancement of religion in this part of Africa.'[32] Thus, from 1840 to early 1847, Lindley and his family were based in Pietermaritzburg. Apart from his duties as 'pastor to the emigrants',[33] he assisted in the foundation of the Presbyterian church when Scottish soldiers arrived in 1842. Like the Boers and other early American missionaries, Lindley was a 'strong anti-imperialist',[34] and it is clear from his letters and reports that he found the Boers congenial and hospitable, if intransigent on the matter of indigenous land rights.

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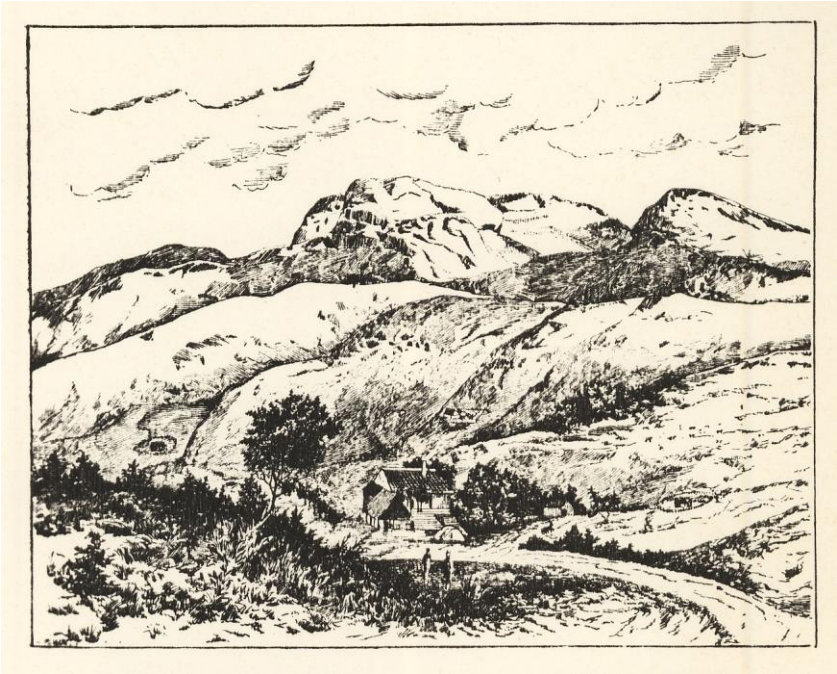
[31] Comaroffs*, Of revelation and revolution*, p 181; Murray, *Black mountain*, pp 13-14

[32] Lindley to Commissioners, 18 February 1841, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley,* p 181

[33] Gray M T 'Stories of early American missionaries', File 1935, A/4/58, A608. Lindley was later lionised in Afrikaner mythology for his role in ministering to the inhabitants of the new republics: Winburg and the Transvaal were also part of his circuit. In Afrikaner nationalist works on the subject, Lindley is considered the founder of the Dutch Reformed Church in all these regions. Paul Kruger, whom he confirmed, was said to have kept a photograph of Lindley beside his bed until he died. Afrikaner scholarship of the 1950s played up actual and alleged links of early American missionaries with the Boers, portraying the former as key supporters of the Boers' legitimate and just struggle for independence. See for example Kotze (Ed), *Letters of the American missionaries 1835-1838*. Lindley's house at Inanda was declared a national monument in the 1950s; it was rumoured (wrongly) that the government was honouring Lindley's memory by not taking over Inanda Seminary as it did every other functioning mission school when the Bantu Education Act came into force in 1953.

[34] Etherington N 'Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa: a South African case study' in *Africa* 47, 1, 1977, p 33

It may be that having committed himself to mission work in southern Africa, he was not so much trying to persuade the Boers to alter their policies as biding his time until some degree of political stability was introduced by some authority - any authority - to Natal: without it, there simply was no mission field. Faced with this situation, the remaining members of the original 'inland party' had all returned to America. His own abortive attempts disposed him to suppress his anti-imperialism when British rule came to Natal in 1845: 'I wish that it may prosper. If it was removed today, in another day or two, we should have to follow it...'[35] The British seemed to him to hold out the most reliable promise of security and stability; he could therefore work with them. Having come to a similar decision, the American Board sent fourteen more missionaries to the new colony in 1846.[36] In the following year, Lindley rejoined the Board, which, in its Natal/Zululand field, was henceforth known as the American Zulu Mission (AZM).



10 The Lindleys' first mission station, Umzinyathi
(Mathews, *Incwadi yami,* facing p 25)

35 Letter, 1854, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 446
36 Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 34

Not only did Lindley commence mission work in Inanda, the area assigned to him by the by the AZM conference in mid-1847, but was also central to elaborating a policy of governance for the African population of the new colony. He was a strong supporter of Shepstonism (and always on good term with its creator) and as a member of the 1846-7 Locations Commission, provided clerical weight to Shepstone's favoured scheme of setting aside locations for exclusive African occupation.[37] However, Lindley somewhat naively endorsed the idea as prospectively set out (well-funded and well-administered locations, well-supplied with industrial schools[38]) and his first doubts about its implementation arose very quickly. Prevented by floods from viewing the newly-demarcated Inanda location until after its boundaries had been gazetted in early 1847, he was greatly distressed by what he saw: 'a more broken and worthless region could hardly be found. I...wasted a small vocabulary in grumbling at Government for allowing the natives to have a settlement in such a wretched region.'[39]

This did not seem an auspicious start to the Lindleys' mission efforts at Inanda. In addition, they had probably realised before their arrival that chiefs - even ones far lesser than the Zulu king - were unlikely to lead the way to conversion; instead, christianisation would be a painfully slow process.[40] For the first two years, the small retinue of converts they brought with them, servants and assistants of various kinds, constituted virtually the entire Inanda Christian community.[41] They helped both with the practical tasks and to set an example of Christian living, from building a station school to occupying its desks as pupils.

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37 See Etherington N 'The "Shepstone system" in the Colony of Natal and beyond the borders' and Lambert J *Betrayed trust*, pp 10-11

38 Brookes E H and N Hurwitz *The Native reserves of Natal* (Cape Town, 1957), p 3

39 Cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 254

40 The Comaroffs have recently pointed to the difficulties of treating conversion as 'a significant analytic category in its own right.' Firstly, they warn against two kinds of conflation: changing religious identity with broader cultural and historical shifts, and individual spiritual identity and cultural transformation. They also make the important point that the significance of conversion to Africans is often read in terms of what missionaries assumed it should be. *Of revelation and revolution*, pp 250-1. These pitfalls will be avoided as far as possible in the discussion which follows.

41 For this so-called 'family system' evolved by the early Natal missionaries, see Dinnerstein, 'American Board Mission', p 43

Three members in particular of the Lindleys' 'family system' became prominent in the affairs of the church at Inanda: Patayi Mhlongo, Thomas Hawes and Nancy Damon. Mhlongo, better known by his Christian name of George Champion, was adopted as a boy when the Lindleys' colleague, after whom he had been named, returned to the United States. Alison George Wessels Champion, the most prominent Natal African trade unionist of the 1920s[42], was born of his second marriage. One of AWG Champion's sisters, Laurana, was in the first class at Inanda Seminary in 1869.[43] Thomas Hawes (also named after an American missionary; there is no record of his original name) grew up near Inanda mountain. His father, Joel, had lived in the Thukela valley under Dube and had fled southwards in the 1830s. Thomas was ordained in 1872 and became pastor at Umsunduze, an AZM station deeper in the Inanda location, where a firce conflict erupted between his *kholwa* community and the nearby Nyuswa chief, Swaimana.[44] It was Thomas Hawes who delivered the farewell address to the Lindleys on their retirement from Inanda in 1873. The Hawes continue to be a leading *kholwa* family in the Inanda area.

In many ways the most remarkable of those attached to the Lindleys' household was their interpreter, Nancy Damon. She was the oldest child of a 'coloured' woman, known only as Rachel, and John Cane, one of the first white adventurers at Port Natal. Rachel had been of great assistance to the young traveller Nathaniel Isaacs, who has left the fullest account of her. 'There is something so truly generous and hospitable in this poor Hottentot woman, that I often blush for many of a fairer caste when I think of her kindness and care', he wrote.[45]

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[42] On Champion, see Swanson M (Ed) *The views of Mahlathi: writings of A W G Champion, a black South African* (Pietermaritzburg, 1983), and Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, chapter 3

[43] Wood A *Shine where you are. A history of Inanda Seminary, 1869-1969* (Alice,1972), p 18

[44] SNA 1/1/154 (375/1892)

Cane had arrived in the 1820s, a contemporary of such traders, brokers and raiders as Henry Ogle, Henry Fynn, Alexander Biggar and Dick King. These 'white chiefs' gathered a miscellany of clients around them, fugitives from the Zulu kindom and servants brought from elsewhere, such as Khoi from the eastern Cape. He presided over three homesteads at the port; his maverick tendencies seem to have been responsible in large measure for the tension between the Port Natal community and Dingane. In 1832, Dingane attacked the port, believing Cane to be implicated in plotting a British invasion of his kingdom; the following year, Cane's people set upon a detachment of the Zulu army returning from an excursion to recover stolen cattle.[46] It was Cane who led the fateful expedition against Dingane in 1838, and on which he was killed. Some Inanda people probably knew that Nancy's father had died leading a force which included their kinsmen (and that Lindley had tried to turn them back).

In 1838, Nancy was about six and without parents. She was taken to the Adams household at Amanzimtoti, and 'adopted' by the Lindleys, who were briefly based there. Both Magema Fuze and her brother Christian referred to her as 'Nanise'. Christian told James Stuart, 'Mashingana, a son of Mbuyazi (H F Fynn), has a book in Zulu, full of Zulu history...This book belonged to my sister Nanise...she never bore children...She knows English well...Nanise had a box full of books.[47] It is telling that Christian's recollections should dwell more than once on her books. It conveys something of the significance of her life as the bridge between orality and literacy, believing and non-believing. She interpreted Lindley's Sunday sermons, so that in a sense, the Qadi first received 'the word' from her. She also taught in the mission's day school.

In some ways, however, she herself was stranded in the middle of the bridge: of two cultures, Nancy Damon to some and Nanise Ndamane to others, she was

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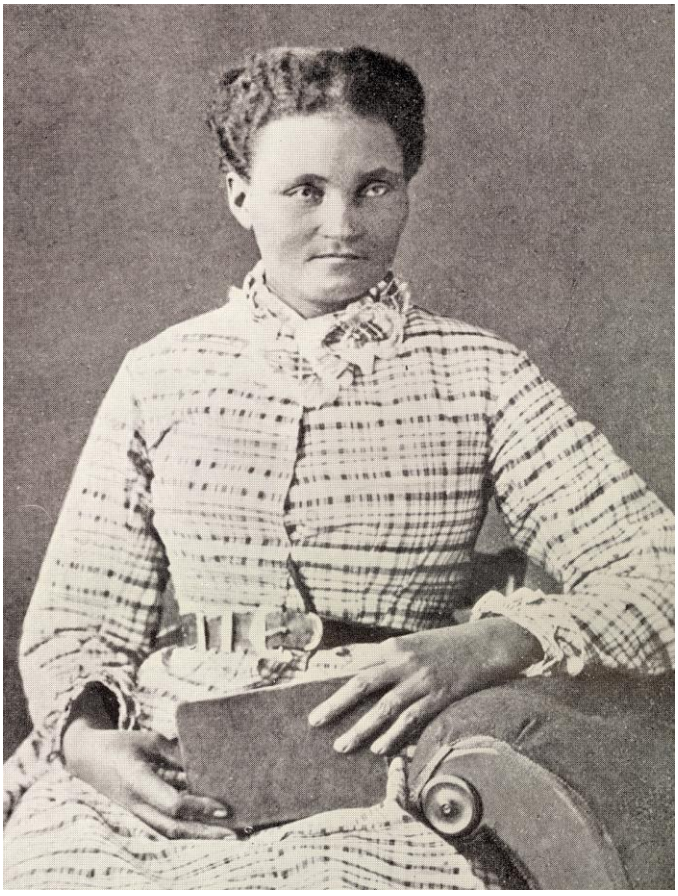
[45] Isaacs N *Travels and adentures in South East Africa,* Ed L Herman and P Kirkby (Cape Town, 1970), pp 76-7

[46] See Ballard C 'Traders, trekkers and colonists', pp 118-120

[47] Christian Cane in *The James Stuart archive* vol 1, p 77

unable fully to identify with either.[48] Although Bryant Lindley said of her, '[she was] one most refined and able women I have met',[49] behind the paternalistic high praise for her poise and outward equanimity, there are hints that her life was far from happy. In 1849, she married Edward Ndamane kaMkelo, a Sotho who possibly came to Inanda from Mosega; like herself, he was a 'stranger' in Inanda. He became an alcoholic, and lived his life out among the Qadi at Mabedlana, near Botha's Hill.



11 Nancy Damon
(Smith,*The life and times of Daniel Lindley*)

[48] There is no evidence that she used her interstitial location in the way that the myrmidons of the Tswana mission did theirs, taking advantage of their skills to wield 'unusual power', as described in the Comaroffs' study: see *Of revelation and revolution*, p 216
[49] Cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 280

Christian's memory also conveys something of the awe that greeted the coming of the book, full of 'unfathomable glyphs',[50] whose reception Nancy Damon did much to facilitate. In the early 1850s, the AZM Conference approved the employment of 'Nancy of Inanda to assist in correcting the translation of books into Zulu prepared for the press'.[51] Early missionaries, such as Grout, Adams or Colenso, are often credited with having produced the first translation of the New Testament into Zulu, or the first Zulu-English dictionary, or the first Zulu grammar. While missionaries were certainly passionate makers of books and assiduous organisers of the information that went into them,[52] the contributions of auxiliaries such as Nancy Damon tend to be underestimated. She is mentioned in only one account as having assisted in 'the translation of the scriptures'.[53]

From mid-1848, there were signs that Lindley's message was attracting a few individuals from surrounding homesteads. In June, one Pulela appeared 'and asked for a book.' The Lindleys encouraged him to attend the day school, and he 'at once divested himself of his indecent national costume and purchased respectable clothing for himself and his wife.'[54] Through the rest of 1848, a thin trickle of individuals with some special need (not necessarily Christianity) detached themselves from the Qadi chiefdom in search of succour and salvation.[55]

It is symbolic that both books and clothing are implicated in the earliest evidence of interest. Even though local people had not yet acquired the skill of literacy, which 'seems initially to have been understood less as a learned skill than as an innate mystical capacity',[56] books were nevertheless perceived as repositories

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50 Eisenstein E *The printing revolution in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993) , p 46
51 Item 806, A1/1 A608
52 What Eistenstein refers to as a new '*esprit de systeme*': see *The printing revolution*, p 64
53 Christoferson A F 'The first one hundred years of the American Board Mission in South Africa', p 17. Copy in A 608
54 Lindley, First Annual Report, September 1848, File 1848, A/2/27 A608
55 Lindley to Adams, 7 August 1848, File 1848, A/2/27, A608
56 Comaroffs*, Of revelation and revolution*, p 192

of power, forms of memory that could be detached from the body, inanimate objects that could affect the living. It was therefore important to gain control over them. Mqhawe himself displayed similar thinking in the way he manipulated his hut tax receipt book into a metaphor of his chiefly status, as shown in chapter 3. Clothing, too, was more than an outward sign of respectability. It proclaimed the rejection of all one had been before; it was 'the most distinctive emblem of black Christianity'.[57] In its 'almost freakish unsuitability',[58] it also signalled the refusal of the missionaries to adapt in the slightest to the local idiom: if it was to happen at all, conversion would happen on their terms.

Matters changed rather dramatically at the beginning of 1849. Lindley recorded the event as follows:

> We have recently had quite a *stir* in our neighbourhood. The Inkosikazi...has left her kraal, & says she has renounced the hidden works of darkness. While in her kraal she was persecuted with great malignity of tongue, but no violence was done her - much, however, was threatened. Last Saturday morning she sent me word that she had been summoned to the Chief's place, where a large company was to be collected to deliberate on her conduct in becoming a Christian. I sent her word not to go and she came to our house, where she is now stopping. I went to the Chief's myself, & told them all, in the plainest manner, what I thought of their doing.[59]

The *inkosikazi* concerned, Mayembe, was a person of important social standing and a senior member of the Qadi elite. A widow of chief Dube, her flight to the mission was bound to cause 'a stir'. According to Lindley, the immediate cause of her action was her imminent *ukungena* marriage to a brother of the late chief's. It is not clear why this this should have been arranged so long after Dube's death; it was possibly to provide cattle for her son's *lobola*, since he was approaching marriageable age himself. Mayembe was not quietly opting out of the Qadi social order, as the handful of other converts had previously done; she was challenging the very sense of order within that domain. Moreover, she took with her not only her children, one of whom was James Dube, a brother to

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[57] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 116. European clothing was soon appropriated as a status symbol within traditionalist society: see below.

[58] Roberts J *Hutchinson history of the world* (London, 1976), p 814

Dabeka,[60] but eight head of cattle, five of which she had purchased from the sale of *amabele* she had grown, and three belonging to James, given him by his father.[61]

The way in which Lindley dealt with Mqhawe over this affair, and the fact that the removal of the cattle was sorely contested by Mqhawe, worsened relations between the two. They now represented opposing nodes of influence in the valley, in which one's strength was an image of the other's weakness: for Lindley, winning converts signalled a loss of confidence in Mqhawe; for Mqhawe, Lindley's failure to attract converts indicated the impotence of Christianity and affirmed his pre-eminence. Mayembe's conversion at first continued this stalemate: Lindley's first big success was offset by drastically reduced attendance at his Sunday services.[62] There are indications that Lindley was somewhat brittle in his theological approach in these years, probably one of the consequences of persistent hostility from the Qadi people all around them. In one incident, he suspended a convert from church membership for continually questioning his biblical interpretations.[63]

In order to give formal, institutional protection to Mayembe, a rare convert among the rare, the Inanda church was founded a few days after her arrival, on 21 January 1849. Nine 'charter members' were incorporated into full church membership on that day: Nancy Damon, George Champion, Joel Hawes, Mayembe (baptised Dalida Dube), her son James, John Mavuma, Jonas Mfeka, and Lucy and Daniel Lindley. Not only were the African members among the founding Christian converts at Inanda, but were to head some of Natal's leading *kholwa* families.

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59 Lindley to Adams, 15 January 1849, File 1849, A/2/27 A608

60 James was therefore an uncle of Mqhawe's. See oral histories collected by F Phelps from David Mavuma, Elizabeth Dube and Maziyana Ngidi, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 402

61 Lindley to Adams, 15 January 1849, File 1849, A/2/27, A608

62 Lindley to Adams, 28 January 1849, File 1849, A/2/27, A608

The Dubes were to be the most prominent. Dalida never remarried. Her son James, also known by his pre-Christian name of Khayakonina,[64] and his wife Elizabeth bore nine children. The best known was John Langalibalele, named after the Hlubi chief whose innovating spirit James admired.[65] Born in 1871, J L Dube spent much of the first two years of his life being nursed through severe illness in the Lindley household. Among his siblings were Africa (the eldest), Esther, and Charles. By the early 1860s, James was in charge of the mission's day school. He was ordained in 1871 by Lindley, who regarded this event as the high point of his missionary career.[66] When the Lindleys retired to the United States two years later, James became pastor of the Inanda station. He was by all accounts most impressive. Over six feet tall with a booming voice, he was respected by Christians and traditionalists alike: 'he appears to know the spiritual condition of every one, converted and unconverted', noted Lindley.[67] James probably played a large part in thawing relations between the mission and Mqhawe from the late 1850s. He died in 1877 of dysentery.

Little is known of Joel Hawes. Among his and his wife Keziah's children were Thomas (discussed above) and Benjamin, both to become pastors,[68] and one of his granddaughters was in the first class of Inanda Seminary.[69] Even less is known of Jonas Mfeka, 'a pillar of the church until his death in 1891'.[70] John Mavuma, however, told his story to Martha Lindley in 1852. A veteran of both Shaka's and Dingane's armies, he also served as one of Dingane's bodyguards and executioners. However, his fortunes changed and he was condemned to death for having displeased the king. The cause may have been the refusal of

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63 Lindley's annual report for 1853, cited in Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 106
64 Gumede, 'History of the Qadi tribe', p 57
65 Marable M 'African nationalist: the life of John Langalibalele Dube' PhD Thesis (Maryland, 1976), p 40
66 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 401. Lindley and Adams were the only two AZM missionaries of this period who favoured the ordination of Africans. See Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', pp 153 and 182
67 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 403
68 Exemption application of Benjamin Hawes, 1/VLM 3/2/5 (719/1888)
69 Wood, *Shine where you are*, pp 18 and 173
70 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 283

Mavuma's chief, Dube, to submit to the king's authority (see p above). Mavuma managed to escape and flee southwards with his wife Kombozi and other members of the Qadi chiefdom. One of his sons, David, born while Dube was still alive, became a carpenter and farmer at Inanda; he and his wife Mkosi were married by Lindley in 1869. According to Martha Lindley's account, 'it troubles him very much that he has killed so many people. You would never suppose if you should see him that he could ever lift his hand to hurt a person.'[71] In the late 1860s, John Mavuma indicated a wish to become a missionary, but by then he was quite elderly.[72]

Among other early converts were Klaas Goba and John Mdima. One of the most sucessful wagoners in the district, Goba had been born Magandlela in the Zulu kingdom, probably among the Qadi, and came to Natal in the 1830s.[73] His name suggests he had had some contact with the Boers; perhaps it was in their employ that he learnt about transport riding. He was married to Maweli by Lindley in 1854. All three of their daughters attended the Seminary, one continuing as a teacher and another as a laundry assistant.[74] One of his eight sons, Cetywayo, became a minister; at least two others, Tyler and Wilder (both named after AZM missionaries) were farmers and wagoners at the Inanda station.[75] The close bonds within this mission community transmitted themselves to new generations too: one of Klaas's granddaughters, Zermet, married one of Jonas Mfeka's sons, Jackson, in 1926.[76] The Gobas featured prominently in the affairs of the mission after the Lindleys' departure (see following chapter).

John (born Maziyana) Mdima became a Christian in the 1860s; his headring was cut off by Mary Edwards, principal of the Seminary.[77] In time, he became

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71 Martha Lindley's account of John Mavuma's life, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley,* p 282
72 Lindley to Tracey, 5 February 1867, Inanda Seminary Papers, KCL
73 SNA 1/1/114 (475/1889); SNA 1/1/213 (598/1895)
74 Wood, *Shine where you are*, pp 21, 50, 73
75 SNA 1/1/152 (149/1892); SNA 1/1/152 (150/1892)
76 Edwards to Mary Tyler Gray, 21 July 1926, 'Edwards' File, A/4/61, A608
77 Wood, *Shine where you are*, p 47

chaplain of the Seminary. One of his sons, John, became a prosperous wagoner and storekeeper in Inanda, and was one of the first trustees of Dube's Ohlange school.[78] Another, Simelinkonza, was infected with leprosy and was specially cared for at the mission. One of his daughters, Sellina, became a missionary and went to Mozambique in the 1890s, while another, Nokutela, married John Dube (see also chapter 6). In the 1870s, the elder John and his wife went to live at Bishopstowe.

Institutionalisation of the church led to the formal establishment of related work. Lucy Lindley, for example, was one of the founders and the first 'Directress' of the Maternal Association, founded in 1849 specifically to encourage the participation of women in mission work.[79] She had already begun training young African women in domestic duties, what one of her children called the 'alphabet of civilisation',[80] with the aim of preparing them as helpmates for African male converts. She was later to be instrumental in the foundation of the Seminary at Inanda.

From the early 1850s, Lindley agitated to move the site of his mission. The main reason was the economic aspirations of the approximately seventeen convert families: 'as we are now, my people are actually in a strait for ground which can be cultivated even with the native hoe', Lindley commented, 'the people here [are] doomed to dig everlastingly with a heathenish instrument for their bread.'[81] The link between commercial stimulus and Christian conversion has been traced, especially in Bundy's landmark study on the South African peasantry[82]; in similar vein, Etherington has noted the coincidence between the most successful missions and those with the best land.[83] The obverse, that where converts were

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78 SNA to Goodenough, 25 July 1905, A/2/24, A608; Dube N 'The story of my life', copy in Dube Papers, KCL

79 Record Book of the Maternal Association, Lindley Mission Station, 1849-1878, in Mary Tyler Papers, A/4/61, A608

80 Cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 281

81 Lindley to Anderson 1855, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 314

82 Bundy C *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry*, especially chapter 6 on Natal

83 Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 91

unable to forge ahead by means of plough technology because of poor mission land, they would abandon it in favour of something better, worried Lindley.

He also feared that Lieutenant-Governor Pine, who arrived in 1850, (and of whom Lindley did not think highly) might be persuaded by settler demands for labour to break up the locations[84]. In a related development, an assisted emigrants' scheme in 1850-51 had resulted in a settlement of over five hundred whites at Verulam, ostensibly to supply the Lancashire mills with cotton.[85] It seemed that African land rights were coming under considerable pressure. Finally, he may have wished for a firmer basis vis-a-vis Mqhawe and his continuing reluctance to co-operate with the mission.

While some of these factors were specific to Inanda, others were felt more generally by the AZM and other missions. The AZM appealed directly to the Cape Governor, Sir George Grey, to intervene, by setting aside special tracts of land in order that their work could be assured. Grey assented, and mission reserves were allocated to all the active missions in Natal in terms of Ordinance 5 of 1856.[86] Small glebes, each of five hundred acres, were granted outright in freehold to the mission societies; the larger reserves were vested in a Board of Trustees, in the AZM case so that it 'may have a fixed population to labour among...without let or hindrance.'[87] In other words, each reserve was intended 'to be a parish for the particular denomination which occupied it'.[88]

The Inanda mission reserve, a flange of land some 11,500 acres in extent, was attached to the southern eastern edge of the location. It contained more open and undulating terrain, well suited to plough agriculture, and was exactly what Lindley had hoped for: '[o]ver this region, the Inanda missionary is bishop', he

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84 Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, pp 23-5; Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 72

85 Robertson H M 'The 1849 settlers in Natal' in *The South Africa Journal of Economics* 17, 1949; Hattersley A *The Natal settlers 1849-51* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949); Park M 'The history of early Verulam, 1850-1860' in *Archives Yearbook for South African History* 11, 1953

86 Grey to Grout, 23 May, 1856 in File 1849-1856, A/2/22 A608

87 Copy of Grant and map, document 4579, File 1883, A/2/22 A608

declared.[89] 'This region', however, was also the Qadi heartland, the very area to which the Qadi had been attracted two decades before. Thus the most influential 'parishioners' were not only quite outside the purview of the local church, but had developed a pronounced anatagonism towards it. Even where there was an obliging official framework to protect them, missionaries had little prospect of progress without a modicum of goodwill between themselves and local chiefs. Lindley's claim to Mqhawe's most desirable lands hardly seemed calculated to effect such an improvement in their relationship.

