The Mobilization Of History And The Tembe Chieftaincy In Maputaland: 1896-1997

Dingani Mthethwa

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Masters of Arts in History,
Faculty of Human Sciences,
University of Natal
Durban

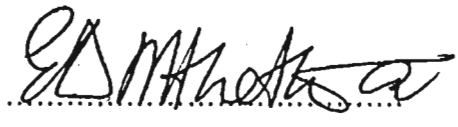
January 2002

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this: 'The Mobilization Of History And The Tembe Chieftaincy In Maputaland: 1896 – 1997' submitted by me for the degree of Masters of Arts in History at the University of Natal, has not been submitted previously to any university, and that such a project constitutes my original work both in conception and execution.

All the academic assistance that I have used or quoted has been acknowledge by means of complete references.

Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not to be attributed to the University of Natal.



Dingani Mthethwa

December 2001

Durban

As the candidate's supervisor I have approved this thesis for submission.

Signed.....Date January 10, 2002

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have given generously of their time and expertise to help this work come to completion. My greatest debt is to Dr. Keith Breckenridge of the University of Natal who oversaw the project from its inception. Philip Warhurst was unfailingly interested in many of my ideas, and he carefully read and commented on my drafts. His great gift is to put a human face on both history and the historical profession. The kindness and professionalism he shares will long be remembered. Professor Yonah Seleti, my advisor, was always an eager conversing partner who understood better than anyone else my fascination with the history of Tembe family in Maputaland. With his ready wit and restless intellect, he displayed a knack for providing challenge and support at proper times; his own intellectual curiosity is a model and an inspiration.

It is not possible to acknowledge individually everyone who contributed to my thinking during this process. Yet, I owe all my friends, colleagues and my lecturers, such as, Prof. Jeff Guy, Dr. Catherine Burns, Dr. Patrick Heller, Vukile Khumalo, Joan Wadrop, Hloniphile Dlamini, Japhet Ngubane, Prof. S. E. Ngubane, Dr. Marguerite Poland, Nhlahla Mathonsi and Bobby Eldridge who contributed in a number of ways to my dissertation. In the Department of History at the University of Natal, I found an international circle of scholars and friends that were everything that a community of learning should be. The ideas and criticisms I received in seminars steered my research to a more fruitful path.

I am also grateful to the staff in Pietermaritzburg Archives, Durban Repository, Ulundi Archives and Campbell Collections for granting me access to their collections and for courteous assistance in locating research materials. Linda Carlton and Rachel, my wife, continuously read my dissertation, offered helpful comments, and suggestions. They provided encouragement and support when I needed it the most. Their support reminded me that dissertations are only the starting point for much that is worthwhile in life. Dr. Ben Carton of George Mason University served as a model for my development as a historian. His tough questions proved invaluable particularly in the final stages; thus, he pushed me to refine my arguments while expanding their scope.

I am also warmly grateful to the many people in Maputaland who kindly shared their knowledge, memories and experiences with me, especially to Walter Phumphele Tembe and the late Solomon Hlomehlome Tembe. Their patient efforts taught me the history of Maputaland and the Tembe Royal Family. Any errors of fact and interpretation are the author's alone. I am also indebted to Kellogg Foundation and Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action with the help of the University of Natal for providing financial assistance for the academic year 1998-1999. These funds gave me the opportunity to conduct my research in Maputaland.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents and especially my mother, Nomadlozi, and my sister, Lizia Mthethwa, for allowing me the opportunity to continue with my studies.

E. D. Mthethwa

ABSTRACT

"The Mobilization Of History And The Quest For The Tembe Chieftaincy in Maputaland: 1896-1997," is a study of conflicts emerging in post-apartheid rural KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. Under the white rule that extended from 19th century to the apartheid era, the African pre-colonial "identities" were contained but not diminished. During this period, some ruling families were supported by the colonial powers while others suffered as their positions were undermined. This resulted in numerous conflicts among Africans over ethnic identity; yet the white governments suppressed these conflicts.