Yet not long after the new site at Inanda had been occupied in 1857, matters between the missionary and the chief did improve. The main reason was probably that Mqhawe realised that the reserve would secure access to land for his chiefdom. Commercial interests far stronger than either those of the converts or the Qadi would eventually clamour for privatisation of this crown land,[90] and the Qadi would then be undermined, either by labour tenancy or by removal to the location. Thus Lindley's and Mqhawe's needs converged in the establishment of the mission reserve.

In practical terms, the approximately 1,500 Qadi on the mission reserve now became subject to the same conditions as their counterparts in the neighbouring location, having to pay hut tax and to render *isibhalo* labour. While those who had been resident prior to the proclamation of the reserve did not pay rent, later arrivals were charged 10/- a year for each hut. This financial commitment, added to the missionaries' assiduous gate-keeping, ensured a very low number of newcomers: even in the 1890s, for example, the Inanda reserve yielded only £8 or £9 annually from rent.[91] This situation probably suited Mqhawe, since it amounted to a form of protection for his people and their natural increase. Indeed, it is doubtful that the missionaries could have carried out this function -

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88 S O Samuelson, *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 10

89 Quoted in Dinnerstein, The American Board Mission', p 89

90 As noted above, there was an attempt to make this land available to white farmers in the early 1900s.

and they did occasionally complain of the difficulties of enforcing decisions about occupation - without Mqhawe's co-operation. Excepting the converts, Lindley customarily consulted him before applicants were admitted (or refused). Newcomers *de facto* fell under him, unless their loyalties were unequivocally with the mission. The arrangement did not seem to inhibit the chief's capacity to settle new followers; those who were unable to find a place on the mission reserve could be housed in the location, or, later on, at the Qadi farm, Incwadi.

The government's powers on the mission reserves were severely restricted until new legislation in 1904 permitted extensive interference. Until then, magistrates had no right to define chiefdoms' boundaries on reserves, or to settle garden disputes: these were the prerogative of the missionary, who only resorted to the magistrate for support in difficult cases. Because the influx of people onto the Inanda reserve was restricted, and because the entire population belonged to a single chiefdom, there were far fewer conflicts there than in the location. Mqhawe generally had the missionaries' backing when members of other chiefdoms encroached on his people's land.

Lindley assigned garden plots and housing sites on the glebe to each of the approximately twenty convert families.[92] Grazing commonage was also set aside. During the planting season, cattle were carefully herded during the day and driven into an enclosure at night. Maize was the chief crop; there were no experiments with new ones such as cotton or sugar, as tried on other AZM stations.[93] The same plots were used year after year by the same families; 'by common consent', the question of legal title to them did not arise.[94] Any disputes were settled by the missionary.

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91 File 'Correspondence 1893-4', A/1/10 A608
92 Holden W *A history of the Colony of Natal, South Africa* (London, 1855), p 206
93 Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 129
94 Pixley to Beaumont, 28 December 1887, 1/VLM 3/2/5 (9/1888)

One result of this arrangement was that converts could not claim any immovable property of their own, an unwelcome hindrance for some aspiring converts, such as Klaas Goba. Production for profit required not only more land than subsistence agriculture, but greater investment in concomitants such as fencing, equipment and buildings, all of which were insecure without title. The efforts of the missionaries to preserve the integrity of their stations thus undermined the very entrepreneurial spirit they were trying to encourage. The question of title later became a point of bitter dispute (see following chapter). On the other hand, this state of affairs met with Mqhawe's unqualified approval: as far as he was concerned, private land ownership was one of the worst evils in the colony. He must have admired Lindley for what as he saw as his stand against its ravages. Once again, although coming from very different angles, their concern over private landownership represented another point of convergence between them.

Among the converts, there was as much attention paid to the distribution of their and other people's goods as to producing them: after ten years at the new station, Lindley could say, 'everything that runs on wheels is now away from my station earning something.'[95] The consequence was that 'some of our best men are so deep in worldly affairs that I hardly see how they can creep out from under the load they are now carrying.'[96] Both James Dube and Klaas Goba had elevated themselves considerably through their transport riding activities;[97] James probably assited Mqhawe to establish himself in this business too. Critical to wagoning was a decent system of roads, and Lindley mission was served by a well-maintained road to the nearest railhead at Duff's Road, some ten miles away. The reserve and location beyond lacked this facility, a constant complaint of Mqhawe's until a road was built up the Umzinyathi valley in the 1890s.

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95 Quoted in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 380
96 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 398
97 SNA 1/1/114 475/1889

Growing prosperity can be glimpsed in other, less direct ways. The church burnt down in 1862,[98] and resources to replace it came entirely from the local congregation. When a violent storm destroyed the new structure in 1873, the Inanda converts raised no less than £400 in order to rebuild.[99] In the early 1870s, John Robinson, the future prime minister of Natal, obeserved that Inanda mission, 'presents a thriving aspect. The houses of the natives are comfortable and substantial; the church is a commodious edifice; the large building used as a seminary for the higher education of native students, is a large gabled structure...'[100]

Two AZM reserves were demarcated inside the Inanda location, at Tafamasi and Umsunduze. Each of approximately 5,500 acres, they were located in difficult terrain. Tafamasi was situated in the roughly incised valley of the Umdhloti river; in a disarmingly candid report government inspectors observed in the 1890s that 'the heat and broken nature of the country renders it almost useless for any purpose beyond occupation by natives.'[101] Umsunduze was on marginally better land on the Mona river. From their inception, there had been a white missionary at each, Marsh at Tafamasi and Tyler at Umsunduze. There were small communities of converts, more heterogeneous in origin than at Inanda, coming from the Pepeta, Ngcolosi, Nyuswa, Tshangase and Qadi chiefdoms.

Because of financial hardship in the 1870s, the AZM did not replace departing white missionaries at these two stations. Benjamin Hawes, supported by the Home Missionary Society (set up by the AZM in 1860 and financed by converts in Natal to support African preachers and pastors), continued to preside over Tafamasi, although many converts gravitated either to Inanda or elsewhere. Led by Jonathan and William Ngidi, who became well known assistants to Bishop

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98 The station's marriage and baptism registers, log book and other documents were destroyed in the blaze, key evidence in tracing patterns of marriage and social interaction

99 Martha Lindley to Governor of Natal, 19 December 1874, SNA 1/1/24 (110/1877). This church building still stands

100 Robinson, *Notes on Natal*, pp 16-7

101 SNA 1/1/141 (524/1891)

Colenso,[102] some removed to Bishopstowe. While Etherington notes that 'station-to-station movements [of Africans] paid little heed to denominational distinctions',[103] decisions about where to relocate, if a move became necessary, seem to have been made more methodically than has been recognised, and took into consideration factors such as links between individual missionaries and their known positions on the social and political issues of the day.[104]

The many transformations set in train by the missionaries' work were not confined to the converts. On their return from a period of furlough in the United States in 1863, the Lindleys were welcomed by Mqhawe himself, 'in clean white linen clothes', and several of his followers on horseback who, when they removed their hats, revealed their headrings.[105] Soon after, Mqhawe arrived at Sunday school, explaining that he wished to learn to read and write, in order to be able to 'write letters to the Government.'[106] About this time, he asked Lindley to assist him in the purchase of a custom-built wagon, for which he paid £70 in cash, and Lindley also accompanied him on a buying expedition to Durban

> to aid him in buying clothes. He bought three good coats, three pairs of trowsers [sic], two vests, a shirt, a pair of braces and a *clothes brush*. He rode a horse I would much like to own, and with us were sixteen Natives, all on horseback. It was quite a turn-out - one that attracted attention.[107]

As this case clearly demonstrates, clothing had become more than a badge of religious identity. Apart from colonial requirements of decorum for Africans in towns, European clothing had become part of a broader statement of status within colonial society, separating a narrow band of commercially successful

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[102] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 106

[103] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 100

[104] Colenso and Lindley had first met on the Bishop's ten-week 'tour of visitation' in 1854. Colenso was impressed by Lindley's efforts and approach, and the two agreed that the term Unkulunkulu was the most appropriate Zulu term for a single Creator. See Guy J *The heretic*, p 48; Colenso W *Ten weeks in Natal*, pp 237-9; Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 281. Links between their stations multiplied in subsequent years.

[105] Martha Lindley's account, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 355

[106] Martha Lindley's account, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 381

[107] Lindley's account, September 1864, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 381

individuals from the rest. Further, within the category 'European clothing' would have been a range of nice distinctions readily recognised by contemporary wearers, including size of wardrobe (something Lindley was keenly aware of in relation to Mqhawe because of his smaller selection of outfits) and whether home-made (as much mission station attire was) or purchased from imported ranges.

The visible signs of economic development at the mission, not least in the rising fortunes of his uncle, James Dube, as well as his realisation that Christianity had a very wide variety of practices and policies,[108] probably persuaded Mqhawe that there were distinct advantages in closer co-operation that did not have to entail conversion, which he perceived would interfere to greatly with his hereditary chiefship. The Tswana chief, Mothibi, had made a similar distinction between what was desirable and undesirable, in the Comaroffs' study.[109] Missionaries had brought with them material goods, skills and contacts which the state never matched, and which could be used by the Qadi as so many more fibres to be woven into the strong social fabric of their colonial chiefdom.

This was later exemplified in the visit by a touring American Board delegation to Mqhawe's homestead, where, 'though surrounded by manifold signs of heathenism, the chief freely acknowledged the benefits his people had received from the presence and labours of the missionaries.'[110] In recognition of such benefits, Lindley acquired his praise name at the time of Mqhawe's change in approach, *uBebe omhlophe*, 'White Bebe', after one of the chiefly forebears. 'Bebe's *idhlozi* is now worshipped, you know, as a god', Nancy Damon explained to the Lindley family, 'and they feel that their father and *umfundisi* beloved deserves the name that their father ancestor had.'[111]

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[108] Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 168
[109] Comaroffs, *Of revelation and revolution*, p 233
[110] *Report of the deputation sent by the American Board to its Mission in sout eastern Africa in 1903*. Copy in volume 51, A608

Mqhawe's new attitude was a sign to others that contact with the mission was acceptable, not so much in seeking religious conversion (although more did now) as for education and economic advantage. Others followed his example in learning to read and write, reflected in growing attendance at school, for which 6d a week was charged to pay for the teachers it was now necessary to employ.[112] Among the pupils were many of Mqhawe's children; one son, Tyaya, later taught other of his siblings at the so-called 'kraal school' which opened near Mqhawe's Ekumanzeni homestead.[113] Further, those adopting Christianity in the Qadi domain no longer had to 'flee' to the mission but could cntinue their original homestead sites. Much later, in the 1890s, two or three of Mqhawe's wives enquired about conversion to Christianity. Although African congregants were welcoming, the chairman of the AZM conference, Rev H D Goodenough, stipulated that they would have to leave their homesteads first, signifying they had 'divorced' their husband.[114] The wives' decisions, in the light of the missionary edict, is not known.

In the more benign climate, Lindley's views on African customs such as *lobola* and polygamy, which had previously conformed to official AZM policy,[115] softened. The segmentary, decentralising tendencies of nonconformism were countermanded by the AZM's need to present a united front on the criteria for church membership of would-be converts. At its 1867 annual meeting, the AZM resolved that *ukulobola* was 'contrary to the spirit of humanity and greatly retards the progress of civilization'; Lindley's dissenting view was that

> uku-lobola has been, on the whole a great blessing to the people...a great great majority of the cruelties suffered by marriageable girls come in no sense whatever out of uku-

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111 Damon to Mary Lindley, 1864, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 356

112 Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 381. The issue of education is separately dealt with in chapter 7.

113 SNA 1/1/33 (43/1879)

114 Dyer Macebo in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, p 43

115 See Dinnerstein, 'The American Borad Mission', p 100

> lobola...By means of this custom families which intermarry are bound together in a closer, firmer bond than they otherwise would be...[116]

His views were now closer to those of Colenso[117] than to his own AZM colleagues, and he went so far as to offer to resign from the Mission than to support the abolition of *ukulobola*.[118] It was only after Lindley's retirement in 1873 that the AZM was able to give effect to its resolution: in 1874, it outlawed the practice among its converts.[119]

There is a story which found its way into popular lore[120] and which, whatever the degree of correspondence to the events it describes, is an interesting comment on how the relationship between Mqhawe and Lindley was viewed by the tellers. It is also in keeping with Mqhawe's pattern of adopting an initially combative posture towards policies and practices which he believed would work against his interests, but which, before long, subsided into either quiescence or acquiescence. Atthe time of the Hlubi rebellion in 1873, it was rumoured that Mqhawe wished to support the Hlubi chief, Langalibalele, by attacking Durban. In the oral version of this story, Langalibalele sent one Gamela to the Qadi chief to organise the joint preparation of warriors for war. Lindley got to hear of this, and accompanied by J F Fleetwood, a settler who supported the mission financially, went to Mqhawe's homestead.

> He had a long, quiet talk with Umqawe, telling him he had come as a friend, and pointed out, most emphatically, that, though the white people in Natal were few in comparison with

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116 Lindley to Clark, 22 October 1869, cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, pp 393-5

117 See Guy, *The heretic*, p 74

118 Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 261

119 Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 174

120 There is an oral as well as a literate version, differing in detail but not basic content. It is doubtful that the former derived from the latter, since the written version was published in fairly obscure sources. The published account first appeared in a 1925 letter, reproduced in Gray M T 'Stories of the early American missionaries in South Africa', file 'Centenary 1935', A/4/58, A608. Mary Tyler Gray, the missionary Josiah Tyler's daughter, spent much time in the Lindley household when she was young. Hers is the earliest written account that could be traced. It is reproduced verbatim (but not attributed) in Buchanan B *Natal memories* (Pietermaritzburg, 1941), p 92, and a shorter (attributed) version appears in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 417. The oral version was told by Baba Khumalo, interview with S Khumalo and H Hughes, KwaMashu, 1 December, 1985

> the natives, they came from a land where unlimited supply of soldiers could be brought out in a few months...The chief promised to remain quiet and see what would happen to Langalibalele. When they were leaving the chief said, 'You are the only two men to whom I would have listened.'[121]

The Lindleys left South Africa before the rebellion came to an end. Their departure also predated the appearance of serious cracks in the edifice of Shepstonism and missionary paternalism, related styles of rule with which Lindley had been so closely involved. Whether he, like Colenso, would have become openly hostile to Shepstone in the wake of the rebellion, is an open question. But because he left when he did, a generally favourable impression of him remained. 'Will anyone who was resident here in the early period venture to affirm that we have ever had a brighter intellect than the Rev. Mr Lindley?' asked John Bird.[122] And John Dube excepted only Lindley when he criticised white missionaries for their failure to support the social and political aspirations of converts.[123]

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[121] Churchill to Smith, 1925, cited in Gray, 'Stories of the early American missionaries', A/4/58, A608

[122] Bird J 'Is the Kafir population of Natal alien or aboriginal?', p 20. Copy in Bird Papers, A420

[123] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 101

Chapter 6: 'A spirit of division'[1]: Mqhawe and the mission from the 1870s

As the previous chapter anticipated, splits and alliances between converts and traditionalists at Inanda after the 1870s were no simple matter of Christianity pitched against heathenism, of the integrity of the chiefdom threatened by the onward march of Christian soldiers. Instead, the Christians' ranks became deeply divided over the very issue of relations with the Qadi chief, which in turn shaped the fortunes of both the chiefdom and of different sets of Christians. This chapter attempts to chart and explain the various tendencies and alignments and their culmination in an acrimonious battle for control of Inanda's converts in the 1890s.

Although he did not achieve the level of prominence as did his close kinsman J L Dube, the life of Madikane Cele eloquently expresses the most important themes of this chapter.[2] Madikane was born in the late 1820s, at the time Dingane began his reign, on the banks of the Nsuze river, where the Qadi were then settled. His ancestral origins were in the Cele chiefdom, which he said had sprung from the Mtetwa paramountcy, but at some stage his people had been incorporated into the Ngcobo paramountcy. His father, Mlomowetole kaBobo kaNdhlulisa kaMpinda, had seen active service for Shaka in the Ntontela regiment.

It was Madikane who gave important evidence to Stuart on the meaning of Lala: 'Shaka used tell us that we did not have the cunning to invent things because we were *amalala*. Our tongues lay flat (*lala*) in our mouths, and we did not speak in

[1] Pixley to Smith, 8 September 1896, cited in Marable, 'African nationalist', p 83

[2] This account has been compiled from the following sources: Plant R *The Zulu in three tenses, being a forecast of the Zulu's future in the light of his past and present* (Pietermaritzburg, 1905), pp 85-91; Madikane's testimony in *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, pp 52-59; Wood, *Shine where you are*; Marable, 'African nationalist'; Interviews with F G Msomi, 7 October 1988 and 13 October 1988; M V Gumede, various letters and interviews; reports in *Ilanga lase Natal*; various documents in SNA

the Ntungwa fashion'.[3] Had the Qadi remained in the Thukela valley, he would have been drafted into the same regiment as Cetshwayo, the Tulwana. Instead, as a herdboy, he crossed into Natal in the late 1830s with other followers of Dabeka. It was also he who related how the Qadi had re-established themselves, with the cattle brought into Natal by Mawa.

Madikane was extremely close to Mqhawe: 'I had the transaction of the most important of my chief's business, which kept me constantly occupied.'[4] Among other duties, he arranged Mqhawe's marriages, including that of his principal wife, Ntozethu. He himself donned a headring, marrying three wives. Like Mqhawe, he was dedicated to using colonial conditions to strengthen the chiefdom in Natal; this was to occupy him for thirty or so years.

Then sometime in the 1870s, he began attending classes at the Lindley mission's day school, not far from his home on the reserve. He said that he took this step in order to transact his chief's business more effectively. Mqhawe recalled him, however, claiming that 'everything was going wrong without me'.[5] Madikane did not give up his desire to learn to read and write, however, and on the pretext of visiting relations on the south coast of the colony, took himself off to Adams mission at Amanzimtoti a year or so later. There, despite himself, he declared his interest in becoming a Christian.

> ...I was intent only on learning to read and write; and I went up to the missionary's house with this thought and no other in my mind...I wished him good morning, to which... he replied, 'Yes, what do you want?' 'Oh, Umfundisi,' I said, 'I want to learn how to be a Christian!' In a moment the thought came to me, 'You are telling a lie; that is not what you have come for'...God made me say it; I myself was not speaking...'[6]

On completion of his basic education at Adams, Madikane returned home. News of his transformation had preceded him, and two of his wives, the first and

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[3] *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, p 55
[4] Plant, *The Zulu in three tenses*, p 86
[5] Plant, *The Zulu in three tenses,* p 87
[6] Plant, *The Zulu in three tenses*, p 87-8

second he had married,[7] had already decided to leave his homestead. He called all his kinsmen to a gathering to announce his conversion to Christianity, but made it clear also that '[Madikane] is your friend still.' [8] Then he cut his headring off: this for him was both a tangible and emotional sign of his separation from the chiefdom. Together with the best beast in his herd, he sent the headring to Mqhawe as formal notification of his having become a convert. (Significantly, unlike most others in his position, he did not assume a new, Christian, name.)

In the late 1880s, after a period at the Inanda mission completing his education and preaching, Madikane established an outstation of the mission at Amatata, in the vicinity of the Khumalo chief, Bhulutshe, who was married to Mqhawe's first-born daughter, Nomasonto.[9] By 1890, he had a small number of children in the school he had built and 'a fine house in the course of building.' [10] Whenever the magistrate or other colonial officials visited that part of the Inanda location, they put up at Madikane's house and sometimes used his horses.[11]

He and the wife who remained with him, Sivono, had two daughters, Nombingo (born 1877) who taught at the Seminary, and Nomhlangano (born 1891) and two sons, Agrippa (born 1881) and Nehemiah (born 1886). Two other sons, Qandeyana and Mabhelubhelu, who had been born to his former wives, came to live with him when their mothers died in the 1890s. Both studied in the United States; Mabhelubhelu never returned to South Africa, while Qandeyana married a white American before he came back to Inanda. They settled at Amatata, where Qandeyana took over his father's pastoral duties about 1910. (By the 1920s, Qandeyana Cele and John Dube were the two largest African landowners

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[7] Madikane's note, 19 February 1897, attached to his application for exemption, SNA 1/1/238 (212/1897)
[8] Plant, *The Zulu in three tenses,* p 90
[9] Interview with F G Msomi, Amatata, 7 October 1988
[10] Fayle's diary, 24 May 1890, SNA 1/1/125 (632/1890)
[11] SNA 1/1/113 (258/1889)

in the Inanda district.[12]) Other sons of Madikane's earlier marriages visited him from time to time; the eldest, Muziwengcuba, tried to claim the church building after Madikane's death, believing it to be his rightful inheritance. [13]

In various local ways, he maintained close associations with both Mqhawe and John Dube. He deputised for Mqhawe at several meetings with the magistrate (about conditions in the reserve, fencing, and so on) and missionaries. He and Mqhawe served on the first board of trustees of Dube's Ohlange Industrial Institution, founded in 1901. When he spoke to Stuart in 1905, Madikane, like Mqhawe, felt a great sense of unease: 'What is now clear is that we shall be done harm, we shall die, we shall be done harm by the Government.' [14] After Mqhawe's death a year later, it was none other than Madikane who, momentarily returning to the position he had held earlier in his life, arranged the *amahlambo* ceremonies at Mqhawe's homestead.[15] Madikane himself died in about 1910; according to his wishes, he was buried outside the church he had built at Amatata.

Madikane's story suggests an unusual set of relationships at Inanda, of an abiding link between chief and convert. Etherington was able to find only two exceptions to his general conclusion that chiefs in Natal either put up a determined resistance to christianisation (the overwhelming majority), or wished to draw closer to missionaries but feared ridicule or worse from their subjects. One of these was Mqhawe, who had managed to accommodate the missionaries without doing damage to his chiefly status: 'By 1881 Mqhawe was able to report that the advent of Christianity in his vicinity had done nothing to interfere with his chiefly authority, and that Christian and heathen members of his tribe

[12] Evidence of T J Allison, *Minutes of Evidence of Natal Native Land Committee 1918*, p 291
[13] Interview with F G Msomi, Amatata, 13 October 1988
[14] *The James Stuart archive* vol 2, pp 53-4
[15] SNA 1/1/356 3905/1906; report in *Ilanga lase Natal* 23 November 1906

intermingled without friction. No other Nguni chief could make that statement.' [16] Mqhawe was clearly very good at presenting himself as unperturbed by the advent of Christianity; his statement glossed over some of the awkward problems he had experienced as a result of its arrival. Yet his ability to absorb the shocks and to turn the seemingly disadvantageous to his advantage meant that there was, by the 1880s, more than a grain of truth in his claim.

There is another hint, in previous research, that relations at Inanda were exceptional. When Dinnerstein was doing fieldwork there, she noted that

> Even in the 1960s, the people at Inanda think of themselves as Qadi and Ngcobo, and the chief has ties of kinship with most families in the area. The most progressive people, in fact, are related to the chief and the people are unwilling to give allegiance to a Christian chief.[17]

Before the rarity of these relations at Inanda can be more fully explored,[18] it is necessary to examine the norm from which this case is deemed to have departed. The literature on convert-traditionalist relations (or more exactly, non-relations) in colonial Natal overwhelmingly conveys the sense that converts lived in isolation on their mission stations, islands in a hostile, or at best, indifferent, sea of the great mass of African people in the region.[19] Those washed up on their shores had been fugitives, social misfits, the dislocated, dispossessed and

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[16] *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 70. The other exception he names was Mnini. John Lambert also notes Mqhawe's anomalous position: see his 'Africans in Natal 1880-1899: continuity, change and crisis in a rural society' Ph D thesis (UNISA, 1986), pp 126-7

[17] Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 82

[18] Although the literature is conclusive that Inanda was the only example of a more complex set of relationships between kholwa and traditionalists, it is doubtful that the 'Inanda' template left an imprint at this one mission station only. At the Umsunduze station, for example, similar though less celebrated connections were evident, principally involving Thomas Hawes (the pastor), Dick Nyuswa (the kholwa headman whom chief Deliweyo wished to appoint) and Cleophus Ncapayi (the kholwa headman appointed by Hawes). See SNA 1/1/161 (1030/1892). At Tafamasi, where Thomas's brother Benjamin was resident pastor, 'several relatives of the chief [Macebo] have connected themselves with the station.' Rood to SNA, 18 August 1886, SNA 1/1/91 (677/1886). Beyond these slivers of evidence, however, the question as to wider application must await further study.

[19] Examples are Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, Meintjes, 'Edendale, 1850-1906', Bundy C *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry* (London, 1979)

disempowered.[20] With neophytic zeal, they stamped themselves with a new cultural hallmark: morally upright people in starched clothing inhabiting modest, frugally furnished square houses, practising a devout Christianity of head, hand and heart. They laboured hard in kitchen and field, classroom and chapel, to improve their chances in this world as well as the next.

They laboured, too, to define a new cultural milieu for themselves as well as their children; it was not an easy task. As James Matiwana of the Wesleyan mission station at Verulam said,

> We do use European food, such as coffee, sugar, bread and such like; butter also; we also use pepper and salt. We have given up our Native dancing, and attend tea meetings and the like. We have no social gatherings, except weddings and such like. The boys and girls have no games; they have given up our Native games; the boys do play at marbles sometimes...[21]

It was probably partially due to the difficulties of transmitting brand new mores that, when their children reached adulthood, they filled in some of the blanks in ways not liked by missionaries, who noted certain 'lapses' in moral rectitude and a return to certain old practices, such as *ukulobola*.[22] The cultural as well as the physical transition required of early Christian converts was undoubtedly enormous: it meant 'a fundamental alteration in lifestyle'.[23] What struck Meintjes about Edendale, for example, was the similarity of its 'pattern of family and educational life...to colonial family life and even life in rural village England', rather than to anything in the homesteads converts had abandoned.[24]

Converts felt extremely isolated as they struggled to create a new identity: Jacobus Matiwane of Verulam told the 1881 Commission that 'the outside Natives look upon us as a separate people'. This was the term which converts

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[20] See for example Dinnerstein, 'American Board Mission', p 38; Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics,* pp 91-97
[21] James Matiwana, *Evidence taken before the Native Affairs Commission 1881*, p 387
[22] Dinnerstein, 'American Board Mission', ch 7
[23] Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence,* p 46
[24] Meintjes, 'Edendale, 1850-1906', p 136

generally used to refer to traditionalists: the 'outside people'. The very notion of traditionalists being the outsiders (rather than themselves) indicated a certain confidence in their new-found 'inside' sanctuary, a belief shared by the lowliest as well as the loftiest members of *kholwa* society that their status had been, or would be, much improved by identification with the Christian mission. Some believed as passionately as any labour-starved white settler that the locations preserved a barbarous lifestyle and some that the land ought to be broken up for freehold.

Yet this term also indicated a certain fearfulness of 'outsiders', a sense of being caught inside their self-made stockade. Converts were dependent on their resident missionary for many kinds of resources, not least of which was protection - against the actions of outsiders and later, against the increasingly hostile colonial establishment. Both senses, of sanctuary and stockade, tended to reinforce the distance between convert and traditionalist, which in turn acted as 'a powerful spur to material and educational advancement.' [25] It was from their ranks that a prosperous landowning, farming, entrepreneurial class grew.[26]

Other forms of association - political, economic, social - are thought to have followed the same contours as the wide cultural gulf which separated *kholwa* communities from traditionalists. So great did this gulf become that the particular political configurations of the 1920s and 1930s, involving leading converts and the Zulu royal house, as well as certain white segregationist ideologues of the day, were noted as significant phenomena requiring explanation.[27]

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[25] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 115

[26] Etherington, 'Natal's first black capitalists' in *Theoria*, 45, 1975, pp 29-40; Bundy, *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry,* ch 6

[27] See principally Marks S 'Natal, the Zulu royal family and the ideology of segregation' originally published in 1978 and reproduced in Beinart W and S Dubow (Eds) *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth-century South Africa* (London, 1995); Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, especially chs 1 & 2; also Cope N *To bind the nation. Solomon kaDinuzulu and Zulu nationalism 1913-1933.* Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, pp 54-5.

At this point, it is necessary to return to Inanda. Here, the convert-traditionalist divide was a somewhat more complex matter, as the station community itself became deeply disjoined over relations with traditionalists. One section, led by the Dubes, maintained close and mutually supportive links with the Qadi elite; as Dinnerstein observed, this was the faction which prevailed in local politics for a century afterwards. Another, led by the Gobas, determinedly set itself against the 'outside' people. As Dinnerstein observed, it was the Dube-led faction and its particular approach which prevailed in local politics for another century. Both sections shared certain cultural aspirations, yet each found a different mode of dealing with the ambiguities inherent in their position.

At the same time, Marks notes that 'deculturation' among the kholwa in Natal was not quite as complete as first appearances would suggest, although the example she cites, that of Pixley kaIsaka Seme, could serve merely to reinforce the particularity of Inanda.[28] Among the Qadi, there were several cases of kholwa-traditionalist marriages, as well as of *kholwa* holding *ukwomulisa* feasts. Fayle complained that *kholwa* women planted their mealies in as haphazard a way as their traditionalist sisters, and refused to learn the blessings of straight lines.[29] Various forms of assistance bridged the divide, too: for example, the pastor Maziyana Nyokana periodically lent his gun to his traditionalist son-in-law, Benikalukuni.[30] Such associations were clearly important in affecting cultural mixes and outcomes, and were certainly not unique to Inanda,[31] although they were probably more widespread there. What is at issue, however, are deliberate associations over and above day-to-day contact between family members, and kin ties that were turned to political purpose.

As noted in the previous chapter, James Dube assumed the pastorship of the Inanda mission station in 1873. However, the AZM conference was still not

[28] Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, pp 54-5
[29] Fayle's diary, 11 January 1890, SNA 1/1/122 (45/1890)
[30] SNA 1/1/246 (101/1897)
[31] Meintjes notes similar continuities at Edendale, in ‘Edendale 1850-1906’, pp 152-3

entirely convinced of the wisdom of African leadership in church matters (something Boston was urging them towards) and it was unwilling to engage in such an experiment on one of its most prestigious stations. Accordingly, it appointed a white successor to Lindley, the Rev Stephen Clapp Pixley. Partly because he did not play the same significant historical role of the first generation American missionaries, and partly because his main contribution to mission work was in the self-effacing field of biblical translation, rather than in notable achievements in the social or political spheres, his life is not nearly as well documented as his predecessor's.

Born to a Congregational farming family in Plainfield, Massachusetts in 1829, Pixley received his early tuition as a boarder in the home of the local pastor (along similar lines to the 'family system' on Natal mission stations). He attended Williams College and East Windsor Seminary before his ordination in 1855. Almost immediately, he left for South Africa, first assisting his brother-in-law the Rev David Rood (also an AZM missionary) at Umlazi, where a boys' seminary had been founded in 1853,[32] before moving to his first substantial pastoral appointment at Amahlongwa, a small AZM station on the Natal south coast. He and his wife were based there for twelve years before their move to Inanda. In station matters, he tended to follow AZM policy closely. He was responsible for translating one book of the Old Testament into Zulu, and for overseeing revisions to the others. He took the first Zulu translation of the complete bible to the United States for printing in 1883.[33]

Pixley's position as 'supervisor' at Inanda was not very clear while James Dube was alive. He was also somewhat overshadowed by the principal of the girls' seminary, Mary Edwards (see following chapter). On the station, Pixley favoured the general AZM policy of appointing a *kholwa* headman (rather than pastor) as

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[32] This institution, not much of a success at Umlazi, was reopened at Adams's mission at Amanzimtoti in 1865. See Dinnerstein, 'American Board Mission', pp 136-139

[33] Compiled from documentation in Ind Bio 47/35, ABCFM Papers, Houghton Library, Boston

leader of the station's converts, over whom the (white) missionary could have some control. In the immediate wake of James Dube's death, he encouraged those who supported this development and somewhat later, in the 1890s, revealed a strong dislike for John Dube. Pixley's one outstanding characteristic was his length of service at Inanda: by 1903, he could append to his letters '46 years a missionary in Natal'.[34] Through all his long reign, Mqhawe thus had only two supervising missionaries with whom to deal, which simplified his task of trying to understand 'the missionary mind'.

There was a temporary dip in the chief's contact with the mission on James Dube's death in 1877, when he made a final bid to recover the cattle he believed had wrongfully been removed by Dalida Dube 28 years earlier. However, Pixley, who thought Mqhawe 'an intemperate heathen man', ensured that the property of Dube's widow, Elizabeth, would be secure from customary law, even though James had not been exempted.[35] A few years later, Mqhawe had evidently mended his relations with the Dubes, claiming that 'I have [James Dube's] children with me and I do not take *ukulobola* for them',[36] although the incident set the tone for future dealings between himself and Pixley. Mqhawe's position was protected more by Pixley's assiduous policing of the mission reserve (at least until the 1890s) than because of any particular rapport between missionary and chief. In this respect, Mqhawe deeply regretted Lindley's departure.

From the late 1870s, AZM policy favoured a broad *cordon sanitaire* around converts, in order to protect them from the heathenish influences of traditionalists. In contrast to Lindley, Pixley welcomed the AZM's firmer stance. The so-called Umsunduze Rules, published in 1879, adopted a hardline attitude to customs ranging from those associated with marriage (*ukungena* and *ukulobola*) to imbibing alcohol.[37] In their place, a christianised pseudo-tribalism

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[34] See for example letter to Samuelson, 14 August 1903, SNA 1/1/289 (1161/1900)
[35] Pixley to Acting SNA, 21 November 1877, SNA 1/1/29 (896/1877)
[36] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Native Affairs Commission 1881*, p 229
[37] 'Rules for the Regulation of the Churches connected with the AZM', ABM A608 A/1/7

(the promotion of a communal sense of solidarity, hierarchically ordered and presided over by a 'chief', whose authority would be unquestioned) was to be encouraged. Legislation emanating from the colonial government assisted towards this end.

In terms of the Native Administration Act of 1875, the general effect of which was to strengthen a 'tribal tradition' in the governance of Africans in Natal,[38] provision had been made for the appointment of *izinduna*, or headmen, from among the ranks of station converts. Instead of their being gradually incorporated into a common colonial society, African converts were being encouraged to look upon themselves as polities akin to 'tribes', 'reflected in the [official] use of the term *amakholwa* in the same way as any other tribal or clan name' then current.[39]

The first such headman appointed on the Inanda station, in 1879, was Klaas Goba (introduced in chapter 5). Goba's jurisdiction as headman was confined to the mission glebe, where in the late 1870s some one hundred families of converts had their homes and land.[40] As William Beaumont, the Inanda magistrate from 1886, understood the role, 'mission *indunas* are only appointed to assist the missionaries and to hear civil cases between natives living on the station when so desired'.[41] Here was a new source of revenue for Goba, since every case he heard earned him a fee from the parties concerned. He also collected taxes (eg dog tax) and rents, for which he also received a fee, and was generally expected to act as a conduit of information between the converts and Pixley. He did not volunteer for service in the war in 1879, but did respond to a call to register for duty in 1881.[42]

Under his headmanship, the first applications for exemption from Native Law from Inanda were received by the Secretary for Native Affairs. There had,

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[38] See Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, pp 155-158; Meintjes, 'Edendale, 1850-1906', ch 8
[39] Meintjes, 'Edendale, 1850-1906', p 283
[40] Inanda magistrate's report for 1878, SNA 1/1/38 (872/1879)
[41] Memo from Beaumont to SNA, SNA 1/1/131 (1177/1890)

theoretically, been provision for exemption since the passing of Law 11 of 1865, although there were no applications in Theophilus Shepstone's era as SNA.[43] Law 13 of 1875, the Native Administration Act, again set out such provisions, and the first batch of applications arrived for consideration the following year.[44] Yet in 1879, the SNA 'had clearly established that even exempted Africans were still subject to laws specially framed to control the non-white population.'[45] Much has been written about the confused status of converts - who, 'in the actual duties of life', whatever their legal position, could no longer be said to operate under customary law.[46] Exempted status, however, did not confer any real legal or material benefit. It did not, in other words, bring its holders under Roman-Dutch law or settle their uncertain status vis-a-vis customary law:[47] exempted Africans were not properly incorporated into either of these evolving systems of law.

According to J J Hugman, the solicitor whose Verulam practice depended heavily on its African clientele, this situation persisted in the late 1880s, unless both parties in a case were exempted. He was referring particularly to contractual disputes, which, he claimed, were of special concern to converts. Using as illustration a case from his files of a disputed wagon sale, Hugman pointed out that exempted Africans could not take their cases to the Magistrate's court if the defendants were unexempted. In this court, definite dates were set aside for cases, so that there was a good chance that all concerned - plaintiff, defendant and witnesses - would be present for a proper hearing of the evidence, and parties could be represented by counsel. Instead, they would be forced to take their cases to the court of the Administrator of Native Law, enter them in person, and then wait about for months, when the case would finally be heard unargued

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42 SNA 1/1/45 (93/1881)

43 This has been explained in terms of the very difficult preconditions to be met in the legislation, and of the style of administration in Shepstone's era. Meintjes, 'Edendale 1850-1906', p 261

44 See SNA 1/1/27, 1876

45 Etherington, 'Natal's first black capitalists', p 38

46 Governor Scott, quoted in Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 57

47 See Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, chapters 4 and 13, for the clearest account

by counsel, and with important evidence missing, since witnesses would have tired of waiting indefinitely. Even then, there might be further delays because of the likelihood of appeals. Under such circumstances, Hugman concluded, he advised converts who were 'punctual and regarding time as being of some value', to put up with their losses.[48]

The exemption applications of converts from Inanda comprise one of the very few sources of personal information about them, and in most cases is the only source which they themselves compiled, even though it was tailored to the requirements of the rather prosaic official form.[49] Completed forms reveal a quite narrow band of occupations - preachers (such as Madikane Cele, Jwili Yedwana [Gumede] and Maziyana Nyokana), carpenters (Johannes Kanyezi and Wilder Goba) wagoners (Klaas Goba, his son Tyler Goba, and Marsh Isaak [Seme]), storekeepers (Coffee Dludla and John Mdima), teachers (Mbekwana Isaak [Seme]) and, unusually, two workers employed in Durban (Msutu Dambuza, a house servant and Samuel kaNgqabatyityi, a store worker). Wives of applicants, and women applying in their own right, were not required to furnish their occupation, it being assumed that they did not have one, since they were dependants of a male guardian, either husband, father or missionary.

In nearly every case, men's occupation was given as a combination with that of 'farmer': it was taken for granted that no-one could reside on the mission station, or reserve, and not be able, at the very least, to grow or raise one's own subsistence requirements; most raised more besides. The term 'farmer', however, was more than a descriptive one. It was deliberately chosen to distinguish themselves from 'Native cultivators' (a term in general use to describe traditionalist agriculture), thereby associating themselves with other commercial (white) farmers. It was therefore a cultural expression as well. Ironically, the

[48] Hugman to SNA, 12 August 1889, SNA 1/1/114 (475/1889)

[49] The information which follows is compiled from exemption applications in a large number of SNA files, from SNA 1/1/38 (276/1880) to 1/1/282 (1887/1898). John Dube's and Madikane Cele's applications are reproduced as Appendix 3

sociological category 'peasant', used by revisionist scholars from the 1970s to capture their special socio-economic location, pulled them away from the very identifications they were themselves trying to create.[50]

Although evidence is lacking, they probably employed labour, but until the early 20th century, this was on a very small scale and was mostly disguised as 'family' labour.[51] Like their traditionalist counterparts, *kholwa* cultivators organised work parties for weeding and harvesting, though rewarded them with sweet potatoes rather than beer. Artisans, teachers and preachers alike (or at least their wives) worked with their hands. Yet these various callings also indicate what was noticeable across *kholwa* society in the colony: a capacity to slip the clutches of white settlers and their clamorous demands for labour. As Pixley put it, 'some of the men at the mission stations had learned that they could have property and own wagons and thus they would not make good servants'.[52]

Even if the tedious business of applying for exemption did not bring any real advances in their legal position, many continued doing so. For it was an affirmation of cultural achievement, admission to a select 'club' with few members. In total across the colony, 1,334 successful exemptions had been processed by 1894.[53] Exemptions were harder to obtain after 1893, and almost impossible after 1898. White settlers, mindful of the link between exemption and franchise, had always been keen to restrict franchise qualifications as far as possible to their own kind, and acquired far greater powers to exercise stringency after the granting of Responsible Government in 1893.

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[50] See especially Bundy, *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry*, and the many studies inspired by this seminal work.
[51] For example the case of a refugee living in a convert household, SNA 1/1/189 (957/1894)
[52] Speech to Natal Missionary Conference 1885, quoted in Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 250
[53] Lambert, 'From independence to rebellion: African society in crisis, c1880-1910' in Duminy and Guest (Eds), *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*, p 384

In the 1890s, some of those already in the 'club' felt the need to advertise the fact and requested the SNA for special medals, to be worn by all those with exempted status. This bronze badge of status, costing 5/- apiece, was as much a symbol of differentiation within kholwa society as between it and traditionalists.[54] According to Welsh, significant numbers refused to purchase these medals, in protest at the increased difficulties being experienced by applicants;[55] for example, it was now impossible to obtain exemption if one lived in a location.[56]

Klaas Goba and his leading supporters in Inanda, however, readily displayed theirs.[57] Goba had applied for exemption in 1889. The reason for his long wait would seem to have been his desire to ensure that all his children would be included in the application. (Children born after admission to status would have to wait until their majority to apply in their own right.) His wife Maweli had borne 11 children: the eldest, Helen, was then 34; their last born, Somerville, was six. Even Somerville got a bronze medal.[58]

Also at this time, Goba began styling himself 'Chief Klaas', a position validated by Law 19 of 1891, the Natal Code,[59] although the curiously self-contradictory debate about whether an 'exempted Native' could actually hold the position of chief continued. Through the 1880s, Goba himself had understood 'thoroughly' (or so the ANL claimed) that he had no control outside of the glebe;[60] now, as befitting his elevated position, he felt that his jurisdiction should extend to the whole mission reserve. Mqhawe had exercised singular chiefly authority over this land for fifty years; as long as Goba had confined his attentions to the glebe, Mqhawe had not been much bothered by him. Goba's expansionist designs,

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[54] Silver medals were also struck, but none was purchased at Inanda. See SNA 1/1/128 (236/1891)
[55] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, pp 240-1
[56] Samuelson to Ndwedwe magistrate, SNA 1/1/238 (212/1897)
[57] SNA 1/1/128 (236/1891); SNA 1/1/128 (187/1893)
[58] Klaas Goba's application for exemption, SNA 1/1/114 (475/1889); SNA 1/1/128 (187/1893)
[59] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 282; Meintjes, 'Edendale 1850-1906', p 283; SNA 1/1/193 (2314/1894)
[60] C R Saunders to Inanda magistrate, 23 August 1886, SNA 1/1/92 (628/1886)

however, inaugurated a long and bitter contest for local dominance between them.

By the 1890s, there was a population of approximately 2,000 on the reserve, some 275 of whom were homestead heads.[61] The number of new residents allowed annually on to the reserve was very low - only two in 1894, for example - which was reflected in the total amount of rent earned by the Inanda mission: in 1892-3, thirteen huts (seven homesteads) paid £1.10 and the following year, nine huts paid £4.10.[62] Those let in had to undertake to send their children to school.[63] There were few cases of rent arrears. Four stores on the reserve, from which missionaries also derived rents, revealed a growing purchasing power among its inhabitants, and were a source of great bitterness to white traders at Duff's Road, near Phoenix.[64]

It will be recalled that Daniel Lindley had originally moved his station precisely because the land was good for agriculture and near markets. By the time that tension between Klaas Goba and Mqhawe erupted, the reserve was well-served by road and rail links to Durban, clearly important considerations for wagoners and growers alike. Magistrates' reports noted year after year how well the reserve's crops looked, and which authority one was under may also have had implications as to whose produce got conveyed in whose wagons, for Goba and Mqhawe were both in the transport riding business. Therefore, there were possibly underlying pecuniary reasons shaping their dispute, beyond the accrual of fees for various functions that chiefs performed, and apart from the principle of who had right of authority over this area.

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[61] SNA 1/1/213 (5145/1895)

[62] A/1/10, Correspondence 1892 and 1894, A608. Fluctuations were due in part to balances carried over and rents outstanding, so are presented merely as a guide.

[63] SNA 1/1/184 (4886/1894)

[64] Thompson and Christie to SNA, 10 September 1885, A608 A/2/22 File 1884-1886; SNA to J D Taylor, 25 July 1905, A608 A/2/24 File 1905

In 1890, Mqhawe entered a large claim against Goba, on the grounds that he had been collecting fees which were rightfully his (ie Mqhawe's).[65] Beaumont, the Inanda magistrate, called the two before him and in return for clarifying the limits of Goba's jurisdiction (the glebe), persuaded Mqhawe to withdraw the claim.[66] But the animosity did not dissipate. At the hut tax collection of 1892, again in the presence of both Mqhawe and Goba, Beaumont decided which men on the mission reserve would fall within Mqhawe's jurisdiction, and which within Goba's, 'giving the doubt, if any, in favour of the Chief Mqhawe'.[67]

Thus, the deciding factor was under which authority the hut tax was paid. Fees for hearing disputes, for marriages, and so on, would accrue to the same individual. A total of 27 homestead heads was assigned to Goba, hardly a significant number. The problem remained that those exempted from hut tax were not similarly allocated, and Mqhawe felt that if Goba was to have reserve people under him, he likewise should be entitled to have some people in upright houses as subjects. Much to Beaumont's annoyance, the procedure was repeated the following year, and all fourteen families on the reserve in upright houses were allotted to Goba. Mqhawe registered his protest by failing to turn up for Qadi hut tax payments a few days later, claiming 'a grasshopper had jumped in his eye'.[68]

As the dispute wore on, Pixley entered the fray on Goba's side. Since his assumption of duties at Inanda, he had overseen the reserve in much the same way as Lindley had done, especially in guarding against unwanted boundary invasions, which was especially important with growing pressure on land in the location.[69] Clearly such a policy worked in Mqhawe's favour, something the Inanda magistrate recognised could strengthen his position vis-a-vis other chiefs

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[65] SNA 1/1/131 (1177/1890)
[66] Goba later claimed he had 'won' this case: see his statement in *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900- 1902*, p 239
[67] Magistrate's report, SNA 1/1/193 (505/1894); SNA 1/1/276 (8016/1898)
[68] SNA 1/1/193 (2314/1894)
[69] SNA 1/1/88 (801/1885); SNA 1/1/94 (889/1886); SNA 1/1/104 (150/1888)

in the location.[70] In many ways, Pixley continued to be of use to Mqhawe, for example passing on information gleaned from converts that the Tshangase might be planning a follow-up attack on the Qadi in the aftermath of their faction fight in 1891.[71]

Without reference to Mqhawe, however, Pixley also started allowing newcomers onto reserve land and allotting them gardens already cultivated by Mqhawe's followers, provided they acknowledged Goba as their chief.[72] He tried to confiscate a garden from one of Mqhawe's people, Mpansi, for the use of his station 'policeman' (as Pixley called him, and who was also used by Goba) as a reward not only for reporting drunkenness among Qadi on the reserve to the Verulam magistrate, but also for encouraging some of Mqhawe's followers to *ukuvalelisa* - that is, to pay a 'leaving' fee to Mqhawe and to join Klaas Goba.[73] The 'policeman', Sam, claimed that by this means, *isibhalo* could be evaded.[74] The ANL did not, in fact, know whether he should requisition labour from Goba.

It turned out that Sam was correct. Since there was a pocket of Qadi living on the Wesleyan mission reserve at Ndwedwe, Mqhawe faced similar conflicts with William Matiwane (also known as Bili), the *kholwa* chief there.[75] Mqhawe eventually sent Nkisimana to Pietermaritzburg to settle this very sore point: 'Neither Klaas nor Matiwane are called upon ...to supply labour for the roads...the effect is that young men forsake the kraals of their parents and join one of the Mission tribes, but still occupy the same kraal sites...'[76] The 'inconsistency' had only recently been cleared up by means of a standing order

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[70] Memo from Inanda magistrate to SNA, 15 March 1892, SNA 1/1/153 (251/1892)
[71] Pixley to Inanda magistrate, 27 April 1891, SNA 1/1/141 (471/1891)
[72] Statements of Mankuza and Kaba, SNA 1/1/193 (1306/1894). The magistrate testily told Pixley, 'I shall deem it a favour if you will consult with Mqhawe regarding newcomers...' Magistrate to Pixley, 9 October 1894, 1/NWE 3/1/1
[73] Statement of Mankuza, SNA 1/1/193 (1306/1894)
[74] Minute from F Foxon, ANL Ndwedwe, to SNA, SNA 1/1/193 (1306/1894)
[75] SNA 1/1/287 (1950/1899); SNA 1/1/289 (1244/1900). In an effort to forestall similar tensions at Mapumulo mission station, Mqhawe requested the appointment of Mfanefile Kuzwayo as *kholwa* headman before the missionaries had organised their own nominee. SNA 1/1/220 (3786/1896)
[76] Report of deputation by Nkisimana and others, 21 July 1900, SNA 1/1/289 (1244/1900)

issued by the SNA that no transfers of Africans from one 'tribe' to another be permitted on the reserve;[77] magistrates had probably not yet fully implemented it.

To compound matters, Pixley began proselytising work among other chiefdoms in the Inanda location, among Kamanga's and Dhlokolo's people, which Mqhawe read as an unwarranted partition of loyalty. More practically, it meant that converts from these two chiefdoms were coming to live on the Inanda reserve.[78] Pixley's view was that Mqhawe was simply a poor loser:

> The Gospel has had some success among this chief's people and now when the time comes to decide on which side a man is to be in future Umqawe finds many of his people wish to *valelisa*...this whole matter of Umqawe's complaints comes from jealousy. This Reserve he calls his. This Station is his. This school is his so he says I am his missionary...Let him reign alone in his heathenish customs...[79]

From the mid-1890s, the Responsible Government passed a series of Acts to bring the reserves under tighter official control. Against these moves, the missionaries were intent on preserving the integrity of their parishes; this was the context for the only occasion upon which Pixley seemed generous in his assessment of Mqhawe: 'uMqawe is one of the most liberal and enlightened among the Chiefs of this Colony. He allows his people to kolwa [sic] and send their children to school.'[80]

In practice, the two continued to needle each other. In 1895, when the Natal Native Trust assumed administrative responsibility for the reserves,[81] there was some difficulty in implementing the new arrangements at Inanda. According to Mqhawe, this was caused by Pixley announcing that he had nothing more to do with the collection of rents, which message was read (incorrectly) by Mqhawe to mean that rents were no longer payable. Mqhawe, according to Pixley, tried to

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77 SNA's Minute, 26 January 1900, SNA 1/1/289 (1257/1900)
78 Pixley to Samuelson, 14 August 1903, SNA 1/1/289 (1161/1900)
79 Pixley to Samuelson, 31 May 1895, SNA 1/1/193 (1306/1894)
80 Pixley to Colonial Secretary, Natal, 31 October 1895, SNA 1/1/213 (5145/1895)
81 Act 25, 1895, 'To regulate the use of Mission Reserves'. Copy in A608 A/2/23, File 1895

take advantage of the changeover to bring more of his own people on to the reserve.[82]

Pixley's nostrum, to which Klaas Goba fervently subscribed, was that the reserve should be divided into private lots for purchase, with continued supervision by the missionaries to safeguard against any abuses by unsuitable occupants - again, not the sort of policy to find favour with Mqhawe. Pixley had approached the SNA several times on this issue in the 1880s.[83] His view was that 'if possible I would have these lands sold and titles given with restrictions, to individual settlers, giving preference to the present occupiers.'[84] Goba for his part organised various 'agitations' in support of the scheme, including petitions and speeches.[85] He told the Lands Commission, 'We are looking forward to the fulfilment of the promise that these Reserves are going to be cut up, so as to give all of us blocks of land. We are quite willing to pay for them, if payment is required.'[86]

Although the Christian chief gave him trouble, and the missionary was not favourably inclined towards him, Mqhawe had other lines of communication into the Lindley mission station which served his interests better. While the Dube children were growing up on the mission, Mqhawe's main support there was Mary Edwards. She was willing to help him partly because she had followed Lindley's lead on such matters, and partly because Mqhawe was, in turn, happy to have any number of 'kraal schools' in the Qadi domain. In matters where he

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[82] Correspondence in SNA 1/1/213 (5634/1896)

[83] See Pixley to SNA, 11 August 1888, SNA 1/1/108 (667/1888)

[84] Pixley's recommendations to Colonial Secretary, Natal, 31 October 1895, SNA 1/1/312 (5145/1895). See also Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, pp 60-1

[85] See for example the petition to government, signed by 100 men of the Lindley mission station, requesting title to individual blocks of land, 29 January 1897, SNA 1/1/278 (470/1897); also petition by 49 Inanda converts, 23 March 1899, SNA 1/1/284 (610/1899). They were supported notably by George Herbert Hulett, lawyer and member of the leading sugar family. See his statement in *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 225

[86] *Evidence to the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 239. Carrying their dispute into commissions was another method that Goba and Mqhawe used to voice their grievances and to press their claims of legitimacy in the reserve. Both gave evidence in person to the Magisterial

considered that her 'voice' would carry more weight than his own, he requested her assistance. Thus in 1886, she wrote on his behalf to the SNA about the border dispute with Kamanga in the location, plainly presenting his case: 'It seems hard for so many [Qadi] to be removed especially when the poles are so difficult to obtain.'[87] Although on occasion Pixley himself wrote such letters on the chief's behalf,[88] he does not seem to have done so from the 1890s.