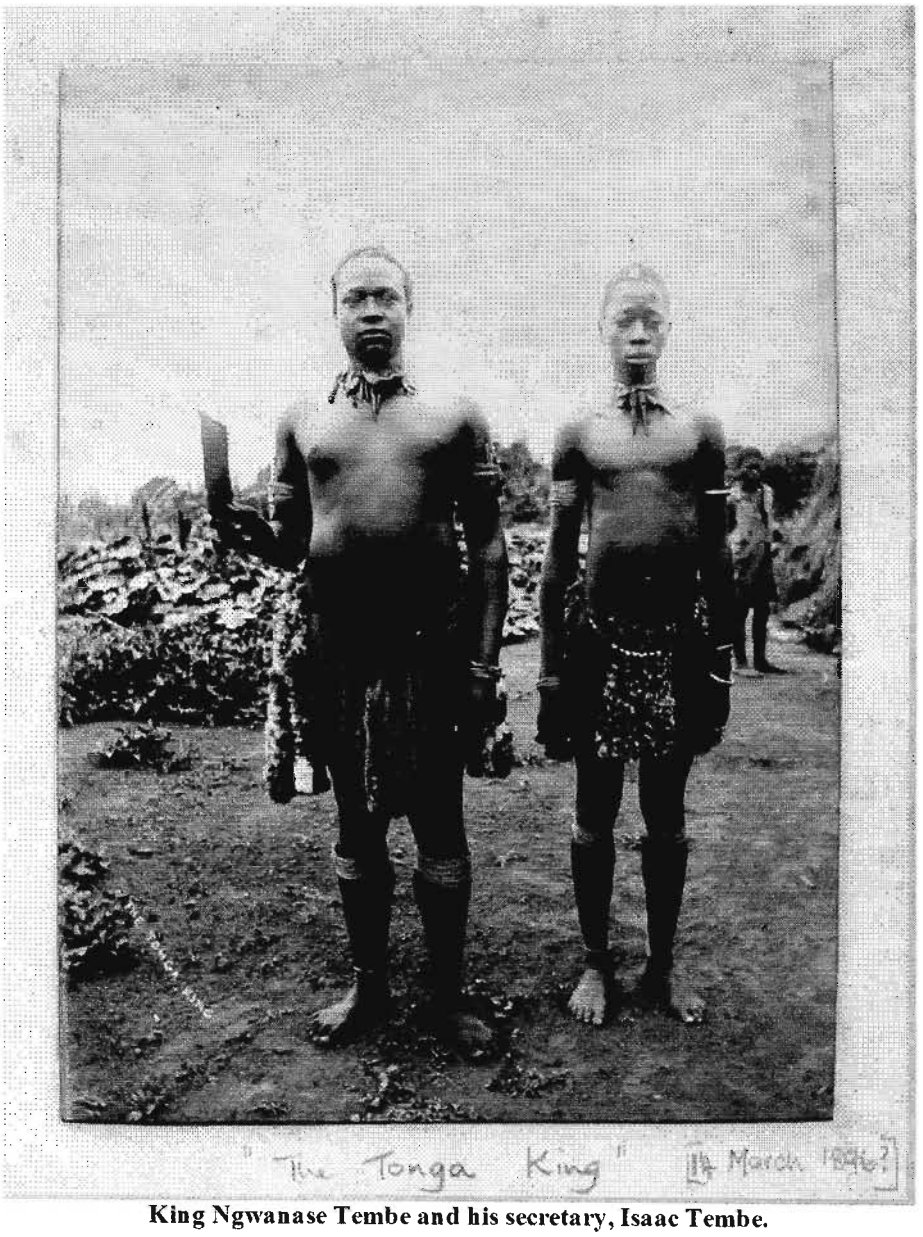
As the power of white rule declined, some African pre-colonial "identities" have begun to show up and reclaim their positions within their communities. However, times have changed, the forces of the new political and economic order provides a different platform to which these conflicts over land and chieftainship are taking place. Motives behind these tensions have been shaped by the present rather than historical demands. The struggles over land and chieftainship in Maputaland are but one example of these controversial post-apartheid debates. For more than hundred years, starting from 1896 to the present, the Tembe Royal family has ruled Maputaland as the legitimate family. After 1994 with the end of white rule in South Africa, some followers of the Tembe Dynasty begun to question the Royal family's legitimacy. The history of the leadership of the Maputaland is re-debated.