Certain converts similarly assisted Mqhawe over the years. Among the leading families who associated themselves with the chief were the Mdimas, the Mavumas, the Semes and the Celes, all of whom formed a close-knit support around John Dube (see below). Thus Nokutela Mdima, a teacher at the Seminary, wrote letters dictated by Mqhawe on matters such as food shortages in the chiefdom[89] and the chief sent David Mavuma, accompanied by Jim Mene, to Pietermaritzburg in connection with mission reserve rents.[90] The manner in which he called upon these mission residents to perform certain kinds of tasks suggests that (whatever their views on their role) he was incorporating them as another layer of functionaries of the chiefdom, in much the same way as he had called on Thomas Fayle. In this light, his claim to Pixley and the Inanda magistrate that the mission was 'his' [91] was more than the wild imagining of which they had accused him.

The two-way challenge between the chief and Goba turned into a three-cornered one with John Dube's attainment of adulthood in the 1890s.[92] On completion of his education at Adams, Dube had accompanied W C Wilcox, an AZM missionary and one of his teachers at Adams, to the United States, where he

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Boundaries Commission (1890). Goba and Mqhawe's senior *induna*, Nkisimana, appeared before the Lands Commission (1900-1902).

87 Edwards to SNA, 6 August 1886, SNA 1/1/91 (597/1886)

88 For example, Pixley to Inanda magistrate in connection with gun permit, March 1881, 1/VLM 3/2/2 (149/1881)

89 Umqawe Dube per Nokutela Mdima to SNA, 3 March 1890, SNA 1/1/123 (322/1890)

90 SNA 1/1/213 (5634/1896)

91 Inanda magistrate's minute to SNA, 27 April 1894, SNA 1/1/193 (505/1894)

had graduated from Oberlin College in Ohio. In the 1860s, Wilcox (himself from Ohio) had founded the first American Board mission in Mozambique, at Inhambane,[93] and maintained an interest in this mission after his move to Natal. He also had a link with Inanda: his wife had gone there to recuperate after a serious illness in the early 1880s[94] and on his visits there, Wilcox seems to have associated particularly with families close to the Dubes, whose activities and associations reveal a tight-knit network of support.

This can clearly be seen from the backgrounds of two young women whom Wilcox assisted in joining the Inhambane mission, Sellina Mdima and Dalitha Seme. Sellina, educated at the Seminary, was a daughter of John Mdima (see chapter 5); her sister Nokutela married John Dube. Dalitha, who graduated from the Seminary in 1881,[95] was a daughter of Isaac and Eliza Seme, longtime residents of the station, who were also the parents of Pixley kaIsaka Seme, later a political colleague of John Dube's. Dalitha's elder sister Lucy had been in the first class at Inanda Seminary and was the main speaker at the 70th anniversary of the school in 1939[96]; two of their brothers, Lindley and Pixley, were educated in the United States. Pixley, a lawyer, later achieved prominence as a leader of the ANC with Dube,[97] while Lindley trained as a doctor and settled at Inanda.[98] Another brother, Mbekwana, became an AZM priest and a fourth, Marsh, continued the family's wagoning business at Inanda.[99]

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[92] For fuller biographical information, see Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, pp 43-5; Marable, 'African nationalist', chapters 1-3. Only certain aspects of Dube's life are dealt with here.
[93] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 61
[94] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 62
[95] Wood, Shine where you are, p 35
[96] Wood, Shine where you are, p 109
[97] On Pixley Seme, see Rive R and T Couzens *Seme the founder of the ANC* Johannesburg, 1991); Walsh P *The rise of African nationalism in South Africa* (London, 1970); Gerhart G and T Karis (Eds) *Political profiles 1882-1964*, (Stanford, 1987), vol 4 of Karis K and G Carter (Eds) *From protest to challenge*, pp 137-9
[98] Skota, T D M *The African yearly register...of black folks in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1932), p 253.
[99] See their applications for exemption, SNA 1/1/282 (1897/1989) and SNA 1/1/152 (1521/1892) Letter from M V Gumede to H Hughes, 30 January 1987; Marable, 'African nationalist', p 70-1

The brief period in between Dube's return from Oberlin and his fundraising visit to the United States was to be crucial for relationships at Inanda. In January 1894, he married Nokutela Mdima, a graduate of and teacher at Inanda Seminary, and one of Mqhawe's scribes. Not long after, the Dubes set out for their own mission field, where John could be 'bishop' in the way Lindley had been at Inanda half a century earlier. The difference was that Dube could exercise authority over his 'parish' independently of the proffered AZM supervision, for it was the Qadi farm, Incwadi,[100] and he had Mqhawe's backing instead. Mqhawe would not have missed the nice inversion of roles: that he, a non-Christian, could unilaterally send out missionaries to the heathen, something which Pixley, even less Klaas Goba, did not have the power to do.

For the Dubes, it was a unique opportunity in 1890s Natal. On their arrival, Nokutela later recalled, 'Our hearts went up in prayer to God as we looked and saw nothing but kraals with no sign of Christian civilisation' (she was possibly adding dramatic effect for her American audience).[101] It is striking how closely their own missionary conduct and experience corresponded to those of the early American missionaries, despite their desire for automony from them. Their first Sunday services attracted interested crowds, two hundred strong; a first priority was to establish a day school, achieved soon after arrival; and Nokutela began teaching the women sewing and other domestic crafts. Where they departed markedly from the white missionary model was the rapidity with which the Dubes won converts: within a year, they had a baptised congregation of 27.[102] With the assistance of Nokutela's brother, John, and his wife, they set up three schools and two churches in all, and planned to establish an industrial institution at Incwadi.[103]

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[100] Letter from M V Gumede to H Hughes, 30 January 1987; Marable, 'African nationalist', p 70-1 Marable, 'African nationalist', p 71, citing Dube N 'The story of my life'

[101] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 71, citing Dube N 'The story of my life'

[102] Marable, 'African nationalist', pp 70-3

[103] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 100

In 1895, from his base at Incwadi, Dube made a bid for the pastorship at Inanda. The problem was that although he had gained unrivalled experience he was not ordained. The other candidate for the post was properly qualified: Cetywayo Goba, pastor at the Umsunduze station and son of Klaas. Predictably, Klaas objected to Dube's candidacy, not only on grounds of family solidarity but because he knew that a victory for Dube would strengthen Mqhawe's influence on the station. The prospect also went against a belief held deeply by both Gobas that, as Klaas expressed it, 'The opinion of the Natives living on the glebe, nearly all of whom are kolwas, is that there should be a white missionary over the black missionary in case of any difficulty.' [104] Cetywayo echoed, 'The Natives here very much prefer a resident white missionary.'[105] Dube had already shown himself to be unwilling to submit to white tutelage.

Pixley, with the backing of the AZM, insisted that both candidates in the Inanda pastorship contest step down. Goba complied; Dube refused. The ballot went ahead, the result of which was close: 109 votes to Dube and 98 to Goba. There was deadlock until the conference of the AZM declared the ballot null and void on technicalities: many had voted who had not been eligible to do so, and Dube was not qualified.[106] Pixley was very bitter: 'they [Dube's party] went forward in a spirit of division... the spiritual life of the church was lost and all our hopes for a year of prosperity were blasted'.[107]

The atmosphere at Inanda was still heavy when the Dubes returned to the United States, mainly to find financial support for their industrial school. With the help both of Mqhawe and of the American Committee, his New York-based fundraisers, and showing determination to strengthen his own political position, Dube also organised (or assisted in organising) places in American colleges and universities for his younger brother Charles, his brother-in-law John Mdima,

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[104] Klaas Goba, *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 238
[105] Cetywayo Goba, *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 241
[106] Marable, 'African nationalist', pp 81-3
[107] Pixley to Smith, 8 September 1896, cited in Marable, 'African nationalist', p 83

Mqhawe's son and heir Mandlakayise, Madikane Cele's sons Mabhelubhelu and Qandeyana, and his close friends Pixley and Lindley Seme.[108] Before he returned to Inanda in 1899, Dube was also ordained. In 1900, he became pastor of the Inanda church, although he relinquished the position in 1908.[109] Much later, on his retirement from Umsunduze, Cetywayo Goba was appointed chaplain of the Seminary.[110]

There is a fitting symmetry to this local *cause celebre*, the son of James pitched against the son of Klaas for control of Inanda's converts. Each family represented a tendency which by the mid-1890s had become very clearly visible. The Gobas were more closely aligned with white control, willing agents in the creation of a pseudo-tribalist social order designed to be malleable and submissive. Dube represented a more unpredictable tendency (to the status quo in church and state at any rate), whose adherents were desirous of greater independence, so that they themselves could control the practice and perpetuation of all they had been taught on the mission stations. It was no coincidence that a 'missionary spirit' was characteristic of this group: for example, the connections with Inhambane, the Dubes at Incwadi and Madikane Cele. They were able to realise their goals partly because they continued to draw sustenance from and to support elements within the traditionalist order.

The distinction should not be overdrawn, for both groups of converts were engaged, as members of *kholwa* society, in the same struggle to maintain their economic positions and to avoid being sucked into servitude, and ideas about a range of contemporary issues, from land ownership to the actual powers of chiefs in law, were not necessarily congruent with political affiliations. Dube himself held harsh views on the beliefs and institutions of 'outside Natives', which seemed to sit uncomfortably alongside his associations with the Qadi elite and later, with the Zulu monarchy. For example, he frequently referred to the 'evils of

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[108] M V Gumede to H Hughes, 30 January 1987; Marable, 'African nationalist', pp 170-1
[109] Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, p 74

lobola' or to the 'backward ideas and habits of raw Natives'.[111] Yet the distinctly different responses as to how best to secure their position in colonial society, sketched above, had political ramifications which reached far beyond Inanda, as the work of others has shown.[112] Awareness of these divisions should serve to guard against using the term kholwa as a homogenous category, as in statements such as 'the kholwa break with traditional society'.[113]

At the same time as the pastorship dispute at Inanda, the Lindley station was involved in yet another church-related controversy, which revealed a different tendency among converts.[114] It was a response to mission station life which in one sense was the first sign of defeat - that aspirations of station converts towards acceptability and respectablity would never be realised. In another sense, however, it could be read as one of strident defiance - that the 'missionary model' was not the last word in Christian organisation, and that a local revisionism was desirable. In 'the most serious split in this period' in the AZM, one Simangu Bafazini Shibe broke away from the Table Mountain station in the Inanda location, and helped to form the secessionist Zulu Congregational Church in 1897.[115]

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[110] Wood, *Shine where you are*, p 85

[111] Dube J L 'The arrest or progress of Christianity among the heathen tribes of South Africa' in *The evangelisation of Southern Africa. Being the report of the Sixth General Missionary Conference of South Africa....1925* (Cape Town, 1925), pp 63-4. Marks has pointed out that one should not take such statements of Dube's too much at face value: they were designed to appeal to an audience well-disposed to mission work and which might be a source of much-needed funds for his own missionary endeavours. See *The ambiguities of dependence*, p 140, note 42

[112] Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, especially pp 48-60; Marks S 'Patriotism, patriarchy and purity: Natal and the politics of Zulu ethnic consciousness' in Vail L (Ed) *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa*; La Hausse P D 'Ethnicity and history in the careers of two Zulu nationalists: Petros Lamula (c1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c1936)' PhD thesis, (Witwatersrand, 1992); Cope, *To bind the nation*

[113] Lambert, *Betrayed trust*, p 50

[114] Unbundling the politics of this one important mission station allows one to trace the origins of most of the significant social and political movements among Natal Africans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: although beyond the scope of this study, it may be noted that the later, more populist (and secular) response to the intense pressures of industrial and agrarian transformation, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, also had important connections of origin to the Inanda station, in the form of A W G Champion. See Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, chapter 3; Swanson (Ed), *The views of Mahlathi*

[115] Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, p 63. Dube was involved in unsuccessful attempts to draw Shibe back into the AZM

The local site of struggle between those loyal to the AZM and the followers of Shibe was a church building in Kamanga's part of the location, erected years earlier by an ordained preacher from the Inanda station, Jwili Gumede, under Pixley's guidance. It remained an outstation of the Lindley mission. One of those attending services regularly, Masina, managed to win support for Shibe, interestingly over a mundanely practical matter rather than a doctrinal one: the church roof had long been in an advanced state of disrepair, and people had complained that Pixley was neglecting them. Shibe immediately organised a new roof. Wrangles over access to the building dragged on until 1903, when the Natal Native Trust closed down the outstation.[116]

In the last years of Mqhawe's life, the missionaries' authority diminished greatly - and with them, Goba's sway - due to the incorporation of the mission reserves into the Natal Native Trust in terms of Act 49 of 1903. The legislation targeted mission societies, particularly the AZM, in line with the government's determination to assert greater control over 'educated Natives'. Despite vociferous protests from the AZM, the Act transferred the administrative functions previously exercised by missionaries to the Trust and made half of all rentals payable to the Trust. Missionaries henceforward had control only on their glebes. In terms of regulations framed under the Act, supervision of the reserves was generally tightened. Stations where no white missionaries were in charge were ordered to close and marriage licences were withdrawn from African pastors.[117]

However, because of its particular pattern of distribution, the new requirements weighed heavily on the Qadi chiefdom as well. All homestead heads on the reserve were now burdened with an annual tax of £3 per hut, regardless of how long they had been settled there. Newcomers to the reserve had to pay an

[116] Report of F R Bridgman, Marshall Campbell Papers, File 4, KCM 32573; also SNA 1/1/289 (1161/1900)

entrance fee of 20s. Cattle and horses were charged 6d per head for commonage grazing, and smaller stock 3d.[118] The escalated costs resulted in a sharp rise in revenue to £356.10s. in 1906,[119] as well as in 'considerable arrear rents and a universal policy of suing'.[120] One Qadi headman, Ntengo, was fined and imprisoned for non-payment of the new rent; to add to his indignity, whilst he was in gaol his headring was removed.[121]

It is small wonder that Mqhawe sent Nkisimana and Madikane Cele to tell the Ndwedwe magistrate that he would not pay these charges: 'if the government now wish to "kill" him, they have other means of doing so than those now being adopted, because he could be either transported beyond the sea or hanged, or shot.'[122] This was also one of the main issues that Dube dealt with in his article, 'Vukani Bantu' in *Ilanga lase Natal*, which caused such a furore at the time.[123] Due to strenuous protests across the colony, the tax was reduced to 30s. The only benefit to Mqhawe from the new regime on the reserves was that newcomers were permitted entry only if they agreed to place themselves under him.[124] Against the hardship visited on the Qadi by the same regime, this was something of a pyrrhic victory in his long feud with Klaas Goba.

Apart from controlling their inhabitants, there was a further reason for intensification of government interest in the reserves: their economic possibilities. Inanda was a prime target. A special report prepared on the Inanda reserve in 1904 noted with undisguised avarice that 'the land could be used for growing crops of all kinds' - as if no crops at all were already being grown - and was 'very valuable being so close to market - only 7 miles to the railway station...I value the

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117 AZM deputation to SNA, 16 February 1905, SNA 1/1/316 (207/1905)
118 Government Notice 574, 1904
119 File 1906, A/2/24, A608
120 E Fitzgerald, *Minutes of Evidence of the Natal Natives Land Committee 1918*, p 124
121 Correspondence in SNA 1/1/340 (1617/1906)
122 Report of Ndwedwe magistrate to SNA, 19 October 1904, SNA 1/1/314 (790/1904)
123 Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, pp 332-3
124 SNA 1/1/331 (3478/1905)

whole reserve at £4 per acre'.[125] It was to prove impossible, however, to alienate this land for private use.

The matrix of relationships at Inanda, from the arrival of Daniel Lindley onwards, goes some way towards explaining the 'exceptional' Mqhawe, as well as the key role his cousin John Dube played in constructing the twentieth century alliances alluded to earlier in the chapter. Dube's entry into politics was predicated on his close association with the Qadi elite, which was to provide critical support throughout his long career. By the time the threat of grassroots radicalism in national political life lent urgency to converts' support for the Zulu monarchy, Dube had spent at least three decades conducting the type of alliance which he was so effective in brokering on a larger scale in the 1920s. For him at least, there was no sudden shift from stand-off to amity vis-a-vis traditionalists.

[125] Report of the Inanda Mission Reserve, 16 March 1904, SNA 1/1/319 (871/1905)

Chapter 7: 'So that we may be civilised'[1]: education in the Inanda valley, 1840s-1900s

In southern Africa (as over much of the continent), 'schooling actually provided the model for conversion; conversion, the model for schooling.'[2] Here, as had been the case in western Europe centuries before, the change to a culture 'focused on the word'[3] was intimately bound to the diffusion of Christianity. For the missionaries, religion was about apprehending and accepting Christ's teachings, and literacy and religious experience were inseparable. Underlining the connection, the term *umfundisi* in Natal would translate, as with the Tswana moruti, as both 'preacher' and 'teacher'. The Lindleys' own Presbyterian background (see chapter 5) heightened the sense that desks as much as pews were required to initiate believers into the contents of bible, tract and hymnbook.

Though these early missionaries could not have foreseen it, through their efforts two of the most influential educational institutions for Africans in southern Africa were located in Inanda. They were directly responsible for the founding of Inanda Seminary for girls in 1869, and the enterprise of John Dube, the most acclaimed member of the Lindley mission, led to the establishment of the Ohlange Institution nearby in 1901. In their intentions as well as their effects, these two places of learning registered an impact far beyond the Inanda valley. Yet both touched the lives of the people living around them as well: while they were boarding schools from their inception, many of their pupils were local, and the ethos consciously created by the staff (and so well portrayed by Couzens and Erlmann in their studies[4]) spread waves of influence through the entire area.

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[1] From J L Dube's speech, 'Opening of the people's school', 4 July 1901, in SNA 1/1/294 (2818/1091)

[2] Comaroffs, *Of revelation and revolution*, p 233. Their companion volume, forthcoming, deals in detail with education.

[3] Roberts J M *Penguin history of the world*, p 651

[4] Couzens T *The new African. A study of the life and work of H I E Dhlomo* (Johannesburg, 1985); Erlmann V *African stars. Studies in black performance* (Chicago, 1991), especially chapters 2, 3 and 5

Remarkably, both have operated continuously from their establishment to the present.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain why these two institutions, so fundamental to the flowering of an African middle class in Natal in the early twentieth century, should have been established almost within sight of each other; to provide some idea of the process of education that went on within them; and to trace their reach into surrounding chiefdoms, especially the Qadi. The focus will be on the Seminary; because Ohlange opened to its first students just five years before Mqhawe's death, and because its history belongs more properly to twentieth century than to colonial history, only certain aspects of its founding are dealt with in the short account of it included below. First, however, it is necessary to present an overview of education provision in colonial Natal, including the role of mission societies in establishing a primary education system for Africans, so that the significance of the Seminary and Ohlange can be better evaluated.

Until the 1870s, education in Natal was not compulsory for anybody, white or black, and such facilities as did exist were generally extremely rudimentary and erratic.[5] When educational provision did become better organised, the shape of colonial society meant that from its inception, it was fragmented along racial, class and gender lines, not only in institutional terms but also (above the most elementary level) in subject matter. The colonial state, churches and private 'academies' all contributed to white education, which was of very variable quality. Until the 1880s, schooling for all but the wealthy lasted two or three years at most, and the few attempts at 'higher' education catered only for boys. Parents who wished to educate girls further either had to provide tuition at home, or patronise one of the 'ladies' academies', where instruction was intensely gender-specific, consisting of embroidery, dressmaking, music, drawing and a little

grammar.[6] Only after the granting of Responsible Government in 1893 was a more rigorous educational system developed for whites.

Until the 1890s, some Indian children (mostly from so-called passenger[7] families) were permitted to attend white schools. Children from Indian working class families relied on missionary or private effort, for which small government subsidies were available, although two factors militated against school attendance. Firstly, there were very few schools, partly the result of white expectations that all Indians would eventually be repatriated: by the turn of the century, there was a total of only 28 schools for the entire Indian population of Natal, catering for approximately 3,351 pupils.[8] Secondly, Indian children were expected to contribute to their families' earnings from a young age. Thus a tiny minority of Indian children was in school, and of this number, girls were a tinier minority still.[9] Basic instruction tended to be unashamedly functional, with an emphasis on drilling 'a number of English phrases in daily use between buyer and seller, master and servant.'[10]

Schooling for Africans was provided almost entirely by the various missionary bodies in Natal. The largest was the American Board, but the Wesleyans, Catholics, Anglicans, Germans and Scandinavians were also active. From 1856, the colonial government assisted them by means of grants-in-aid,[11]

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[5] The following discussion of white, Indian and African education in Natal is drawn from Hughes H '"A lighthouse for African womanhood": Inanda Seminary 1869-1945' in Walker C (Ed) *Women and gender in southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town, 1990), pp 198-199

[6] Vietzen S *A history of education for European girls in Natal 1837-1902* (Pietermaritzburg, 1980), pp 17-18

[7] Better-off families, such as businesspeople, who had come to South Africa of their own accord, and not under conditions of indenture. They tended to be Muslim, whereas indentured workers tended to be Hindu, although this religious distinction was not watertight. Gujarati-speaking Hindus were among the 'passengers', for example. See Bhana S 'Indian trade and trader in colonial Natal' in Guest B and J Sellers (Eds) *Enterprise and exploitation in a Victorian colony* (Pietermaritzburg, 1985)

[8] Ginwala, F 'Class, consciousness and control': Indian South Africans, 1860-1946', p 181

[9] Maharaj S R 'Primary and secondary education' in his *South Africa's Indians: evolution of a minority*,(Washington, 1979), pp 342-3

[10] Maharaj S R 'Primary and secondary education', p 343

[11] Welsh, *The roots of segregation,* p 49; Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', pp 128-9

though there was no set scale (each application being treated on its own merits[12]) and grants were in any case minimal. From the 1880s, increasingly stringent criteria were expected of applications for grants, in line with the state's desire to control educated Africans, (especially *kholwa*) who were considered to be wanting in respect towards whites.[13] This desire, however, did not extend to providing a publicly-funded education system for Africans. There was only one government-funded school, the Zwartkop Industrial School, which opened in 1887. While the government wished to promote an industrious ethos among Africans, whites were bitterly opposed to the prospect of competition from well-qualified African tradespeople. It closed down five years later.[14]

From their inception, all mission stations offered tuition to the converts who either arrived with the missionaries or who were made locally. The experience of the Lindleys - that initial hostility to missionary endeavour lasted into the 1860s - was a common pattern experienced by other missionaries. In the schools that they did manage to establish in the first ten to fifteen years of their labours, missionaries had presented literacy and Christianity as synonymous; local reaction prompted them to uncouple the two, at least to some extent. As the AZM's 1862 General Letter put it, 'It is not so unpopular now for a heathen to read as it once was, when the idea generally prevailed that to know how to read was to be a believer, and to be a believer was the worst thing that could befall a man.' [15] Nevertheless, mission schools continued to stress religion as the 'fourth R' of basic education.

The numerous day, or 'kraal', schools, which were clustered on mission reserves and more thinly scattered in the locations, constituted the most basic level of formal learning. Generally, there was only one teacher, or two at the most, for each school, classes contained pupils of all ages, and there was little in the way

[12] Emanuelson O 'A history of Native education in Natal between 1835 and 1927'. M Ed Thesis, (Natal, 1927)
[13] Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, p 76
[14] Loram C T *The education of the South African Native* (London, 1917), p 60

of equipment. More girls than boys attended these schools.[16] Except for needlework, it does not seem as if there was a distinction between what was taught to boys and girls at this level.[17] By the late 1870s, there were still under 3,000 Africans enrolled in schools. Rapid expansion occurred only from the 1890s, with 8,542 at school by 1897, rising to about 12,000 in 1906.[18]

At Inanda, the Lindleys initially taught basic subjects to a class composed of their household retinue - their 'family system' - together with the small number of converts they had attracted. In 1848, one year after the mission had been founded, there were twenty two males and twelve females in regular attendance, and the school cost £5 annually to run.[19] From 1850, this became the station school for converts, taught by the Lindleys and George Champion.[20] The little headway they made among the surrounding Qadi, however, prompted Daniel Lindley to complain to the Commissioners in Boston that they would as soon send their cattle as their children to school.[21]

All this changed with Mqhawe's increasingly favourable attitude to the mission from the early 1860s. Since the Qadi happened to occupy the mission's first zone of school expansion, the reserve, disproportionate attention was accorded this chiefdom in terms of educational facilities. By the 1890s, for example, there were six schools on the reserve and only two in the location, organised and supplied by the Lindley mission.[22] In the location as a whole in the 1890s, there were nearly seven hundred children enrolled at day schools of all the missions

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[15] Cited in Christoferson A F *Adventuring with God* (Durban, 1967), p 39

[16] Hastings has noted that higher incidence of young girls in schools in a wide range of cases across Africa, as he does the predominance of women among early converts, but stops short of explaining these phenomena. See Hastings A 'Were women a special case?' in Bowie F, D Kirkwood and S Ardener (Eds) *Women and missions, past and present: anthropological and historical perceptions* (Oxford, 1993), pp 112-3

[17] Gaitskell D 'Race, gender and imperialism: a century of black girls' education in South Africa' in Mangan A (Ed) *Benefits bestowed? Education and British imperialism* (Manchester, 1988), p 161

[18] Loram, *The education of the South African Native*, p 62

[19] Lindley to Adams, 26 February 1849, File 1849, A/2/27 A608

[20] Lindley to Adams, 17 June 1850, File 1850, A/2/27 A608

[21] Cited in Dinnerstein, 'The American Board Mission', p 104

[22] Report of Mission Reserves, SNA 1/1/141 (524/1891)

active within it; no less than two-thirds were in schools organised by the Inanda mission alone.[23] Qadi educational advantage over other chiefdoms had become sharply obvious.

In the late 1870s, Mary Edwards (who had temporarily withdrawn from the Seminary to organise day schools) reported that Mqhawe was 'anxious to have his people taught English...I have met the chief and some of his *indunas* on four or five occasions recently and whenever the subject of education was mentioned they all spoke enthusiastically'. She added that Mqhawe's mother also expressed support for the establishment of more schools.[24] Already Mqhawe's son Tyaya had completed his schooling at the mission's day school and had started teaching others at the chief's homestead. Before he set off to do battle against the Zulu kingdom, Mqhawe also sent his heir Mandlakayise and four other sons to Edwards to be taught. Perhaps at Mqhawe's prompting, she pushed for the opening of more schools among the Qadi in the location, and at Incwadi. She received a small amount of private support but needed a government grant. She requested £300 for the construction of each of the three schools, and £75 annually for the employment of teachers in them. Only £100 was granted,[25] which meant that only one school, in the location, was built at that time. (Schools were only built in the 1890s at Incwadi, when the Dubes went there.)

The AZM in particular attached considerable importance to 'higher' education. Its policy that the personnel required locally should be trained on the spot accorded well with its belief in advancement through education: in this respect, it was of a different persuasion to some of the European missions whose origins lay in the experience of industrial transformation, and whose goal was to prepare converts for a subservient role in settler-dominated society. Both Daniel and Lucy Lindley acutely perceived the need for female training of a more intensive

[23] Blue Book on Native Affairs 1897, p 165
[24] Edwards to SNA 18 January 1879, SNA 1/1/33 (112/187)

sort than could be got in either the Lindleys' kitchen or the day schools.[26] Since missionary wives had no 'voice and vote' rights in the local AZM conference, Lucy Lindley exerted much informal pressure on her husband for an educational facility especially for girls. Daniel Lindley's attitude was summed up in an annual report:

> How many times have we sighed to see, on our several stations, even one intelligent native mother, with a good degree of womanly refinement; one who would be a pattern to others in the keeping of her house; one whose cleanly habits and proper bearing others would feel not to be above the attainment of a native woman.[27]

The idea of a school exclusively for girls, who would leave their parents' homesteads and be placed under the supervision of mission teachers, was nothing short of revolutionary for the time: there was no such institution like this for anyone in colonial Natal.[28] Boarding schools which catered for both boys and girls had been functioning in the Cape for a decade. The two best known were Zonnebloem, in Cape Town, founded on the joint initiative of the Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, and the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey[29] and the Girls Institution, attached to Lovedale in the eastern Cape, which was established by Jane Waterston just one year prior to Inanda Seminary, in 1868.[30] The former was aimed at the children of chiefs, the latter at daughters of converts.

The Lindleys were, by contemporary standards, very progressive in their thinking on mission work, so it was no coincidence that they should have pioneered such a scheme. By the mid-1860s, they had won a broader receptivity within the AZM for their ideas. Missionaries and their protégés alike were having to confront the

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[25] Secretary of Board of Natal Native Trust to Edwards, 29 October 1879, SNA 1/1/33 (112/1879)
[26] The following account of the establishment of Inanda Seminary is based on Hughes, "'A lighthouse for African womanhood'", pp 198-220
[27] Cited in Wood, *Shine where you are*, p 22
[28] An Anglican boarding school for white girls opened in 1870 at Richmond, but factionalism in the church and financial difficulties forced its closure in 1883. Vietzen, *A history of education for European girls*, pp 111-120
[29] Hodgson J *Princess Emma* (Johannesburg, 1987), p 18

problem of a dearth of suitable marriage partners for male converts: training African men for Christian roles, as was underway at Amanzimtoti, would produce only half of what was required to propagate a stable community of converts. When a committee was set up to plan it in 1865,[31] one leading AZM missionary, F R Bridgman, expressed the hope that the intended establishment would be 'modelled after Mount Holyoke Seminary as far as the case will admit.'[32] Mount Holyoke, a women's seminary, had been established in the 1830s in Massachusetts. It trained a great number of women teachers and missionaries, aiming to attract those from less prosperous backgrounds who did not normally continue to higher education. Later on, however, it became highly elitist.[33]

The principal aim of the Seminary was to prepare the daughters of converts for more or less the same kinds of roles as those performed by missionary wives. It was training for the kind of domestic work that George Bourne, in a rather different context, so evocatively described as 'the cooking and cleaning and sewing from which middle-class women seem often to derive so comely a manner.'[34] Emphasis would be on the home, where a wife would be helpmate to her husband as well as good Christian mother.[35] In the Lindleys' view, this was certainly not preparation for a life of servitude but rather a release from it. In Daniel Lindley's view, control of their own domestic domain would confer upon the women 'a social equality with our men.'[36]

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[30] Bean L and E van Heyningen (Eds) *The letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston, 1866-1905* (Cape Town, 1983); Shepherd R H *Lovedale, South Africa, 1841-1941* (Alice, 1941)

[31] Christoferson, *Adventuring with God,* p 39

[32] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 28

[33] Sklar K K 'The founding of Mount Holyoke College' in Berkin C R and M B Norton (Eds) *Women of America. A history* Boston, 1979)

[34] Bourne G *Change in the village* (Harmondsorth, 1984), p 21

[35] This idea is well reinforced by the arguments of Gaitskell in 'At home with hegemony? Coercion and consent in African girls' education for domesticity in South Africa before 1910' in Marks S and D Engels (Eds) *Contesting colonial hegemony.* For example, Gaitskell writes, 'missions were very much concerned...with female education and female labour, so that African girls could provide "support personnel for the Church" primarily through unwaged domestic labour as model wives...' p 112

[36] Cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 386. On training for domesticity, see Gaitskell, 'Race, gender and imperialism', pp 158-163, and Labode M 'From Heathen kraal to Christian home: Anglican mission education and African Christian girls, 1850-1900' in Bowie, Kirkwood and Ardener (Eds), *Women and missions, past and present*, especially pp 129-136

There was more to the investment in young women's education than the 'comeliness of homemaking', however. Since primary education was the main means of mission expansion, the success of winning converts was related to the availability of teachers for new schools. There were definite limits to the number that the American Board could send from the United States, especially in the lean post-Civil War years, but in any case it was the Board's policy to encourage overseas missions to become self-sustaining. Teaching was an occupation considered suitable for both women and men - women doubling up as sewing mistresses - and an early purpose for Inanda Seminary was the training of teachers, which at that time meant achieving one or two grades above one's pupils.

12 Class at Inanda Seminary, 1890s
(Campbell Collections)

Furthermore, if the tasks of homemaking and teaching were to be properly learned, new codes, customs and a different consciousness had to be instilled in the scholars. The missionaries firmly believed that traditionalist social organisation, culture and habits turned largely on the pivotal roles played by wives, mothers and grandmothers; in like manner, the new Christian way of life

ought to revolve around women.[37] This was to be a matter of transforming, rather than simply appropriating, gender roles, since men were of course also being encouraged to behave differently, to participate more centrally, for example, in crop production with the advent of ploughs.[38]

At the same time as support was mounting from local AZM missionaries for a girls' boarding school, moves were afoot in the United States (to a lesser extent in Europe) to encourage greater involvement of women in the mission field, as women themselves came to recognise that 'religion provided an outlet for female talent denied access to political and economic leadership...[They] could assume positions of power and prestige, influencing not only children and other women but men as well.'[39] Single women missionaries, it was believed, could undertake work which neither their male counterparts nor missionary wives could do. In working with village women in the mission field, they were untrammelled by the niceties of sexual decorum faced by male preachers, and were not burdened by the usually onerous family responsibilities of missionary wives. There was a certain tension in their position, however: while they were meant to exalt matrimony and motherhood as desirable for African women, they themselves had chosen to avoid these commitments.[40]

Initially, the Women's Board of Missions of the Congregational Churches in the United States, an auxiliary of the American Board which was formed in early 1868, undertook to support seven women missionaries abroad. The first was Mary Kelley Edwards, the redoubtable head of Inanda Seminary from 1869 to 1892, who lived on at the school until her death at the age of ninety eight in

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[37] On missionary perceptions and adaptations of traditionalist gender roles, see Gaitskell D '"Wailing for purity": prayer unions, African mothers and adolescent daughters 1912-1940' in Marks and Rathbone (Eds), *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa*, pp 341-4

[38] Gaitskell D 'Devout domesticity? A century of African women's Christianity in South Africa' in Walker (Ed), *Women and gender in South Africa to 1945*, pp 254-5

[39] Berkin C R and M B Norton 'Introduction' to their (Eds) *Women of America*, p 13

[40] Morrow S '"No girl leaves the school unmarried": Mabel Shaw and the education of girls at Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia, 1915-1940' in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 19,

1927. In the face of family hostility, she had educated herself to be a teacher in Dayton, Ohio. In 1856, she married a school principal, and when he died in 1867, she investigated the possibility of mission work. In 1868, at the age of forty, she was appointed the first head of the new Seminary at Inanda.[41]

For African converts, there was a far more pressing need for a girls' boarding school than suitable marriages or employment prospects. Parents on the mission stations constantly complained that control over their children was very difficult; sons no longer deferred to fathers, and the 'purity' of their daughters was harder to preserve. In fact, where church mores had replaced those of kin, generational affiliations were altogether more difficult to regulate, especially in view of the uncertain legality of the parents' own Christian marriages.[42] Though some parents had reservations about the cost involved, in terms of both the fees and of doing without their daughters' labour at home, Inanda Seminary was in general looked upon by converts as a place where girls approaching puberty would be protected. Thus there was a coincidence between the rigorous routine deemed necessary by the missionaries and the control over their daughters' sexuality which convert parents desired.

The first nineteen girls to enrol at the Seminary in March 1869 were from the AZM stations of Inanda, Imfume, Umvoti, Umsunduze and Amanzimtoti. All had had at least four years' schooling and were literate in Zulu (hence the title of 'high' school for the Seminary). The youngest, Dalitha Hawes, was about nine years old and the daughter of Thomas Hawes. She became Mrs Edwards's personal assistant from 1877 to 1885 and thereafter lived at Tafamasi until her death in 1928. Laurana Champion, sister of A W G Champion, Helen Goba,

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4, 1986 pp 611-2. See also Bowie F 'Introduction: reclaiming women's presence' in Bowie, Kirkwood and Ardener (Eds), *Women and missions, past and present*, pp 5-8

[41] Wood, *Shine where you are*, pp 7-8

[42] See Meintjes S 'The ambiguities of ideological change: the impact of settler hegemony on the Amakholwa in the 1880s and 1890s'; Marks S 'Patriotism, patriarchy and purity', especially pp 225-230

daughter of Klaas and Maweli, and Lucy Seme, sister of Pixley KaIsaka, were also in this first class.[43]

Through the first year, numbers fluctuated between nineteen and thirty two, with attendance always much lower than enrolment - only in the twentieth century did these begin to coincide. This discrepancy speaks of great reluctance on the girls' part either to be away from their homes or to yield to the demands of the school. At first, there was one class, in which girls were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, geography, Bible study and especially sewing - for, as one of the teachers put it, 'much attention was given to teaching the girls sewing.'[44] By 1875, these same subjects were taught to two classes at different levels and by 1878, the number of classes had increased to five.[45]

13 'Inanda Seminary girl in a fit or trance from a love charm' (Original caption on reverse), c.1900
(Campbell Collections)

Initially Mary Edwards was the only teacher, assisted by Martha Lindley, who continued to work at Inanda after her parents' retirement. Two more teachers sponsored by the Women's Board arrived in 1877, one of whom had been

[43] Wood, *Shine where you are*, pp 18, 21, 173
[44] Phelps F 'Inanda Seminary' in File 19a, ISP
[45] Wood, *Shine where you are*, pp 23-37

trained at Mount Holyoke. Fidelia Phelps, another Holyoke graduate who was to succeed Edwards as head, arrived in 1884. The longevity of service of these early teachers provided a degree of continuity and stability in an otherwise uncertain climate, for it was frequently unclear as to whether there would be sufficient funding to continue the school.

There was continual disagreement between Edwards and the mission fathers over how much AZM funding could be devoted to her school. Fees, then £4 per annum, were irregular if they came in at all. After a visit to the school by Shepstone in 1870, the colonial government granted an annual sum of £100. Edwards recalled,

> I sent two girls to the blackboard and gave them a rather long example in addition. The girls did the work so quickly that the visitors were much pleased, then my pretty schoolroom with its new American school desks and chairs made a good impression and as they were leaving the Sec [SNA] said, 'You shall have a grant.'[46]

The grant helped to cover the running costs of the school, but Edwards believed the AZM was not sufficiently supportive. Lack of funds was partly the reason for its faltering growth in the early years. Between 1870 and 1876, sixty new pupils were admitted; by 1884, some sixty were enrolled in all, although average attendance was only forty one.[47]

One way in which costs were kept down was the use of students' labour; this also conformed to the general training objectives of the school. The girls grew cash crops as well as vegetables and maize for their own consumption, fetched water, chopped wood, cooked, looked after the school grounds and cleaned the buildings, all in ankle-length, high-collared dresses. Within the world of the boarding school, the daily demands of 'civilisation' were learned, both its physical tasks and the appropriate forms of interpersonal relationships. Almost every aspect of the girls' lives was regulated: for example, Edwards vetted all mail and

[46] Edwards, note attached to Phelps to Lamson, 27 March 1927, ISP. See also Lindley to SNA, 18 February 1870, SNA 1/1/20 (149/1870)

once declared, 'I shall be able to take the degree of "Professor of Love Letters", instead of Belles Lettres'.[48] For all the internal control, however, the students were not cut off from station life - they attended the church and assisted in the Sunday school. In his report for 1885, the education inspector gave an idea of school life:

> The scholars are neat and clean without exception. All are well instructed in Needlework and cutting out; they make clothes in aid of the Mission at Inhambane, wash, iron and receive special instruction in household duties...The Inanda Training School may fairly claim to be a model institution.[49]

Despite Edwards's efforts, however, the students' attitudes ranged from apathetic to rebellious: next to not a few names in early registers is written, 'ran away'.[50] This was the sticking point for Edwards, which prompted several resignation attempts on her part. In March 1874, for example, she notified the AZM conference, 'It is with deep regret that I say it but there seems to be no spirit of the teacher in any of the girls and I confess I have no power to put it in them.'[51]

14 Mary Edwards aged 98, Inanda, 1927
(Campbell Collections)

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47 Wood, *Shine where you are*, p 36
48 Cited in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 386
49 Cited in Wood, *Shine where you are*, p 87
50 School log books, 1870-1880, ISP
51 File 1874, A/2/28, A608

Etherington has noted that the children of converts 'were born into station life without experiencing the insecurity and desperate needs which had drawn their parents to the church. As a result, something of a generation gap developed in *kholwa* communities',[52] since on the whole, offspring did not display the same religious zeal as their parents. Students were probably reluctant to accept uncritically the missionaries' views of the world; at the same time, there was little obvious workable alternative open to them. There is a rare glimpse of this deep ambivalence of Seminary students in a series of essays presented to Mary Edwards in 1884, although the authors' names are sadly not recorded. One is entitled 'English in Natal'. It is a striking illustration of the points made in this paragraph, and a rare insight into the ideas, aspirations and expectations of a young African woman student in 1880s Natal. It is therefore worth quoting at some length. The author begins by recalling an imagined past, disrupted by war and lacking in civilised comestibles (but also untroubled by the burdens of money and education needed to acquire them), which was turned upside down by Europeans' 'discovery' of Africa:

> Many years ago this land of South Africa was a quiet land, as I imagine, but it was not so very quiet for some time the people had wars among themselves...They had no blankets to cover themselves, no bed to sleep on, no flour for bread, no tea, no coffee, no sugar, no whisky, no brandy, no rum, no wine, they only had native foods...they were not troubled about what they should do with their money for they had none...they [had] noone to tell them not to soil their clothes, or to trouble them by calling them in to school, in this way the abantu lived till 1498.[53]

The writer goes on to complain bitterly of the grasping ways of 'English, Dutch and coolies'; she is slightly more welcoming of the missionaries, but with qualification: 'I do not think the missionaries did wrong to come among us for they came to tell us about the Word of God, and they did not want our land, but they have brought the white people, and the white people trouble us.' While there are echoes here of the missionary message, these are cut across by more strident ones, telling of the dangers accompanying the missionaries' arrival. The

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[52] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 140
[53] 'English in Natal', Book 86, ISP

essay ends by looking forward to a more dignified, if once more dramatically altered, future, displaying an eerie prescience:

> The time will come when there will be no difference between a black man and a white man, only perhaps in colour and language. Some few people have already left native law and turned white men, although this few are as black as ever, and their hearts are as black as their faces...In years to come we may have a Zulu for our magistrate...We have Zulu preachers now, and why should we not have Zulu lawyers as well. Then will come Zulu newspapers and history - when I think of all these things, it makes me feel first as if I had been born 100 years too soon, and that the good times are coming after my time is gone.[54]

During the first decade or so of the Seminary's operation, students came to it from AZM convert communities all over Natal. By 1885, 216 girls had been enrolled, 79 of whom had declared themselves active Christians.[55] Perhaps it was their seeming inability to instill more than a 'passive' Christian culture that led the missionaries to encourage students to stay longer: in 1881, the first certificates were awarded to those who had attended the Seminary continuously for five years.

While girls continued to come from *kholwa* homes, the school also began, in the early 1880s, to take students from 'outside' homes in the Inanda mission reserve and surrounding location. Not all of them were at the Seminary against their parents' wishes, as Mqhawe set a local example by sending some of his daughters there, and other parents began to follow suit. Most, however, were so-called 'runaways', young women who (unlike their *kholwa* counterparts, who were running from the school) were seeking to escape from unwanted marriages. Many were under fifteen years of age and came with stories of bitter battles with their parents.[56]

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[54] 'English in Natal', Book 86, ISP

[55] Wood, *Shine where you are*, p 36

[56] KCM 52091, File 1a, ISP. Allowance has to be made, of course, for the dramatisation of their accounts by the missionaries for the purpose of strengthening their arguments for keeping these girls.

This was a time when both the AZM and officials were actively trying to loosen the bonds of polygamy and *ukulobola*, either in the interests of promoting 'civilisation' (uppermost for missionaries) or to reduce the number of cattle claims coming to court (which was more pressing for officials). In terms of the 1869 marriage law, brides could not be married against their will.[57] However, in view of the ignominy suffered by a bride who refused to marry, it was extremely difficult to go against the wishes of kin. Many who had said 'no', or had not answered at all when asked by the official witness whether they wished to marry, were among the runaways.

One of those who had said 'no' before the official witness at her marriage ceremony was Susiwe Bhengu, daughter of the Ngcolosi chief Dhlokolo. The Khumalo chief Bhulutshe, in the 1880s 'a very old man', had negotiated her marriage with Dhlokolo. She 'refused and kept refusing', until Bulutshe died. However his son and heir, Sidada, 'who had several wives and was old', continued negotiations for her. At length she went to his homestead but, she said, 'I did not stay in his hut'. She returned to her father's homestead on the occasion of the *ukulobola* cattle being driven there and refused to go back to Sidada. 'When they wanted me to go back with the beer, I refused till at last my mother went and took it for me.' Her father was by now extremely angry, and fearing the consequences of his wrath, she ran away to the Seminary.[58] Susiwe had attended church and school for some time before seeking protection. Magistrates did not like missionaries to keep runaways because of the ensuing objections of kin, and already in the year she arived (1892), Edwards had had to surrender four. Only after three visits to Pietermaritzburg and considerable publicity did the Inanda magistrate give his reluctant consent. Susiwe Bhengu later married into the Seme family.

[57] Welsh, *The roots of segregation*, p 84
[58] Susiwe Bhengu's statement, KCM 52091, File 1a, ISP

Although there were some runaways from his chiefdom, Mqhawe did not allow the issue to cloud his dealings with the mission. Rather, he blamed the situation on the government: 'The Law says a girl shall not be compelled to marry against her will. Formerly we could marry our daughters where we liked but now all has gone wrong. It makes our daughters wander about as prostitutes.'[59] Nevertheless, the issue of runaways was a delicate one, which could threaten relations with traditionalist homesteads. On several occasions, angry relatives arrived at the school demanding the runaways back. Fathers seldom came; usually the mothers, who clearly had an interest in their daughters' conformity to custom, accompanied by their sons or other younger male kin, would arrive to fetch their daughters. On one occasion, a belligerent mother threw a stone at Edwards, but generally families tried verbal persuasion. If their relatives succeeded, girls were free to go, but the Seminary's policy was not to 'give up' girls against their will, unless forced to do so by the magistrate.

To cater for non-Christian girls, special primary grades were created in the 1880s. The teacher in charge of these, Miss Price, produced textbooks which were widely used in day schools throughout Natal for many years after.[60] In 1886, twelve out of the sixty students were 'primaries'; by 1895, their number had swelled to 125, constituting seventy percent of the enrolment of that year.[61] There was a steep rise in their numbers in the aftermath of the rinderpest, due to one of two possible factors. Either marriages were not taking place, because of the scarcity of cattle, and parents found it easier to entrust their daughters to the school than to care for them at home[62]; or pressure on young women to marry increased sharply, as a means of rebuilding herds. Whichever was the more likely, the numbers of primaries continued to expand: in 1901, only 72 of the 321 students at the Seminary were not primaries.[63] The school had to compromise

[59] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Native Affairs Commission 1881*, p 221
[60] Christoferson, *Adventuring with God*, p 154
[61] Registers, File 1b, ISP
[62] I am grateful to Prof S Marks for this suggestion
[63] Registers, File 1b, ISP

to some degree with local demands: girls were released at planting time, for example.[64]

The large number of primaries strained the resources of the school, and the staff began a series of entrepreneurial ventures to cover costs. There was an intensification of cash cropping, and a successful chicken enterprise and an unsuccessful silk worms business were launched.[65] By far the most ambitious venture was a laundry, opened in 1888. 'Commenced originally for the benefit of married native women on the station',[66] the transport costs soon grew too burdensome for the women themselves. The laundry buildings were moved nearer to the school, seven women were employed to oversee the work, and the heavier manual labour was performed by the primaries. In relays of eighteen, each primary worked for two months and was paid a shilling a day. In addition, every week fifty girls carried eight buckets of water each from the stream about half a mile away. It was this method of keeping costs down that enabled the laundry to compete keenly with the washermen's guild in town.[67]

In the ten months from July 1889 to April 1890, a total of 30,568 articles was laundered. A government grant of £50 was approved on the basis of the Native Education Inspector's view that the laundry would qualify girls 'for an especially useful branch of service.'[68] Through the 1890s, the laundry made a modest profit and in some years brought in more than the fees. After 1900, business tailed off because of the growth of commercial laundries in Durban and profit dwindled - only £29 in 1905, for example. Finally it was incorporated into the Seminary as a non-profit training facility. The Inspector's hope that the girls so trained would help to satisfy the need for servants was, however, never realised.

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64 'Report from Inanda Seminary, 1900-01', ISP

65 Wood, *Shine where you are,* p 56

66 'Report on Inanda laundry, 1889', SNA 1/1/112 27/1889

67 Atkins, *The moon is dead!,* pp 138-40. See also Labode, 'From heathen kraal to Christian home', pp 138-41, for an interesting comparison of laundry work at the Bloemfontein Training School, run by the Anglicans.

68 Memo from SNA, 1 July 1889, 1/1/112 27/1889

Mrs Edwards made it quite clear to the 1902 Lands Commission that that was never the Seminary's intention:

> Q.- Have you many applications for servants, when the girls have finished their terms?
> A.- Yes. We have many applications. We reply that we have no right to send servants....[69]

The attendance of large numbers of primaries turned Inanda Seminary into much more of a local school, serving the homesteads of Inanda, than it had been originally. While always in favour of integrating the school into the life of local communities, Edwards recognised that many girls came simply because, despite her efforts, there were not enough day schools. But founding more day schools meant training the teachers to run them and this remained an important aim of the Seminary until 1909, when all teacher training was transferred to Adams College. By 1885, some 66 teachers had been trained at Inanda. In the following year, an official, standardised syllabus was introduced and teacher training upgraded. However, it was not until 1900 that any students from the Seminary sat the Third Class Government Teachers Examination. The first one, Evelyn Goba, a granddaughter of Klaas, topped the list of candidates in the First Class Examination in 1904. She and three other Seminary graduates were the first fully trained African women teachers in Natal. By this time, mission day schools were no longer eligible for grants unless their teachers possessed government qualifications, an indication of growing state control over education.

The force behind the founding of Ohlange was John Dube, who did not have the institutional backing of a missionary society or a subsidy from government: colonial officials believed that Dube ought to be watched rather than supported.[70] Despite such disadvantages, however, he and his wife Nokutela presided over the 'first purely African-founded and African-run industrial school'[71] in South

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[69] Edwards, *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 236

[70] Marks, *Reluctant rebellion*, pp 74-5; Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, p 44

[71] Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, p 44. For the lasting significance of this African enterprise, see Champion AWG 'The Ohlange School' in Swanson (Ed), *The views of Mahlathi*, pp 179-181

Africa when it opened in 1901. Most of the estimated $15,000 they required[72] came from the United States, through their fundraising tours and the work of their New York-based American Committee.[73] Thus their background on the Lindleys' American mission had put them in touch with the means to open their school.