This dissertation is a historical examination of the genesis and development of the challenges to the Tembe Royal family's control of present-day Maputaland. This dissertation maintains that the local leadership's mobilization of history in Maputaland, that is reshaping old ethnic identities, is inspired by the envisaged economic benefits to be derived from the advent of eco-tourism.

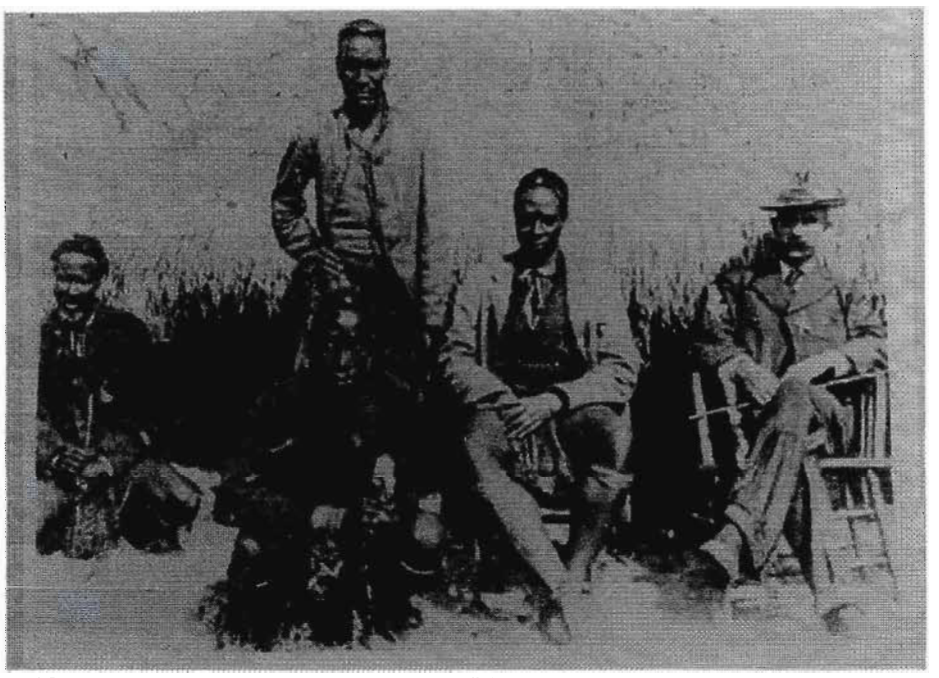
The Mobilization Of History And The Tembe Chieftaincy In Maputaland: 1896-1997.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations and Maps



King Ngwanase Tembe and his secretary, Isaac Tembe.



King Ngwanase Tembe, sitting on the chair, Dlongolowane, shop owner, chief headman, Njobokanuka Sihlangu standing at the back, and chief councilors in Maputaland (19..?).

Introduction

This thesis explores the conflicts emerging in post-apartheid rural Maputaland, KwaZulu Natal, and their historical struggles over long-standing ethnic "identities." The forces of white rule contained African pre-colonial "identities, but could not stamp them out. These identities only bottled up in colonial systems that extended from the 19th century to the apartheid era. During this time, there were numerous conflicts over ethnic identities that involved rifts over land and chieftaincy. These struggles were intense in Maputaland, the region of this study.

The Maputa or Tembe royal family ruled Maputaland for more than hundred years. With the support of colonial powers and apartheid government, this reign lasted into the 1980s without any serious challenge. After 1994, the Maputa family faced challenges from its own followers who began to question the legitimacy of the royal mandate. The oral evidence I collected from various clans in Maputaland denies the right of Maputa leadership. Their challenge comes as the present socio-political and economic environment is reshaping old ethnic identities. The history of Maputaland is now becoming complicated in different ways as the desire for power and wealth in post-apartheid politics take on different expressions.