15 John Langalibalele Dube
(Skota, *The African yearly register,* p 144)

It had also put them in touch with a congenial philosophy of education. The Dubes considered themselves primarily as educators (in this sense, too, they owed much to the Lindley model) and had clear ideas about the sort of establishment it would be. Modelled on Booker T Washington's Tuskegee Institute (which they visited in 1897), it would promote progress through self-improvement and stability through self-reliance, encouraging students to become as skilled in artisanal as in academic occupations.[74] In Dube's words, '...we should become a civilised people as we ought to be. We want our education to have effect on all the people: to teach the hand to work, the brain to understand,

[72] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 104
[73] See Marable, 'African nationalist', chapters 3 and 4
[74] Hunt Davis R 'John L Dube: A South African exponent of Booker T Washington' in *Journal of African Studies*, 2, 4, 1975/6 p 510

and the heart to serve.'[75] As Gaitskell notes, the Dubes were also anxious to teach the 'correct sexual division of labour', men to involve themselves in the world of commerce, while women became homemakers and helpmates to their men.[76]

Hunt Davis suggests that in part, Dube's identification with Washington also stemmed from the fact that he had grown up as a convert in Natal, where the whites' methods of social closure towards educated Africans, especially after 1893, were similar to those in the American South.[77] As a preview of his later attitude to the ICU, he already rejected as dangerously uncontrollable the contemporaneous populist radicalism of Booth's 'Africa for the Africans' and the American Methodist Episcopal Church's Bishop Henry Turner's 'Back to Africa' movement.[78]

Dube was clearly dedicated to a somewhat authoritarian, 'top-down' idea of social progress, initiated and supervised by members of the *kholwa* elite who knew both what the lower orders needed and how to control them. In this respect he found support not only from other 'new Africans', but from the Qadi chief, who had congruent ideas about the exercise of authority. Dube referred to his grandfather, chief Dube, as a 'reformer'[79]; Natal chiefs called on several occasions for industrial schools.[80] Thus there was an 'alliance of elites' in the realisation of Ohlange, symbolised in the composition of the first Board of Trustees, including Dube himself, Madikane Cele, Mqhawe and John Mdima.[81]

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[75] 'Opening of the people's school, 4 July 1901' in SNA 1/1/294 2818/1901
[76] Gaitskell, 'At home with hegemony?', p 119
[77] Hunt Davis, 'A South African exponent', pp 502-3
[78] Harlan L 'Booker T Washington and the white man's burden' in *American Historical Review*, 71, 1966, p 449. On Booth, see Shepperson G and T Price *Independent African. John Chilembwe and the Nyasaland rising of 1915* (Edinburgh, 1958); on Turner, see Redkey E S *Black exodus* (New Haven, 1969)
[79] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 100
[80] Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics*, p 55
[81] 'Opening of the people's school, 4 July 1901', SNA 1/1/294 (2818/1901)

In the 1890s, the Dubes had intended to open an industrial institution on the Qadi farm, Incwadi, when they established their mission base there. Ohlange was finally located at Inanda, however, because of its proximity to the Qadi heartland as well as to enable Dube to fulfill his duties as pastor at his old church. Mqhawe was closely involved with its planning, and contributed substantially towards the £430 required to purchase the land.[82] Dube acquired part of the old Piezang River estate, which was thereafter (and is still) known as 'Dube's Farm'.[83] Ohlange opened to 63 students in August 1901, the teaching staff consisting of the Dubes, John Mdima and Pipile Msweli. Within two years, student numbers had risen to 103 and the staff had expanded to seven.[84] The 'industrial' side of the programme, at first largely agricultural, was still celebrated in the 1980s in performances of Dube's izibongo:

> *Angithi uMafukuzela onjengeZulu nguyena owaqala imfundo yezandla*
> (Mafukuzela who is like the gathering storm, the one who started vocational instruction)[85]

Over the years, however, the academic syllabus eclipsed the industrial one, as Ohlange graduates found increasing difficulty in finding employment as shoemakers, saddlers, carpenters or bricklayers: as working class whites became more politically powerful in the 1920s, so the opportunities for African tradespeople narrowed to virtually nil. There was possibly also resistance to manual instruction from pupils themselves, who saw thir futures much more in 'white-collar', than in 'overall', employment. A similar shift to a more academic syllabus occurred at the Seminary in the twentieth century.

Although Dube steadily became a leader of regional, then national, importance, he always retained his base in Inanda, and drew on local support of the kind described above throughout his political career. For example, his newspaper,

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[82] Marable, 'African nationalist', p 122
[83] Hughes H 'Promoting the countryside: African agricultural shows in Natal, 1925-1935'
[84] Marable, 'African nationalist', pp 124-6
[85] Nzama E V 'Imagery and oral formulaic language in the late Rev Dr John Langalibalele (uMafukuzela) Dube's Izibongo' MA Thesis (Natal, 1992), p 25

Ilanga lase Natal, founded in 1903, was based at Ohlange, and particularly in its early years, local concerns informed a good deal of its content, such as inveighing against the 'Asian menace', the state of Inanda's roads and other hardships of local landowners, and of course giving maximum publicity to the 'civilising efforts' of both Ohlange and the Seminary. In chapter 8, it will be argued that his intensely local concern for protecting African land rights in Inanda lay behind his qualified support for segregation in the following decades.

In his study of the 'New Africans', Couzens described institutions such as the Seminary and Ohlange as 'bridges between the old and new'.[86] Both depended on their symbiotic relationship with local communities, attracting pupils from them and providing teachers for growing numbers of day schools among them. Although Ohlange's early success depended far more heavily on Mqhawe's goodwill than the Seminary, neither could have developed at all without the propitious disposition of the local chief. Mqhawe's belief in the 'potency of literacy'[87] had manifested itself in many ways, from his use of hut tax receipt books, to his insistence that Thomas Fayle write down any messages that he wished the location supervisor to convey to the government on his behalf, to attending school himself and sending his children there. His firm support for Inanda's premier educational institutions was his most powerful expression of this belief.

[86] Couzens, *The new African*, p 63
[87] Comaroffs, *Of revelation and revolution*, p 233

PART 4: THE UNDERMINING EFFECTS OF PRIVATE LAND

Chapter 8: 'We will be elbowed out the country'[1]: the Qadi chiefdom, white and Indian farmers, 1840s to 1900s

Mqhawe considered the single greatest threat to his power to be neither officialdom nor missionaries, but 'the corrosive effects'[2] of private land ownership. 'It will destroy our power as chiefs', he said bluntly.[3] Like chiefs elsewhere, he derived support from those who wished to see access to communal lands protected,[4] and clearly perceived that privatisation of land weakened the bonds that held his chiefdom together, whether voluntarily cemented from below or unwillingly imposed from above. Those who lived on alienated land or went to work for those who possessed it, automatically moved beyond the pale of his authority.

Further, private land was considered the source of various evils, principal among which was competition, especially from Indian farmers. A strong anti-Indian prejudice, emerging from a set of localised experiences and attitudes at Inanda and other places in Natal with large Indian populations, became generalised in the growth of regional African political organisations in the early twentieth century. Such prejudice did not extend, however, to local white landowners, some of whom were on particularly close terms with the Qadi elite. Good relations with whites was one factor in helping ordinary Qadi men to find 'better class' employment when they entered the job market from the 1870s. The difference in the Qadi chief's attitude towards whites and Indians may be explained in terms of the way in which dominant colonial ideology deflected hostility away from whites and portrayed certain divisions among subalterns as 'natural'.

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[1] Jacobus Matiwana, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1881*, p 145
[2] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*, p 36
[3] Mqhawe, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native affairs commission 1881*, p 226
[4] See Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden struggles in rural South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1987), pp 11 and 37

Private land ownership was of special concern to Mqhawe for two reasons. Firstly, through his reign, Inanda came to be the centre of Natal's sugar production, and proximity to plantations had several invasive implications for all who lived in his domain. Secondly, and partly related, towards the end of his life, agrarian interests in government were pushing hard to 'open' the mission reserves to white ownership, something Mqhawe was aware would spell the end of the Qadi polity in Inanda. This second point may be dealt with briefly, since it never actually happened: instead, in 1903, the reserves were incorporated into the Natal Native Trust, set up in 1864 to preserve the integrity of the locations. Before the matter was settled, however, the mission societies, as well as chiefs whose followers resided on mission reserves, were forced to spend much effort campaigning vigorously against the proposals.[5]

Guarantees against the undermining effects of the sugar industry were simply not available, even if dominant official thinking in the early colonial years was that Africans, as the largest and most reliable revenue-earners for the colony, should not be unduly disturbed. In the 1850s and even 1860s, it was not at all clear that sugar would succeed where tea, coffee, arrowroot, sesame and cotton had failed, and sugar interests found themselves thwarted by government when they pushed for a more regular, local supply of plantation labour, by depriving Africans of access to land. They did not succeed, however; equally, most Africans felt the effects of expanding plantations more through the accompanying changes in the pattern of colonial society than directly through the sale of their labour power.[6]

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[5] For example, by presenting copious evidence to the 1901-1902 Lands Commission, which devoted most of its energies to the future of the reserves.

[6] Harries has pointed out that more Africans than is usually realised were employed in the sugar industry, particularly in the formative years, but they were on the whole migrants from Mozambique and the Transvaal. See his 'Plantations, passes and proletarians: labour and the colonial state in nineteenth century Natal' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, 3, 1987

From the 1860s, intensive sugar production - to become the colony's lifeline to self-sufficiency and development[7] - resulted in a rapid and dramatic transformation of the belt of land between the Qadi in the Umzinyathi valley and the sea, from the Umgeni river in the south to the Tongati river in the north.[8] (See map on p 198) The fastest rate of increase in production in Inanda occurred between 1864 and 1874, as the number of acres under cultivation rose from nearly 5,000 to over 12,000.[9] Back in the 1820s, white travellers had portrayed this stretch of coast as 'virgin' territory: 'nothing could exceed in grandeur the surrounding herbage and the rich vegetation...Clear and limpid rivulets, green hills and clusters of trees studding the whole...altogether a landscape of no ordinary magnificence', enthused Isaacs.[10] In similar vein, Charles Maclean (better known as 'John Ross') referred to the 'beautiful ever-verdant and luxuriant valleys of the Mngeni'.[11] When Bleek journeyed through the area in the 1850s, he reported 'dense, high forest with impenetrable undergrowth...there is also a great deal of game and wild animals of different species'.[12]

A decade later, there were signs of luxuriance yielding to commerce: the process of conquest, of 'man' pitted against 'nature', had begun. To its chroniclers, victory would confirm the technological superiority of European civilisation over all the world and its contents. Thus in 1864, the Inanda district surgeon, Josiah Matthews (later a son-in-law of the Lindleys) presented this description:

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[7] For the best overview of Natal's sugar industry in the colonial period, see Richardson P 'The Natal sugar industry in the nineteenth century' in Beinart W, P Delius and S Trapido (Eds) *Putting a plough to the ground. Accumulation and dispossessioin in rural South Africa 1850-1930* (Johannesburg, 1986). Though sugar meant so much to Natal's economy, the colony's contribution to global sugar output was miniscule, and mostly for domestic consumption: see Mintz S *Sweetness and power. The place of sugar in modern history* (New York, 1985), for a brilliant account of the history of world sugar production and consumption.

[8] This area comprised Victoria County, of which Inanda division was the southern half, stretching from the Umgeni to the Umdhloti.

[9] *Blue Books*, 1864-1874. See also Richardson, 'The Natal sugar industry, 1849-1905: an interpretative essay' in Guest B and J Sellers (Eds) *Enterprise and exploitation in a Victorian colony*, p 186

[10] Isaacs N *Travels and adventures in south east Africa* Ed L Herman and P Kirby, p 60

[11] Maclean C R *The Natal papers of 'John Ross'* Ed S Gray (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 1992), p 40

All the way to Verulam [from Durban]...the landscape was straddled near and far with thick forests, interspersed with sugar and coffee plantations, forming lovely little views; here and there, too, I could see smoke curling up from the fires where the planters were burning timber in the forest.[13]

Overall, he declared, this was '[t]he most enterprising and rising portion of the whole colony'. Half a century later, Russell could hail this same district as 'the garden county' of Natal[14]: the transformation of dense undergrowth into parklike plantations signalled the completion of conquest.

There was little place for Africans in this picture, other than as part of 'nature', to be subordinated to the needs of the landowners. Being an environment completely unsuited to cattle, very few Africans had settled here. Those such as the Ndhlovu, living in the path of the bush cutters' knives, were physically displaced, mostly onto other private farmland not yet used for sugar. Yet they and nearby African peoples failed to be subordinated in quite the way the nascent 'sugarocracy' intended.[15] The locations permitted a high level of autonomy, as did land remaining in the hands of speculators.

Very early on in the process of colonial enclosure, virtually all the land in Inanda outside the location and mission reserve had been privatised. In the south, the old Boer farms near the Umgeni had passed into the hands of speculative companies or newer British immigrants. Elsewhere in the district, large tracts of abandoned private land testified to early commercial disaster. Along the Umhlanga river, mercantile interests in the Cape had mounted a (failed) scheme to grow cotton in the 1840s.[16] A decade later, the so-called 'Cotton Lands' were

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[12] Spohr O (Ed) *The Natal diaries of Dr W H I Bleek* (Cape Town, 1965), p 90
[13] Matthews J W *Incwadi yami, or twenty years' personal experience in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1976), p 12
[14] Russell R *Natal. The land and its story*, p 59
[15] This is Lincoln's term, in his 'The culture of the South African sugarmill: the impress of the sugarocracy' PhD Thesis (Cape Town, 1985)
[16] Robertson, 'The 1849 settlers in Natal', p 281-5

earmarked as the destination for many of the settlers brought from Britain under the auspices of the controversial J C Byrne.[17] The plots allocated to immigrants were small; Byrne hoped that they would buy more on arrival, thus providing themselves with viable farms and himself with a tidy profit. Few did so, and within two years the scheme had collapsed.

More successful was a group of Wesleyan settlers brought to Natal with Byrne's assistance, who founded the town of Verulam. Of the numerous villages planned by various settlement schemes in the division (no doubt designed to complement the country estates in an attempted recreation of English rural life) - Blackburn, Riverton, Mount Moreland, Bridgeford - only Verulam thrived. It was on the 'high road' to Zululand, well travelled by hunters and traders, and became the local administrative seat. It was also the first town outside Durban to be served by a railway line.[18]

As late as the mid-1870s, the white population of Inanda was still less than a thousand. Aside from failed ventures, sugar had already suffered bouts of low prices and internal crisis, as 'millers became increasingly dependent for credit on merchant brokers who began to take control of sugar production itself'.[19] Part of this process involved a steady centralisation of the 'industrial' aspects of production. The two largest mills in the colony were situated in Inanda, the Natal Central Sugar Company at Mount Edgecombe, and Tongaat.[20] Smaller growers-cum-millers had abandoned their land to join those drifting to towns, or to search for gold in Australia, or (like Josiah Matthews) to seek their fortunes in the Kimberley diamond diggings.

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[17] See Robertson, 'The 1849 settlers in Natal; as well as Clark J *Natal settler-agent: the career of John Moreland, agent for the Byrne emigration scheme of 1849-1851* (CapeTown, 1972) and Hattersley, *The Natal settlers 1848-1851*

[18] See Park, 'The history of early Verulam'

[19] Keegan, 'The making of the rural economy: from 1850 to the present' in Konczacki Z, J Parpart and T Shaw (Eds) *Studies in the economic history of southern Africa* vol 1, (London, 1991), p 42

[20] Osborn, *Valiant harvest. The founding of the South African sugar industry, 1848-1926* (Durban 1964), p 203-5, 249-55

These developments merely added to the series of land lots which had been bought up by speculators, which now stretched all the way through the division, from north to south, like lumpy beads on a string. Much of it was owned by the Natal Land and Colonisation Company (NLCC), formed in 1860.[21] The artificial shortage thus created made Inanda's land among the most expensive in the colony. Even in 1860, land was selling at £1 to £2 per acre on the Umgeni, and there was nothing south of the Umdhloti river to be had for under ten shillings an acre.[22] This was a highly inflated cost when compared to the four shillings per acre that Byrne charged - itself an arbitrary and expensive price.

As sugar production recovered and expanded in the 1880s, partly because of the introduction of new cane varieties which thrived in Natal, partly because of the opening of a new market on the Witwatersrand, speculative holdings were reduced by thriving produce companies. Nevertheless, the NLCC and other absentee landlords retained substantial holdings, especially in the zone between the plantations and the location - a source of irritation to planters, who tried repeatedly to prise them out of the district.[23]

Up until the 1890s, there were between 4,000 and 5,000 African tenants on this land. They did not depend on a chief for allocation of places, nor did they fall 'under' one for the payment of hut tax or for isibhalo labour, since they were exempt from both. Altogether, they did not much need a chief, although they found that it was wise to maintain a contingent level of identification, in case of eviction or some other mishap. Officials recorded tenants' chiefly affiliations rather erratically and, as a result, it is difficult to know how many of the tenants on private farms were Qadi.[24] Some would always have occupied such land;

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[21] On this company, see Slater, 'Land, labour and capitalism in Natal: the Natal Land and Colonisation Company, 1860-1948' in *Journal of African History* 16, 2, 1975 and Edley J J A 'The Natal Land and Colonisation Company in colonial Natal, 1860-1890' PhD Thesis (Natal, 1991)

[22] Christopher, 'Natal: a study in colonial land settlement', p 183-4

[23] See for example the evidence of G H Hulett, representing the Inanda Agricultural Association, *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 214

[24] There were most likely Qadi tenants on private farms elsewhere in the colony; this discussion, however, is restricted to those in Inanda, closest to the main body of the chiefdom

some would have left the locations to find more land to graze their cattle.[25] There were several homesteads, most probably Qadi, on the old Boer farms near the Umzinyathi.

All over Inanda district, a total of £600 was collected in rent from Qadi on private lands in the mid-1880s.[26] However, it is difficult to derive even an approximate number of huts or homesteads from this amount because of the large variety of tenant arrangements, from pure monetary rent to a combination of rent, labour and produce, mostly in the form of maize. For example, John Swales, an Inanda rentier, charged £1 per hut annually as long as each supplied him with a farmhand, whom he paid the market rate of 30s to £2; otherwise hut rental shot up to £2.10.[27] On the farms of Inanda and Buffelsdraai, tenants paid a pure monetary rent of five shillings per hut for the first three years, after which the rent increased annually,[28] probably to discourage a sense of security. Some, who had been based there since at least the mid-1850s, were in serious rent arrears a decade later.[29]

Their troubles would intensify in the years following, as they faced a double squeeze, first from expanding sugar plantations and then from other commercial enterprises. Especially after 1893, triumphant farming interests in Responsible Government exerted pressure on absentee owners either to dispose of their property or to turn it to commercially productive use. Near to the Inanda location, much land was given over to cattle ranching and wattle growers, thus displacing tenants who either had to find places in the location, or move to other farms or towns. Because of intense crowding in the location by then, chiefs did not welcome them.

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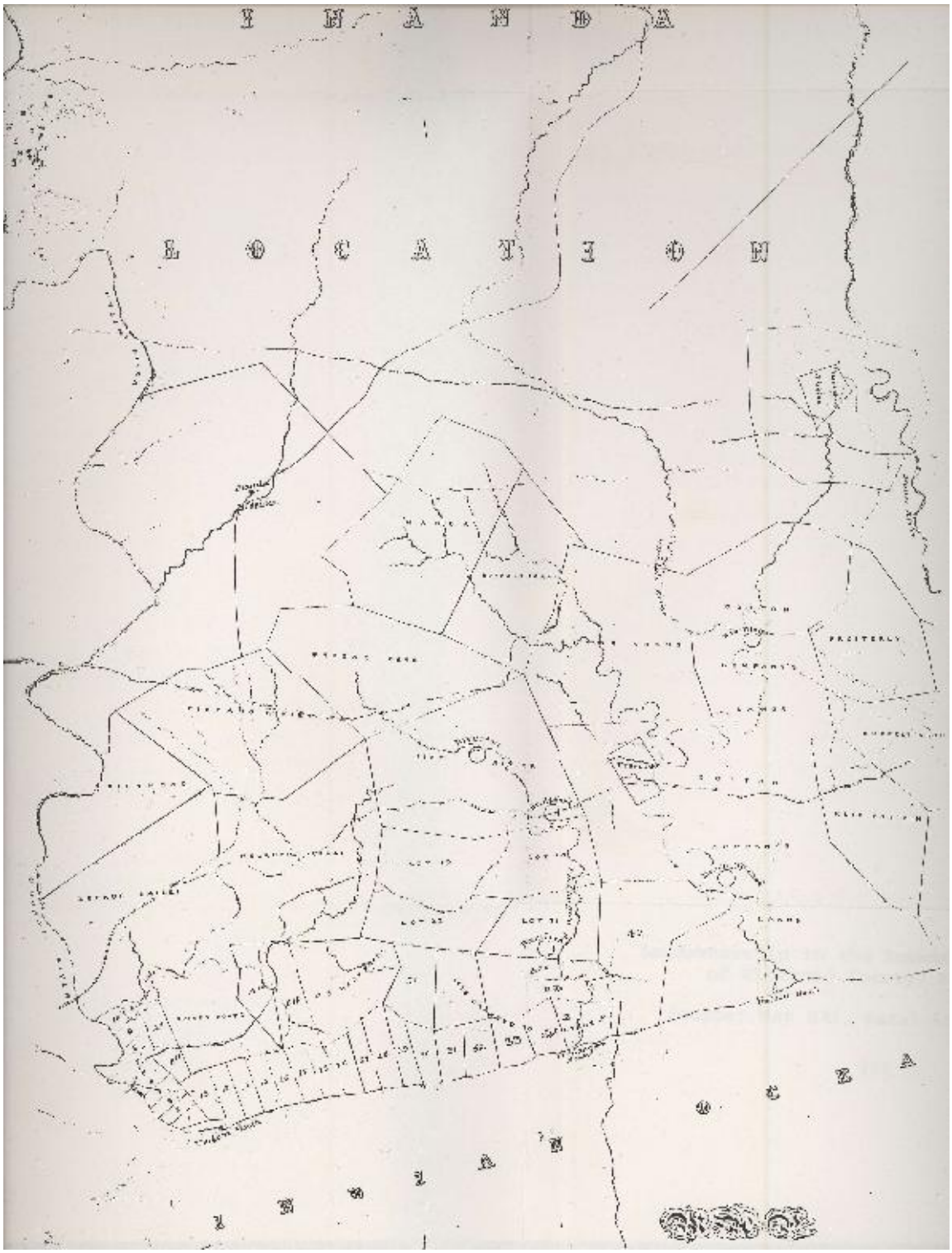
[25] Inanda magistrate, 24 February 1886, SNA 1/1/87 (711/1885)
[26] Inanda magistrate, 29 May 1885, SNA 1/1/81 (155/1881)
,l[27] John Swales, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 489
[28] Report of Inanda magistrate on conditions on private farms, 24 February 1885, SNA 1/1/87 (711/1885)
[29] See 'Civil cases, 1864', 1/VLM 2/6/1/1



16 The Inanda Division of the County of Victoria, 1873
(Map B31, Natal Archives)

African tenants also had to contend with competition from those who had come to South Africa to perform the labour that they themselves would not: Indian workers, arriving for five-year periods of indenture and employed mostly on the sugar plantations. Between 1860 and 1911, some 152,000 indentured immigrants were brought to Natal.[30] After their periods of indenture, Indian workers could either return to their homeland (which few did), or find work on their own account in Natal. While some immediately went into urban employment, the choice for most was farming. Despite provision in their contracts that a return passage to India could be commuted to a small plot of land in Natal, only fifty out of over 13,000 applications were ever granted. Thus, little in the way of special land arrangements was made for them.[31] From their earliest entry into non-indentured economic activity, therefore, Indian agriculturalists had no safety net such as a reserve or location; instead they had to compete on the open market for access to land.

Small-scale Indian farmers rapidly emerged as the most reliable food producers in many coastal areas of Natal, particularly Inanda, where they 'were the main producers of all crops other than sugar.'[32] The magistrate reported in 1876 that they were 'the real agriculturalists of this Division...But for them, maize would be at famine price, and vegetables would be strangers to our table.'[33] The large number of estates here meant that the Indian population was higher than in other divisions: by the late 1880s, there were an estimated 14,000, of whom 6,000 were under indenture and 8,000 were 'free'.[34] Large portions of Riet Rivier and Groeneberg farms, close to the Qadi heartland, were leased by Indians as early as 1866,[35] and elsewhere in the district marginal land was steadily being brought under cultivation by time-expired Indian workers. Moreover, a 'considerable

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30 Bhana S and J Brian, *Setting down roots*, p 22

31 Ginwala F 'Class, consciousness and control', p 426. There was only one small government-initiated scheme, at Braemar on the south coast, which lasted only to the early 1870s. See Bhana and Brain, *Setting down roots*, p 44

32 Freund B *Insiders and outsiders. The Indian working class of Durban 1910-1990*, p 16

33 Report of Inanda magistrate, *Blue Book* 1876

34 Inanda magistrate, 4 April 1888, SNA 1/1/105 (188/1888)

35 Bhana and Brain, *Setting down roots*, p 45

number' of Africans in employment in Inanda were in their service by the 1890s.[36]

It was not long before most landowners considered Indian tenants more desirable than African ones. One Inanda-based landlord voiced what by the 1880s had become a common refrain, 'I can get my rent from a Coolie, whereas I find great difficulty in getting it from a Native.'[37] By the 1890s, G H Hulett estimated that a full ninety per cent of civil cases in the Inanda magistrate's court were actions for the recovery of rent arrears from African tenants - an indication of how far they were being displaced by their Indian counterparts.[38]

Swan, following Bundy, explained the vigour of Indians' agricultural enterprise in terms of their easier access to credit from wealthy, 'passenger' Indians, who had come to South Africa on their own account and were mostly urban-based. The loan arrangements to small-scale Indian farmers 'may have appeared to offer them a competitive edge over their struggling African fellow-cultivators';[39] although these enabled Indians to buy small plots, and so gave them a degree of security that tenants lacked,[40] involvement in such relationships was frequently very onerous. More recently, Freund has argued that the years immediately after indenture were a time of 'recreation of Indian social, cultural and familial life' of a creolised variety[41] suited to the demands of the intense 'self-exploitation' to

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[36] Inanda magistrate's report, *Blue Book on Native Affairs* 1894, p 66

[37] Evidence of T Rathbone, *Minutes of Evidence to the South African Native Affairs Commission vol 3 (Evidence taken in Natal)*, p 905

[38] Evidence of G H Hulett, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 942

[39] Swan M *Gandhi: the South Africa years*, p 23; Bundy, *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry*, pp 182-3. On Indian merchants and money-lending, see Padayachee V and R Morrell, 'Indian merchants and Dukawallahs in the Natal economy, c1875-1914', in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19, 2, 1993, especially pp 82 ff

[40] This also meant that they did not have to face the constant threat of removal as farms changed from tenanting to production: for example Groeneberg, on which there had earlier been many Indian farmers, was by the 1910s the grazing farm of Natal Estates. Evidence of S T Amos, *Minutes of Evidence of Natal Natives Land Committee 1918*, p 295

[41] Freund, *Insiders and outsiders*, pp 8-9

which Indian extended families submitted themselves,[42] in order to make ends meet and to further their interests in their new environment. Many also engaged in related activities, such as hawking or trading, to the same end.

With the rider that the success of Indian small growers should not be overestimated - most 'remained extremely poor and found less and less opportunity to advance their fortunes'[43] - there are two other possible reasons for the achievements of Indian small-scale farmers. One of these Africans themselves well recognised: the 'strangers' from abroad possessed no cattle. More than any other, it was this single factor that 'marked' Indians as unassimilable, as far as Africans were concerned.[44] 'Three Coolies could live in space that one Kafir would want. Natives like cattle; Coolies do not', observed Jacobus Matiwane of Verulam.[45] That was why it seemed to him that Africans would be 'elbow[ed] out the country' by Indians:[46] they could use virtually all the land they rented for cultivation. Indeed, some landowners complained that Indian land use was very harsh on the soil for this very reason. Mqhawe believed that this was why Indians always had food, even in lean periods, and could 'plunder' Africans who had nowhere else to buy when food was scarce.[47]

Less visible was the other factor giving Indian growers an edge: the nature of rent charged.[48] In Inanda, and probably elsewhere on the coast, Indians were charged per acre, whereas Africans were charged per hut. It was customary to charge Africans an annually increasing amount per hut; Indians on the other

[42] Freund, *Insiders and outsiders*, pp 16. Freund is of the view that Indian small-scale farmers did not employ labour to any significant extent.
[43] Freund, *Insiders and outsiders*, p 18
[44] Lack of cattle also reduced almost the opportunites for intermarriage with Africans (although these were very small in any event), thus reducing the social distance between them. I am grateful to Prof S Marks for this insight.
[45] Jacobus Matiwane, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 146
[46] Jacobus Matiwane, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Commission 1881*, p 145
[47] Mqhawe to SNA (letter dictated to Nokutela Dube), 3 March 1890, SNA 1/1/123 (322/1890)
[48] This idea was initially suggested in Hughes, 'Violence in Inanda, August 1985' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, p 337

hand were charged 15/- to £1 per acre for a fixed number of years.[49] The acre rent could well have been the more favourable arrangement, since it did not matter how many people assisted in production, whereas this factor materially affected the amount Africans had to pay to the landowner. Moreover, on much speculatively-held land, Indians, like white tenants, leased acreage for specified periods, whereas Africans 'continued to pay per hut without any security of tenure'.[50]

In a classic case of blaming others with as little purchase as they had on Natal's land and labour policies, Africans perceived Indians to be the cause of their land distress, especially in areas with high Indian populations like Inanda. In 1889, a subject of Mqhawe's, Matyonovana, applied to remove to Zululand on the grounds that 'this place is overrun by coolies';[51] it is likely that Mqhawe's own search for land north of the Thukela was at least partially motivated by the same sentiment. Again, in 1906-7, a Qadi district headman asked the commissioners of the Native Affairs Commission, 'how was it that the Indians, who were comparatively new arrivals, had been well provided with land, and the natives, who were the aboriginals of the country, had been turned off?';[52] another Qadi induna, Mkontshwana, told them that 'they were in distress because they had been put under the heel of the Coolie'.[53]

Would-be African landowners from the mission stations had their own reasons for disliking Indian agricultural advances. Especially from the late 1890s, there were extensive purchases of land by Indians - not ex-indentured workers, but town-based merchants, who, suffering from restrictive legislation on accumulation in urban areas, began to turn to farmland for investment. While

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[49] Inanda magistrate, 24 February 1886, SNA 1/1/87 711/1886. See also Evidence of Rathbone to *Minutes of Evidence to the South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-5 vol 3*, p 906

[50] Edley, 'The Natal Land and Colonisation Company in colonial Natal', p 111

[51] Case of Matyonovana, August 1889, in 'Applications from Natives for permission of Supremem Chief to remove from Division of Inanda', 1/VLM 8/2

[52] *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 840

[53] *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 841

waiting for property values to rise, they did what speculators before them had done, dividing their holdings into small parcels for rental to petty producers. Indian purchases were significant enough by the turn of the century to have a marked effect on land prices: in the north of the division, 'before Indians began to buy, land was as low as £1 to 30s an acre, and now the average price is from £4 to £5 an acre', according to G H Hulett.[54] Prospective African landowners, such as John Dube, found this situation most irksome: 'if the policy of the government was continued...it was evident the aboriginal Natives of Natal would go to the wall.'[55]

Indians were believed to be the source of all sorts of other pernicious influences such as drunkenness and criminality. Proximity to sugar estates meant proximity also to rum distilleries as well as to supplies of treacle, the basic ingredient of the potent isitshimiyana. Whites and Indians had free access to these commodities, whereas there was complete prohibition on Africans - some of the most exact definitions of the term 'Native' are to be found in colonial liquor legislation.[56] Mainly through so-called canteens - eating houses for Africans - there was a thriving illicit trade in both rum and treacle (the latter under the guise that it was a foodstuff) to Africans all over the colony, but more particularly in areas close to the source of production, a matter of grave concern to officials.[57] 'There is no doubt that Indians do sell liquor to Natives', declared the Inanda magistrate,[58] but by no means all responsible were Indian: accusations stemmed more from fears of displacement by Indians on the part of white and African traders alike.

To a degree, anti-Indian feelings arose out of the experience of what may be called different 'cultures of production', compounded by discriminatory practices

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[54] *Evidence given before the Lands Commission 1900-1902*, p 226
[55] *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7,* p 961
[56] See 'Comparative digest of laws affecting Natives', SNA 1/1/318 9375/19050
[57] 'Correspondence on the subject of increased drunkenness and use of intoxicating liquors, among the Native population, especially in the coast districts', SNA 1/1/116 (645/1889). From the 1890s, magistrates resorted to offering rewards to those willing to inform on the liquor trade with Africans
[58] Inanda magistrate, 3 July 1889, SNA 1/1/116 (645/1889)

by landowners and officials.[59] In addition, the original purpose for Indian workers' entry into Natal left its residue of prejudice: 'to Africans and whites alike, the term 'labourer' became synonymous with 'coolie', and stood for a condition to be avoided.'[60] But also contributing in large measure was an ideological predisposition on the part of many whites who worked closely with Africans. On his location rounds, Fayle frequently admonished Africans over their crop planting methods, telling them that 'the Government did not see why they should be beaten by the Coolies'.[61] He persuaded them to plant their own tobacco, 'and thereby save what they pay to Coolies';[62] he urged the women to earn more for their fowls by taking them to Durban themselves, rather than selling to Indians who came around.[63] He encouraged all and sundry by telling them 'that good Natives were employed in preference to Coolies in many places'.[64] These were common themes in his conversations with people as he passed from garden to garden.

The American Board, too, harboured a strong anti-Indian attitude: Indians had already been 'won' for one of the so-called world religions, Hindu or (less significantly) Islam, and would therefore be unavailable for christianisation. One example was the view of Rev Goodenough, the Board's southern African chairman in the early 1900s, who objected to Indians sub-leasing plots on African mission reserves where Africans had been given titles.[65] Perhaps the strongest anti-Indianism of all, however, was to be found at the Board's Inanda mission station. Daniel Lindley been against the coming of Indian workers, a feeling which, if anything, grew in intensity after their arrival:

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[59] Maharaj B 'Ethnicity, class and conflict: the Indian question in Natal', documents white discrimination against Indian immigrants, both indentured and passenger, through the colonial period and after. See also Ginwala, 'Class, consciousness and control', pp 43-53, on the role of legislation in setting Africans against Indians.

[60] Ginwala, 'Class, consciousness and control', p 76

[61] Fayle's diary, 11 January 1890, SNA 1/1/122 (45/1890)

[62] Fayle's diary, 10 August 1890, SNA 1/1/130 (968/1890)

[63] Fayle's diary, 26 September 1891, SNA 1/1/147 (118/1891)

[64] Fayle's diary, 26 September 1892, SNA 1/1/163 (1304/1892)

> The great majority of these imported labourers will never return to their native land...they are indescribably wicked, and seem to me hopelessly lost, now and forever...I look upon these Indians as a growing cloud on our social horizon.[66]

Other Inanda missionaries felt similarly. Mary Edwards went to great lengths to buy a large piece of land adjoining the Seminary with her own money, in order to forestall the construction of barracks for Indian workers anywhere in the vicinity of her school.

It is more than coincidence, then, that the two most prominent African leaders in Natal in the first decades of the twentieth century, John Dube and A W G Champion, should both have held strong anti-Indian views and been products of the Inanda mission station. Even though there were intense political differences between them,[67] both were prospective landowners, and their African constituencies likewise faced competition of various kinds from Indians, whether as small growers or as field or urban workers. Champion's vociferous anti-Indianism has been addressed;[68] Dube's, on the other hand, while frequently noted, has been passed over as of little significance.[69]

Dube frequently referred to Indians in demeaning or opprobious terms. For example, when attempting to persuade chiefs in the Eshowe area to support the formation of the ANC in 1912, he pointed out to them that 'people like coolies have come to our land and lorded it over us, as though we, who belong to the country, were mere nonentities.'[70] It may be argued that, as with his alleged 'anti-tribalism', Dube delivered the messages his audience wanted to hear: while he inveighed against 'tribalism and its evils' to missionary audiences and potential donors to Ohlange, it is unlikely that he would have couched his feelings in this

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[65] Goodenough, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 65
[66] Lindley, writing in 1864, quoted in Smith, *The life and times of Daniel Lindley*, p 378
[67] Analysed in Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, esp pp 67-8
[68] See Webster E 'The 1949 Durban "riots": a case study in race and class' in Bonner P (Ed) *Working papers in southern African studies* and Swanson (Ed), *The views of Mahlathi*
[69] See for example Marable's only comment in a study devoted to an analysis of Dube's career, 'Dube of course disliked the Indians'. In 'African nationalist', p 78

manner in the presence of Mqhawe or the Zulu king, for example. If he deployed 'anti-Indian' sentiment in a similar way, then, by analogy, he was tapping a pool of it in his African audiences. However, his anti-Indianism went deeper than this: through the pages of *Ilanga*, in evidence to Commissions, as well as in his speeches, it is a strong theme in his thought. It is also one which, like the broader issue of African-Indian relations in Natal, remains almost totally neglected by researchers.

In her study of Gandhi's South African years, Swan wondered about the possible influence that Dube's experiment in self-help at Ohlange might have had on Gandhi, at his Phoenix ashram, scarcely more than a mile away. Certainly the parallels between these two leaders were quite remarkable: both established centres of learning and enrichment for 'their' people around the turn of the century; both saw the importance of newspapers in spreading their ideas and founded significant presses, Dube's *Ilanga* and Gandhi's *Indian Opinion* in 1903; the essentially elitist political movements they were involved in founding, and the kind of leadership they offered, were virtually mirror images of one another; both looked to the same sources, especially in the person of Marshall Campbell, for guidance and support.

Yet for all this, there is no evidence of any direct contact between them, most probably because there was indeed none. For their different political reasons, both were in favour of 'racial separatism', Dube because he felt that Indians threatened African land rights, Gandhi because he saw common treatment with Africans as degrading.[71] It is arguable that Dube's qualified support for segregation in the early twentieth century[72] had more to do with his fears of Indian land purchase and agricultural success than of white encroachment into African territory: this is an element of thinking still overlooked by analyses which

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[70] 'Notes of a meeting of John L Dube with Natives in the Court Room of the Magistrate, Eshowe, 30 November 1912', in Dube papers, MS DUB/KCM 1093, KCL

[71] Stone J H III 'M K Gandhi: some experiments with truth' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, 4, 1990, pp 725-728

portray the development of a segregationist discourse in terms of 'black' versus 'white'.[73] For all their similarities, Indian Congress and African National Congress politics would develop a watertight racial insularity, due to the very different points of entry of Africans and Indians into Natal's colonial framework. It would leave a vexatious legacy to subsequent generations of political leadership, even to those most sincerely committed to an ideology of nonracialism.

Mqhawe's dislike of private land did not, on the whole, extend to its white owners. He considered them to be patriarchs like himself, responsible for the welfare of 'their' people. After all, it was by their leave that the Qadi had been able to re-establish their chiefdom in relatively peaceful, stable conditions: the Qadi were truly 'of the white men's country'. John Dube, a key member of the Qadi elite in all its dealings with the world outside the chiefdom, was probably important in effecting contacts with locally influential whites, though Mqhawe was well able to develop such relationships on his own account. Moreover, he chose his associates carefully: he was on close terms with only certain members of the local white elite, foremost among whom were Marshall Campbell and George Armstrong.

Campbell had been born in 1849 in Scotland; his family had arrived in Natal two years later as Byrne settlers. In 1858, his father William began planting sugar near the mouth of the Umdhloti river. He was strongly against the importation of Indian labour and always employed Africans; although his son Marshall similarly believed Indians should never have been brought to Natal, he did employ Indians on his estates in Inanda when he entered the sugar business in the 1870s. After a shaky start, he rose to be one of the wealthiest and most influential

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[72] Marks, *The ambiguities of dependence*, p 66

[73] This is the case with the otherwise highly useful collection of watershed articles on the topic, Beinart W and S Dubow (Eds) *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth-century South Africa*. Dube's support for segregation does provide a clear case of their point that 'segregation encompassed many different social relationships', made from 'below' as well as 'above'. See their 'Introduction', pp 3-12

sugarocrats, controlling the vast Natal Estates as well as successfully promoting Natal sugar interests through his political career as Member of Legislative Assembly in Natal from 1893, and later as a Union Senator. He died in 1917.[74]

An advisor both to Dube and Gandhi (during his South African years) on matters of political organisation and strategy, Campbell urged them to use their leverage to maintain order, particularly at times of acute political tension. For example, Dube assured him in 1906 that 'so long as I have influence in this district nothing of a serious nature other than idle rumours will ever take place'.[75] According to his niece, Campbell was 'a good friend to the Indians and natives, who called him their father'.[76]

Several writers have pointed to the profound ambiguity contained in the term 'friend', when applied to liberal-oriented whites' relationships with Africans, whether traditionalist or Christian.[77] From Africans' point of view, the relationship was slightly different: contemporary Qadi informants remember Mqhawe as a good friend to Campbell, rather than the other way around. They believe that in his magnanimity, Mqhawe ceded land to Campbell, on which he was able to plant cane and prosper - which opened the way for other whites to grow rich and entrench themselves. Friendship, in their view, did not yield many benefits to those who extended it.[78] Nevertheless, Campbell did assist the Qadi chief materially, by clearing an accumulating quitrent debt on Incwadi of nearly £500 in 1909,[79] probably the result of factors to do with Mqhawe's death and the change of Qadi leadership, than hardship.

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[74] Information from biographical sketch by Ellen Campbell, KCM 32848, Marshall Campbell Papers, KCL

[75] Dube to Campbell, 1906, KCM 32589, Marshall Campbell Papers

[76] Biographical sketch by Ellen Campbell, KCM 32848, Marshall Campbell Papers

[77] Perhaps best analysed by S Trapido in his '"The friends of the natives": merchants, peasants and the political and ideological structure of liberalism in the Cape, 1854-1910' in Marks and Atmore, *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa*

[78] Interview with Mr M Makhaye, Kwamashu, 1 December 1985

Campbell was an enthusiastic supporter of Dube's efforts at Ohlange, and regularly visited the school and made cash donations. In return N J Mfeka, a Qadi from one of the leading Christian families at Inanda who was attached to the school, composed a short praise poem for Campbell, promising that it would be improved upon 'once the chief and others of the tribe had got together'. It began,

We are rejoicing today
Because of the gracious inkosi
That has come to Ohlange
uMashu who loves us

Shout it out boys
Give honour to Mashu
Here is the best white man!
Who loves our nation[80]

George Shearer Armstrong was a neighbour of Mqhawe's; one of the prominent hills in the Umzinyathi valley still bears his family name. Born in Australia in the 1850s, he spent his youth in Natal. While still a boy on the Rockback estate near Verulam, he remembered, Mqhawe frequently visited his father William, 'with about ten or twelve mounted followers; he always had a good mount and looked well on horseback'.[81] In the late 1870s, he left for Kimberley (where he became a close friend of Cecil Rhodes) and England, returning to the sugar industry in 1903. In a career which paralleled Campbell's, he too became one of the most prominent sugarocrats (as managing director of Umhlatuzi Sugar Estate) and Natal politicians, serving with Campbell as Member of the Legislative Assembly for Victoria County.

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[79] Tatham, Wilkes and Shaw to Campbell, 26 September 1909, KCM 32631, Marshall Campbell Papers
[80] KCM 32636, Marshall Campbell Papers
[81] Armstrong, 'Reminiscences', KCM 25650, Armstrong Papers

Though he was re-established in Inanda for only the last four years of Mqhawe's life, he became closely involved in Qadi politics: it was Armstrong who arranged a meeting between Mqhawe and government officials to try to reduce tensions over the poll tax (chapter 4); and it was he who supplied what was by all accounts a most impressive coffin for Mqhawe's funeral.[82] He recalled in later years that of the Natal chiefs, Mqhawe 'was the greatest of them all...he was a very fine handsome type, descended from the chiefs in Zululand'.[83] He continued his connection with the Qadi elite after Mqhawe's death. Like Campbell, Armstrong also supported John Dube's work at Ohlange and argued that the institution should be eligible for a government grant.[84] The two differed, however, on policies towards the chiefship: whereas Armstrong thought that the chiefs' position should be fortified, Campbell thought it should be undermined, and that Africans should be brought under the common law of the Colony and land ownership and 'civilisation' should be encouraged.[85]

Armstrong also provided an insight into the way in which other members of the local white community viewed the Qadi. It was Mqhawe, in preference to any other chief, who was called upon to provide entertainment on important social occasions. For example, at the wedding of John Robinson (Natal's first premier in 1893) and Ellen Blaine, the then Inanda magistrate's daughter, Mqhawe and his followers 'came down from the hills, in full war dress', to dance, 'not exactly as they would have gone through it in the chief's own kraal, but [as] they thought would please the magistrate and his friends'.[86] If the whites thought that this was a well-behaved 'tribe' whose chief derived a certain aura from his connections to the 'Zulu country', Mqhawe himself was probably more interested in how such activities would enhance his status vis-a-vis other chiefs as well as his various

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[82] *Ilanga lase Natal* 32 November 1906
[83] Armstrong, 'Reminiscences', KCM 25650, Armstrong Papers
[84] *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 488
[85] Campbell and Armstrong, Evidence *taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, pp 478-81 and 483-9
[86] Armstrong, 'Reminiscences' KCM 25650, Armstrong Papers

white contacts: being thought worthy to attend such rituals was an honour to be built upon.

Among Mqhawe's other regular visitors were local farmers such as the Gee brothers, John Todd, John Swales and Henry Shire. Shire, a long-standing Inanda planter, would like to have employed only African labour, but his workforce was largely Indian. Notorious for his ill-treatment of Indian workers, he faced periodic incidents of incendiarism as well as of revolt on his estate.[87] Retailers George Hodsdon and Joseph Churchill[88] - the latter had been with Daniel Lindley when he dissuaded Mqhawe from joining Langalibalele in 1873 - were on cordial terms with Mqhawe, as well as being donors to Ohlange. While by no means all of these contacts shared the same racial attitudes, it is noticeable that a knot of quite virulent anti-Indianism had developed around the Qadi chief at Inanda: the roots of this form of racism in the district were at least as old as Indians' arrival in the colony, and had multiplied by various means over the years.

Earlier chapters described the way in which the Qadi elite incorporated local missionaries and officials as lower level functionaries of the chiefdom; the most prestigious positions, however, were reserved for those whites who were considered to have perfomed special services for the chiefdom. They were accorded the status of Qadi omhlophe, 'white Qadi'. Lindley was the first to have this status bestowed on him; his Qadi praise name was Ubebe omhlophe. Most of the other Qadi omhlophe were landowners or businessmen. Campbell's honour was even greater: uniquely, he was installed as a 'hereditary counsellor' to the Qadi, which meant that his son William succeeded him in this capacity.[89]

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[87] See 1/VLM 149/1881 and 156/1881; 'The Shire Commission Report' in Meer Y S et al *Documents of indentured labour. Natal 1851-1917* (Durban, 1980), pp 93-99; Osborn, *Valiant harvest*, p 68; Atkins, *The moon is dead!,* fn 18, p 166

[88] On the Churchill family, see Child D (Ed) A *merchant family in early Natal. Diaries and letters of Joseph and Marianne Churchill 1850-1880* (Cape Town, 1979)

[89] *South African Panorama* 7, 1957

Once again, the Qadi elite's incorporationist strategy revealed an unwavering confidence in its eminence in local politics.

The Qadi elite's reception of local white notables was both cause and consequence of the Qadi being viewed as a respectable 'tribe', which in turn was most useful when Qadi men sought employment. In the 1890s, crops in eMaqadini had generally been sufficient to cover most of the people's cash and food needs, even if they suffered severe setbacks with their cattle. Wage employment outside the chiefdom therefore tended to be of short duration, and not equally necessary every year. However, there had been some need to work from quite early on; the 'easy-roving life of the transport rider'[90] was a common early form of employment, probably because of the many opportunities for wagon driving created by the Inanda mission, proximity to Verulam, and James Dube and Mqhawe's transport business.

From the 1870s, as pressure to earn grew more widespread, another category of wage work displaced wagon driving as 'typical' Qadi work: watchmen on railways and sugar estates. So prevalent were Qadi watchmen that this amounts to a form of ethnic stereotyping, 'the belief in the existence of inherent tribal characteristics which distinguish certain African groups from others'.[91] La Hausse has shown how important ethnic and regional ties were 'in weaving the social fabric of Durban's labour market' in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century - Amabhaca as sanitary workers and policemen from Mapumulo, for example.[92] The same phenomenon has been analysed in a variety of urban and rural settings across southern Africa, and in other parts of the continent.[93]

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[90] *Natal Almanac and Yearly Register 1885*, p 120

[91] Guy J and M Thabane, 'Technology, ethnicity and ideology: Basotho miners and shaft-sinking on the South African gold mines' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14, 2, 1988, p 258

[92] La Hausse P '"The cows of Nongoloza": youth, crime and amalaita gangs in Durban, 1900-1936' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, 1, 1990, p 86

[93] See Lonsdale in *Unhappy Valley*, p 331. For two useful overviews, see Ranger T 'Race and tribe in southern Africa: European ideas and African acceptance' in Ross R (Ed) *Racism and colonialism* and Vail L (Ed) *The creation of tribalism in southern Africa*

The first labour contract to be registered under the Masters and Servants Act involving a Qadi was Mpondo's, who signed on as a watchman on Shire's estate in 1876. Over the following decades, many would follow as watchmen, principally on sugar estates and railway works in Inanda.[94] Qadi workers entered the labour market on relatively favourable terms: they managed to corner jobs close to their homes, and they slotted into a 'responsible' echelon of employment, relative to the range of jobs available to unskilled workers. There were two principal reasons for this. Firstly, as discussed above, Mqhawe was clearly trusted by whites in the district. Secondly, because of their special relationship with the Inanda mission (discussed in chapters 5-7 above), the Qadi had on the whole received more schooling than other chiefdoms in the district. Basic as it was, schooling and a degree of literacy did not necessarily on their own ensure more skilled or responsible employment;[95] rather, their educational contacts had provided them with a broad social skill, a means of connecting with the world outside, unavailable to most others in the district.

While whites, Indians and Africans clearly did not constitute homogenous groups, it remains the case that prejudice, and definitions of belonging and otherness, began to assume strong racial/ethnic forms as a result of the somewhat sulphurous conditions of colonial Natal. While whites tried to consolidate their dominant position by limiting the economic opportunities of Africans and Indians of all classes (though targeting different ones with different measures), neither of the subordinated groups developed a sense of common oppression or destiny with the other. It was not in the interests of the white rulers that this should occur, and various means were designed to block such a

[94] Master-Servant Register, 1858-1890, 1/VLM 8/2. On both the railways and sugar estates, Qadi watchmen came into contact with large numbers of Indian workers, and possibly were given some authority over them. The railway contractors, Wythes and Jackson, employed 1,286 Indians by 1890. See Ginwala, 'Class, consciousness and control', pp 88-89

[95] See Graff H *The legacies of literacy. Continuities and contradictions in western culture and society* (Bloomington, 1991) for an account of the complex relationship between literacy and employment; for a South African application, see Brown D 'The basements of Babylon: language and literacy on the South African gold mines' in *Social dynamics* 14, 1, 1988, pp 46-56

development (not least among which was the advice of key white 'friends' to the African and Indian intelligentsias that this was not the way forward). It was not a matter only of what the dominant group did, or did not, want, however: until the 1920s, a more discreet form of identity, namely the chiefdom, retained its salience for a large number of Natal Africans. There was much to be gained from presentations of allegiance such as 'Qadiness', as has been argued in this chapter. The question of identity is dealt with more fully in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 9 Conclusion: 'Merit not blood today the harvest yields'[1]

This concluding chapter assesses the 'chiefdom-building' achievements of Mqhawe and the Qadi elite, in terms of creating an ethnic identity for members of the chiefdom. One of the most striking examples of Qadi identity, in a sense a testimony to Mqhawe's success, was seen in the wake of his death, when (or so officials believed) the elite would be most likely to accept administrative changes from above. They were to be surprised by the Qadi response. After detailing these events, some broader issues concerning the formation of identity are raised, with the purpose of better understanding the Qadi case study as a whole.

Immediately following Mqhawe's death, the SNA's office moved speedily to split off the clusters of Qadi living away from the Qadi heartland at Inanda in the Ndwedwe division, so that the whole chiefdom would no longer sprawl across so many magisterial boundaries. The rationale (these were the months immediately after the rebellion) was that 'detached portions of tribes not under the immediate control of a chief get out of hand.'[2]

In some instances, such as in Camperdown, Mapumulo and Inanda divisions, attempts were made to place Qadi homesteads under a nearby chief, with the concession that they would not have to pay the *valelisa* fee. Lusizi, the Qadi *induna* over the homesteads in Inanda division, strongly objected:

> He thought it was an improper thing that, as in his case, where he had been nominated by his Chief to represent him in another district, he should be regarded as a Chief in his own right. There was no authority of Chieftainship vested in him, what authority he possessed was derived solely from his Chief.[3]

In Camperdown, rather than having to acknowledge the Ximba chief Mdepa, and at great hardship to themselves (they had to leave ripening crops behind), all the Qadi homesteads indicated they wished to move so as to be under Mqhawe's

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[1] H I E Dhlomo 'Inanda' in *H I E Dhlomo. Collected works* Ed N Visser and T Couzens, p 338
[2] Mapumulo magistrate to USNA, 23 January 1907, SNA 1/1/357 (4054/1906)
[3] Lusizi, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 832

heir.[4] In his annoyance, the USNA claimed that this amounted 'to contempt of the Order of the Supreme Chief'.[5] In Mapumulo, now in the Lower Tugela division, strenuous efforts were made to bring the 181 Qadi homesteads under Chief Situlumana,as his reward for doing 'good work during the rebellion'.[6]

Reluctantly, the USNA was forced to recognise (this time in terms of the Deed of Trust) the position of Magongwana, son of Sicoco, as Qadi *induna* over Incwadi, which was located in the Impendhle division. This official insisted on calling Magongwana a chief, but Magongwana in turn insisted he was a 'district headman' of the Qadi farm, acting under Mqhawe's heir.[7] Little headway in this rationalisation process was made by the time Mandlakayise was recognised as Mqhawe's (acting) successor in March, 1907 - in itself a victory for the Qadi elite, since he had been a most unpopular choice with officials.