This thesis seeks to examine the competing ethnic claims over land and power in Maputaland, showing how people mobilized new and old claims to secure a profitable rendition of their "real" history.

"Two bulls cannot be kept in one kraal"

"*Guga mzimba sala nhliziyo nokubalisa*," ("Grow old, body; heart, keep up courage"),[1] intoned Bukiwe Mebhibha Tembe, a great grandmother sitting around the fire in Thandizwe, one of the districts in Maputaland. She typically chanted this idiomatic phrase when she was ready to start her evening tales. Bukiwe Tembe had been living at my grandmother's home for the past ten years. All her children had died before they were born, and her husband departed long ago; she was alone except for my grandmother's family. My grandmother was not related to Bukiwe by birth. Bukiwe and my grandmother went to the same church, and it was there that my grandmother decided to take care of Bukiwe when she became too old to take care of herself. At this time Bukiwe was the only living child of chief Makhuza Tembe, a renounced leader in Maputaland, northern Zululand. Bukiwe wore no signs that revealed she was a daughter of a chief. Her stories of childhood were told to me between the years 1977 and 1980 when I lived with Bukiwe in my grandmother's homestead at Thandizwe in Maputaland. It was at this time that Bukiwe trickled out her past while we were sitting around the fire. The memories of the stories told by Bukiwe much later in my life sparked my interest in researching the Tembe past.

Bukiwe stared at the ground when recounting the past because she could no longer see properly and because she seemed somewhat agitated, groping for her memories. Even though she did not know the exact date of her birth, she used to say that her father died before her breasts had grown.[2] Knowing that Makhuza died in 1924, it is possible to

[1]This is a Zulu idiom meaning that: As someone grows old the body wears out and gets tattered. but the heart never stops yearning for those youthful days.

[2]Many researchers working in non-literate societies agree that there is a problem of trying to find

assume that she was born during the First World War.[3]

Even though Bukiwe's father died when she was young, she could remember vividly the lore of her childhood. She told me the crucial tale that I now paraphrase: "My father Makhuza was a chief in this area. One day my father was invited by his half-brother Ngwanase Tembe to a family gathering. At that time the house of Ngwanase resided in Portuguese colonial territory. At the gathering a fat black bull was slaughtered. Before the ceremony ended, one old lady who knew about a conspiracy to assassinate Makhuza, warned my father that his body would be wrapped in a skin of a slaughtered bull that evening." This old lady meant that Makhuza was going to be killed very shortly. In Tonga customs, a body of a senior person or ranking man would be wrapped in a skin of a cow before he was buried. "Upon hearing this warning," Bukiwe continued, "Makhuza fled to eNhlangwini, his royal enclosure in Kosi Bay. However, fearing that Ngwanase's army would follow him, he decided to leave his Kosi Bay homestead, reasoning that it was not far enough from Ngwanase." Makhuza, therefore, established another homestead about thirty kilometres from his original enclosure in Kosi Bay. The new homestead was built in the forest of Lake Sibaya and was called eZinqeni. "At the same time," she concluded, "Makhuza learned that Ngwanase wanted to pursue the plot to kill him so that Ngwanase could take over Maputaland. It was thought that two chiefs could not rule one area at the same time. Ngwanase wanted to escape from his own place because he had begun to clash with the Portuguese government over taxes. The Portuguese had lived in Ngwanase's country

---

common ground across different modes of cultural expression. The desire to quantify and specify preoccupies research in the West, but these issues are difficult to convey to African elders. Responses that involve references to figures are often spoken in English and such numerical accuracy is not a part of many African languages. Thus showing of breasts in a girl in Bukiwe's story would generally mean that a girl is around ten years of age or a young adolescent.

[3] Interview with Albert Mabole Tembe, Maputaland, 7 November 1997; and Walter Tembe, Maputaland, 10 November 1999. Both are descendants of the Makhuza Tembe, the father of Bukiwe.

for a long time selling food and clothes to local people."