Another tack was then tried: to prevent Mandlakayise from exercising jurisdiction over those who were still holding out as Qadi and resisting being forced into new concoctions of chiefdoms. Mandlakayise himself, as to be expected, mounted a vigorous defence of what he perceived to be his rights to authority over far-flung groups of Qadi. The outcome was that except for the Qadi in Mapumulo, all were able to continue recognising Mandlakayise as their chief.[8]

These contests over the composition of the chiefdom and limits of jurisdiction of the chief reveal that although 'tribes' were the product of colonial relationships, they could not all necessarily be made to function in precisely the way officials wished them to, even as colonial rule was coming to an end after a period of sixty years. The Qadi were able to remain together as a single chiefdom due largely to the way in which Mqhawe and the chiefly elite had exercised authority since the 1840s.

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4 See correspondence in SNA 1/1/356 (3914/1906). Mdepa was an appointed chief
5 USNA to Camperdown magistrate, 27 April 1907, SNA 1/1/356 (3914/1906)
6 Mapumulo magistrate to USNA, 23 January 1907, SNA 1/1/357 (4054/1906)
7 See correspondence in SNA 1/1/356 (3908/1906)

Politically, chiefdoms such as the Qadi were located somewhere between those whose open resistance to colonial policy resulted in their physical destruction (such as the Hlubi and the Zondi), and those whose authority was derived increasingly from officials as their legimitacy was eaten away from underneath. For the Qadi elite at the end of the colonial era, it must have seemed as if its methods of 'chiefdom-building' - attempting to maintain the social end economic integrity of the chiefdom as well as creating and presenting a strong Qadi self-identification - had indeed yielded 'merit not blood'. It is notable that officials treated Mqhawe as a 'respected', rather than as a 'loyal' chief; H C Lugg, an official who had dealings with him, remembered him as a chief 'who did not hesitate to cross swords with the authorities if he thought he was being wronged.'[9] It is possible that many chiefdoms had similar aspirations, but simply lacked the social or material resources to realise theirs.

Qadi 'merit' relates not only to the aspirations and labours of the elite, and its successes and failures, but also to its composition. While as a whole the *kholwa* on mission stations in Natal were indeed 'a clearly defined group of Africans who identified themselves with British liberal values and hoped for incorporation in the colonial order'[10], they did not as a result always set themselves apart from an older order of leadership. This study has argued that the Qadi elite represented an extraordinary amalgamation of *kholwa* and traditionalists at the centre, with individuals like Madikane Cele and John Dube playing vital roles not only in day-to-day Qadi politics, but in putting the chief in touch with a wider world of resources and opportunities. An outer layer of key individuals, such as the Qadi *omhlophe,* occupied symbolically important positions, for example that of 'hereditary tribal counsellor', which devolved from the first incumbent, Marshall

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[8] Samuelson, *Evidence taken before the Natal Native Affairs Commission 1906-7*, p 640; SNA 1/1/365 (783/1907)

[9] Lugg H C *Life under a Zulu shield*, p 63

[10] Marks and Trapido, 'The politics of race, class and nationalism' in their (Eds) *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*, p 6

Campbell, to his son William. It has been a central purpose of this study to trace how this composition came about, and the many consequences flowing from it.

This particular mix of Qadi elite politics (albeit in modified form) has continued into more recent times. One outstanding instance was the occasion of the installation of the present chief, Mzonjani Ngcobo, in 1957. The ceremony was described in the following terms: '[t]he installation service, conducted by a Native clergyman, was followed by a spectacular indaba culminating in traditional Zulu war dances.'[11]

Yet despite the legitimacy which the chief appeared to enjoy, and the strong sense of Qadi identity which the elite had developed, they were still subalterns in a colonial order. In this context, definitions of identity were bound up with the borader attempts by competing to assert their authority. On the one side, the idea that representatives of hte colonial state cultivated ethnic identity as part of an offensive strategy to neutralise potential opposition from below ('divide and rule'), or, even more profoundly, to define the very essence of subordination, is a familiar one in the literature on colonialism.

Even here, however, the Qadi case study suggests that the dominant were not always able to define the subordinate exactly as they thought fit and necessary. The elite contested both colonialist and missionary definitions of how the 'tribe' ought to be constituted whenever its members felt that such notions were interfering with the exercise of chiefly authority. Again, in an instance of how notions about identity could converge, the Qadi elite made good use of colonialists' early understandings of 'Natal Africans'. Its members ably manipulated the Lala catergorisation of 'conquered, neutralised peoples', infusing it with positive connotations as they strove to insert themselves into the emerging colonial order in as favourable position as they could.

[11] 'War dances and Christian blessings at installation of Qadi chief' in *South African Panorama* 7, 1957

On the other side, viewed from the perspective of those 'below', ethnic identity is an equally complex matter. Some interpretations, following the insights of writers such as Eley and Nairn[12], underline the defensive nature of ethnicity from below:

> ethnicity appears to come into being most frequently...in instances when individuals are persuaded of a need to confirm a collective sense of identity in the face of threatening economic, political or other social forces...'ethnic politics' are by their very definition attributes of marginality and relative weakness...ethnicity, then, is a relational concept, one in which the dominant are able to define the subordinate.[13]

This treatment of ethnicity is a useful one. Clearly not all 'marginal and relatively weak' groups were able to develop and project the same degree of ethnic identity, however; again, the Qadi case suggests that the most successful at doing so were the *stronger* polities among the subaltern population. What made such polities stronger was command over resources, both tangible (such as land, cattle, schools, roads and transport) and intangible (such as the nature of contacts with the world beyond the Umzinyathi valley, hereditary status of chief and capable leadership).

Identity was forged in a multiplicity of contexts, involving missionaries, converts, officials, landowners and other chiefdoms, on a daily basis. Each implicated a different mix of interests and issues, such as contests over the law, labour conditions, access to land, or provision of education. Sometimes defence manifested itself in a most proactive fashion, such as in Qadi dealings with neighbouring (and already disadvantaged) chiefdoms, or in occupying a well-defined niche in the job market. In the chiefdom's pursuit of resources perceived to be scarce, its definition of 'enemies' – of whom there were an increasing

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[12] 'The most satisfying accounts of nationalism have related it to the uneven development of European capitalism...it was the classic ideology of "underdevelopment" for societies seeking to overcome their political and economic backwardness'. Eley G 'State formation, nationalism and political culture in nineteenth-century Germany' in Samuel R and Jones G S (Eds) *Culture, ideology and politics* (London, 1982), p 278. While nationalism is of course not the same thing as ethnicity, in its late twentieth-century, most 'defensive' forms, there has been a high degree of congruence. See also Nairn T *The break-up of Britain: crisis and neo-nationalism* (London, 1977).

[13] Wilmsen E with S Dubow and J Sharp 'Introduction: ethnicity, identity and nationalism in southern Africa' in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, 3, 1994, p 348

number in the later colonial period – showed the sectional, divisive nature of ethnic identity most starkly.

This case study of the Qadi has also shown that ethnic identity emerges as a particularly strong social construct when different 'levels' of its construction intersect with one another: chiefs, various memers of the elite, followers, officials, missionaries. Moreover it acquires a potency in cases where levels not only intersect but actively reinforce each other. Again in the Qadi case, the chiefly elite made efforts to maximise its position not always at the expense of followers, but also by spreading resources, such as in the acquisition of the farm, attracting schools to its domain, or cultivating the support of influential whites. Importantly, as observed earlier, all of this required the underpinning of a sustainable material base, at least in the early phases of 'chiefdom-building', a critical factor distinguishing those polities which could successfully mobilise their identity from those which were never able to do so.

Through the twentieth century, the political terrain has altered radically, as working class organisations emerged, sections of the *kholwa*, subjected to almost unbearable economic pressures, became radicalised, national (but racially separate) political organisations were formed, rural dwellers were left increasingly exposed by the denudation and destruction of their land, urban areas swelled with work seekers, and the state built racial and ethnic divisions into grand policy.

Such profound have been accompanied by new permutations of accommodation and resistance, as the complexity of struggles has increased. It is an important task, for example, to plot how identities that were constructed around chiefdoms under colonial conditions in Natal were taken up into wider Zulu identity from the 1920s.[14] Mqhawe's attempts to move the chiefdom back to Zululand suggest a rapprochement with the Zulu royal family in the aftermath of the Anglo-Zulu War,

[14] Wright J 'Notes on the politics of being "Zulu", 1820-1920' (paper, 1992), p 2

although how such relations came to furnish the basis for later 'Zuluness' await further exploration.[15]

Further, there are periods of the twentieth-century history of the region that remain under-researched, for example the interaction of chiefly elites and the National Party in the 1950s and 1960s, which must provide essential background to contemporary developments, not least of which is that 'blood not merit' has come to characterise so much political struggle in the region.

Yet there are distant clues to an understanding of more current events to be found in the history of chiefly politics through colonial times. What may be called a 'Langalibalele-Bambatha' tradition has retained an immensely symbolic importance for those fighting political oppression and building working class organisation in more recent times.[16] It does ot seem out of keeping with its success in building ethnic identity through the colonial era that Qadi leadership has provided an important support in the making of another tradition, what Mare and Hamilton have called 'loyal resistance'[17], since the formation of the second Inkatha in the 1970s.

The Qadi chiefdom continues to survive; its 'IFP-aligned' leaders regularly make the news. Chief Mzonjani Ngcobo was a cabinet minister in the old KwaZulu government; his close relation, Inanda shacklord Rogers Ngcobo, was on the first Inkatha Central Committee in 1975. As with the wider picture, the last thirty ars of dramatic change within the chiefdom – the intense overcrowding of much of its Inanda land, and the disappearance of other parts of it beneath a vast new dam, for example – must again provide the most immediate explanations for these alignments.

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[15] See Cope N *To bind the nation* for some useful insights, although this work's focus is largely on Zululand; also the work in progress of Tom MacClendon, whose paper 'From aboriginal to Zulu: ethnicities, "customary law" and the Natal Code in the segregation era' offers some possible ways forward.

[16] Marks S 'Class, ideology and the Bambatha rebellion' in Crummey D (Ed) *Banditry rebellion and social protest in Africa* (Portsmouth, 1986), p 351

Yet within this transformation is a strong thread of continuity, itself a legitimating and empowering ideological tool. The survival of the chiefdom would seem to require a certain degree of tenacity; it did not happen only because certain outside interests found it 'useful', as a means of indirect rule, or of segregationist social organisation. While it must again be stressed that the chiefdom has constantly had to be remade, there is also an accumulated store of organisation and ideas which renders this task both possible and manageable. In this sense, the contribution of Mqhawe continues.

[17] Mare and Hamilton, *An appetite for power.*

Appendix 1: The Praises of Mqhawe

Declaimed in Zulu by Mr Busanikhekhe Ngcobo, the Qadi *imbongi*, and recorded by H Hughes and V Erlmann at Umzinyathi, 2 December 1986. Translation by Mr E Zondi, Department of Zulu Language and Literature, University of Natal, Durban

Izibongo zikaMqhawe	Mqhawe's Praises
Ithole elikhwele	The calf that climbed
Phezu kwendlu ngeyakwaMaNdabane	On top of the house, it is of MaNdabane
Yeb' alibuka amaNgcobo	Yes the Ngcobo looked at it
Alinyakamela	They frowned at it
Athi lifun' ukubanga umhlola	And said it wants to cause trouble
Intukuzane ethukuswe nguNdlela	The secret that was hidden by Ndlela
UmtakaSompisi	Son of Sompisi
Nanamhla kalokhu usayithukusile	To this day he is still hiding it
uNdaba omnyama	Ndaba, the black one,
bebethi akayisowela	They were saying he would never go across
Usephinde lapha wawela	He has crossed again
Ithole elizwakele ngokulila	The calf that was heard wailing
Lililela izinkomo	Mourning the cattle
ngezakwaZulu	They are of Zululand
Belizwiwe nguMnyamana	It was heard by Mnyamana
Obezalwa nguNgqengelele	Who was born of Ngqengelele
Lezwiwa ngubani	Who else heard it
NguMacingwana	It was heard by Macingwana
Obezalwa nguGadula	Who was born of Gadula
Lezwiwa nguSmith kwabamhlophe	It was heard by Smith among the whites
Manz' oMzinyathi	Water of the Mzinyathi
Siwasolile	We suspected it
Abefana noSomadangu	It was like Somadangu
UmtakaNtanzi obehl' enyuke	The child of Ntanzi that went up and down
Wena Sicane	You Sicane
Osic' amathumbu	Who caused the bowels pain
Phansi kwezintaba ngezeNanda	At the bottom of the Inanda mountains
Mama kaMama	Mother of Mama
Vuma sihambe	Yield that we may go
Siye lapho abafazi boBhuya bebethi	Go where the womenfolk of Bhuya were saying
Alisomila ndumba	It will not grow beans
Lithe lisuka lalimil' indumba	When just then it grew beans
Yebo Phuhlane	Yes Phuhlane
Luphuhle ezigodini ngezoMngeni	Who stands motionless in the valleys of the Mgeni
Lwaphuhla ezigodini ngezeNcwadi	He stood motionless in the valleys of Ncwadi
Madele izinkomo	One who gave up cattle
Wathenga amadoda	And bought men
Wathi lapha azomhlabanela	Maintaining they would win wars for him
Yebo mtakaNdaba	Yes child of Ndaba
Yebo zaduma	Yes things happened
Bholokoqa ziwile	Fighter they have fallen
Magwaza egunjini	Stabber in the hollow
Bethi uZulu uphakhathi	Thinking the Zulu were inside

Geza akagezi	One who washes yet never washes
Ngeke usageza ngamanzi	You won't wash with water
Usuyogeza ngesamadoda	You'll wash [with the blood] of men
Wena Dub' omnyama	You Dube who is black
OsemaGengeleni	Who is on sleep-broken country
Genge elidle muthi	Beast with open horns who has eaten medicine
Elinye lihambe liyisibekela	Whereas the other buried them as it walked
Chibi elihle	Pool that is beautiful
Ebelise Mhlotshaneni	Which was at Mhlotshana
Ebelingaphuza izinkomo ngezikaJoji	From which the cattle belonging to George could drink
Ngezika Mahlindlovu	They are of Mahlindlovu
Nanamhla kalokhu zisaphuza	Up to this day they still drink
MtakaNdaba	Child of Ndaba
Umabhala ngozipho	The one who writes with a finger
Wonke amakhosi ebebhala ngepenise	When all the other chiefs were writing with a pen
Wena Mqhawe	You Mqhawe
Hlakanipha ngoba	Because because
Wonk' amakhosi asekusekele iziqu	All the other chiefs have surrounded you with mechanical charms
Nangasemadolweni	Up to the knees
Silwanankunzimbili	One who fights against two bulls
Bekungathi zingabantathu	Better if they had been three
Bekuzozwakala	This would suffice
Ugwaze iziqumbi ezibili	You stabbed two groups
Esinye bekungesika Myeka	One was of Myeka
Esinye kungesika Mnguni	The other was of Mnguni
Maqwaza ayiqhube	The one who stabs and drives it
Uye wayifaka	He drove it in
NangaseNtsingweni	Even near Ntsingweni
Wagwaza wayiqhuba	He stabbed it and drove it
Wayifaka nangaseMzimvubu	He drove it towards Mzimvubu
Sihlangu sinamehlo	Shield that has eyes
NangaseMnyameni	Even near Mnyameni
Uhlaka ngolwesiklebe	The frame is that of a boat
Bekungoluka Mthenganto	It was of Mthenganto
Luthe lubamba	As it caught them
Beselubaxhakathisa	It snapped tightly on them
Yebo mtakaNdaba	Indeed, child of Ndaba

Appendix 2: Chiefdoms and chiefs, Inanda Location, 1890s

Chiefdom	Chief	Appointed (A) or Hereditary (H)	Salary (£)	Number of huts
Qadi	Mqhawe	H	30*	1076
Nyuswa	Deliweyo	H	15	863
Pepeta	Kamanga	H	10*	404
Tshangase	Rodoba	Regent H	10	385
Wosiyana	Mvakwendlu	H	10	396
Nyuswa	Sotobe	H	10	311
Ngongoma	Mbozane	H	10	308
Qwabe	Meseni	H	30	263
Nganga	Manzini	H	10	108
Ngcolosi	Dhlokolo	H	10	100
Tuli	Mdiya	A	6	131
Ndhlovu	Ncapai	A	10	122
Dhlopi	Mbango	A	6	97
Qanya	Swaimana	A	6	95
Khumalo	Meyiwa	A	6	56
Qwabe	Jimusi	A		29
Emalangeni	Mbedula	Not known	10	177

* 'Plus £10 to present holder'

Source: *Blue books on Native Affairs, 1896-1898;* SNA 1/1/72 (344/1894)

Appendix 3: Applications for exemption of Madikane Cele and John Langalibalele Dube (extracts)

Madikane Cele (SNA /1/238 (212/1897)

[FOR MALE NATIVE.]

PETITION under the provisions of Law No. 28, 1865, "For relieving certain persons from the operation of Native Law."

To His Excellency [illegible] Hutchinson K.C.M.G.

Governor in and over the Colony of Natal, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Supreme Chief over the Native Population.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The Petition of Madikane

a Native residing at Natal Inanda Location, in the County of Victoria, in the Colony of Natal, praying for a Letter of Exemption declaring him exempt from the operation of Native Law,

HUMBLY SHEWETH:

That your Petitioner is a Male Native, resident in this Colony, and is anxious to obtain a Letter of Exemption declaring him exempt from the operation of Native Law, and with this object furnishes hereunder the particulars required to be stated and set forth in every Petition for such exemption:

1. Petitioner's full name Madikane Cele

2. Place of his birth [illegible] Zululand

3. His age and residence about 70 years [illegible] 1837 or 1838 Inanda Location

4. The length of time he has resided in the Colony about sixty years

5. His trade or calling Preacher

6. Whether he be married or unmarried, and, if married, when, where, and in whose presence he was so married, and in case he shall have been married by any Minister of Religion, or by any Resident Magistrate, such Petition shall state by whom he was so married by Native custom [illegible]

7. The number, sex, and ages of any child or children, if any, then living. [illegible] 1877 [illegible] 1886 [illegible] 1891 Children of third wife living

8. A full description of his property, both movable and immovable, and, as regards the immovable property, stating the situation thereof, and whether it is held by Petitioner as proprietor or renter: Has a good upright square house – one horse and [illegible] head [illegible] and [illegible]

No immoveable property

9. Whether he can read or write: Can read Zulu (when printed) and write his name

10. Whether he is, or has been, subject to any Native Chief now in the Colony, and, if so, naming such Chief and his Tribe: Is subject to the [illegible] and is a member of the [illegible] tribe

11. The name of the Chief (whether in or out of the Colony) under whom he was born: [illegible] Zululand

12. The names, and (if alive) the residence, at the date of the Petition, of his father and mother: Father [illegible] (deceased)
Mother [illegible] (–)

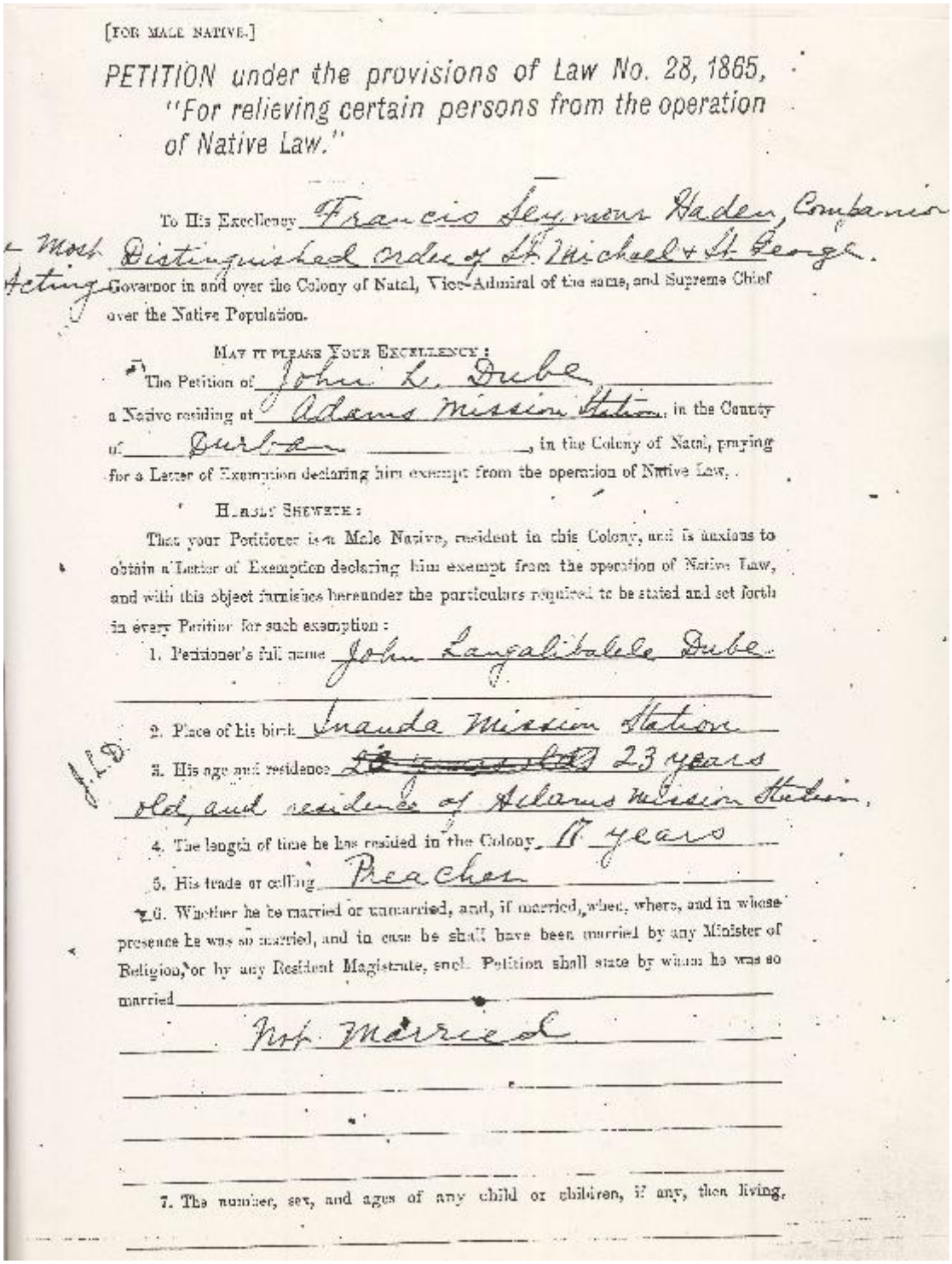
13. The object the Petitioner has in view in seeking such Letters of Exemption: Wishes to abandon Native Customs, become more civilized and better able to care for the good of his family if exempted from Native Law

Petitioner, therefore, humbly prays that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take this his Petition, into favourable consideration, and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, to grant him a Letter of Exemption, declaring him exempt from the operation of Native Law.

(Signature or Mark of Petitioner) [illegible] Mahlkane

(Signature of Witness) [illegible] Walter H. [illegible]

John L Dube (1/1/169 (473/1893)



[FOR MALE NATIVE.]

PETITION under the provisions of Law No. 28, 1865, "For relieving certain persons from the operation of Native Law."

To His Excellency Francis Seymour Haden, Companion of the Most Distinguished order of St Michael & St George. Acting Governor in and over the Colony of Natal, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Supreme Chief over the Native Population.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The Petition of John L. Dube

a Native residing at Adams Mission Station in the County of Durban, in the Colony of Natal, praying for a Letter of Exemption declaring him exempt from the operation of Native Law,

HUMBLY SHEWETH:

That your Petitioner is a Male Native, resident in this Colony, and is anxious to obtain a Letter of Exemption declaring him exempt from the operation of Native Law, and with this object furnishes hereunder the particulars required to be stated and set forth in every Petition for such exemption:

1. Petitioner's full name John Langalibalele Dube.

2. Place of his birth Inanda Mission Station

3. His age and residence ~~[illegible]~~ 23 years old, and resident of Adams Mission Station.

4. The length of time he has resided in the Colony 17 years

5. His trade or calling Preacher

6. Whether he be married or unmarried, and, if married, when, where, and in whose presence he was so married, and in case he shall have been married by any Minister of Religion, or by any Resident Magistrate, such Petition shall state by whom he was so married Not Married

7. The number, sex, and ages of any child or children, if any, then living.

8. A full description of his property, both movable and immovable, and, as regards the immovable property, stating the situation thereof, and whether it is held by Petitioner as proprietor or renter I have no property.

9. Whether he can read or write Yes, both Zulu and English

10. Whether he is, or has been, subject to any Native Chief now in the Colony, and, if so, naming such Chief and his Tribe I was subject to Mgawe Chief of the Magadi tribe till I came here.

11. The name of the Chief (whether in or out of the Colony) under whom he was born I was born under Chief Mgawe

12. The names, and (if alive) the residence, at the date of the Petition, of his father and mother My father's name was James Dube. He is now dead. He lived at Inanda. My mothers name is Elizabeth Dube and she lives at Inanda

13. The object the Petitioner has in view in seeking such Letters of Exemption I wish to be governed by civil laws, because I am civilized.

Petitioner, therefore, humbly prays that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take this, his Petition, into favourable consideration, and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, to grant him a Letter of Exemption, declaring him exempt from the operation of Native Law.

(Signature or Mark of Petitioner) John L. Dube

(Signature of Witness) C. W. Wilson

Appendix 4: Resident Magistrates and Administrators of Native Law, Inanda Location

Resident Magistrate, Verulam

Name	Period
R L Mesham	c.1849-1855
B Blaine	c.1856-1862
J W Shepstone (Acting)	1862
J Mathews	1863
C Barter	c.1864-1875
J Hugman (Acting)	1876-1879
H Campbell	1880-1881
A Titren	c.1881-1887
W Beaumont	1887-1895
W Acutt (Acting)	1895-6
S Rowse	1897-1902
J Knight	1902 -

Administrator of Native Law, Tafamasi

Name	Period
J McLaurin	1882-1886
C Saunders	1886-7
F Foxon	1889-1894

Magistrate of Ndwedwe (from 1894; replaced ANL)

Name	Period
F Foxon	1894-1898
W Acutt (Acting)	1899-1901
J J Field	1902-

Note: It has proved very difficult to find the exact dates of tenure of these officials; it is felt important to include such a list, however approximate, in the interests of making officialdom less ‘faceless’.

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    ii. Non-official
        Archival
        Oral testimonies
        Theses
        Papers
B) Published sources
    i. Official
    ii. Newspapers
    iii. Contemporary books and pamphlet
    iv. Later books and articles

Wherever possible, page numbers are indicated for articles or chapters cited from larger works, such as edited volumes and journals

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