Bukiwe had moments of sadness while telling these stories. She was embarrassed to be an orphaned-widow, with no kin to protect her. In addition, she was depressed by the fact that she was from a powerful lineage with little to show for it; her father had many children and her blood descendants were spread all over Maputaland but none came to visit her or rescue her from poverty. Some of her relatives were wealthy, yet none of them offered to support her. Bukiwe's mother was a junior wife of chief Makhuza. However, as a woman in a patriarchal society, she was pushed aside by her half-brothers and other members of her family. During her funeral in 1983, only my grandmother's relatives attended.

Oral history in social gatherings

I long admired Bukiwe's story of Tembe's flight; it sounded like an exciting tale full of emotion. I noted that sometimes she would cry in the middle of the story. I even retold it to my friends while growing up in Maputaland.

After a few years of talking with Bukiwe, I found myself listening to another more compelling story. The year was 1981, and I was sixteen years old. Since it was Saturday, I helped my mother sell the beer she made from boiled sugar cane; this brew was known to the local people as *ingwabulani*. Peddling *ingwabulani* required that I sit with customers, so that if they wanted another drink I could fetch it at a cost. It was around the drinking assemblies that I heard other stories concerning the history of the Tembe.

One Saturday my homestead was filled with the regular crowd of old men and women, sitting side-by-side under an old mahogany tree. Some men were smoking tobacco, while some women were snorting snuff. As I took one Rand (R1) from a grey-headed man, I heard him proclaim that his clan, the Ngubane, were the original 'landowners' of coastal Maputaland. He immediately got the attention of the crowd. He then claimed that the Ngubane people lost power in Maputaland through trickery. This is the tale he told: "One day a group of Ngubane men were hunting and they caught a buck. While they were skinning the animal with mussel shells, a group of Tembe men arrived with *isibhenyani.*[4] Since this metal *isibhenyani* was sharper than a mussel's shell, the standard skinning tool, they helped the Ngubane men to prepare the game more quickly.[5] To show gratitude, the Ngubane men gave the left front leg of the buck to the Tembe men. The Ngubane presented this meat without knowing that in Tembe culture the giving of that specific portion meant the Ngubane were accepting Tembe superiority over them." At the conclusion of the man's story, few people were paying attention, but I was listening with eyes wide-opened. One of the old men responded mockingly: "The Ngubane men are cowards to have given up the chieftaincy like that; I would fight to death." They all laughed uneasily, perhaps thinking that this grey-headed man was telling a false story or even bragging. I thought about the story and walked away to get the drink errand.

Sixteen years later this story resurfaced in a new way. At this time, in 1997, I was enjoying the Ngubane's feast in celebration of their son's graduation at Nkathwini in Maputaland. A tall man, light in complexion, stood up and spoke on behalf of the family. He started his speech by singing the praise song of the Ngubane clan. "*Nina*

[4] A word used in Tembe dialect to refer a metal object sharpened to be used as a knife.

abakaMZwazwa, abakaPhangani, abakwaMfulwa kawuwelwa, uwelwa zinkonjane." Translated, it declares: "You the people of Mzwazwa, the people of Phangani, you are a River that cannot be crossed by anyone, but the swallows."[6] While singing the praise, his voice got louder and stronger drawing even more attention. "The Tembe people know," he now roared, "that we, the Ngubane clan are the rulers of this area. Forget that today we are nothing in the land of our forefathers." He re-traced the narrative that I heard sixteen years ago at the beer assembly when I was helping my mother sell her beer. As soon as the praise singer finished his story, the gathering rumbled; the women ululated. Suddenly inspired, old men leaped about, brandishing their hands as if they were carrying sticks and performing in the field of battle.

Searching memories for history

This time I had resolved to keep the story with me. I arranged a meeting with the praise singer to record his words. He told me that he was a descendant of the Ngubane clan who had resided in Kosi Bay long before Tembe people moved to the region.[7] I was surprised to hear that he did not have full details of the historical knowledge of the Ngubane clan; instead he suggested that I visit other informants and get more information on Ngubane traditions. He then gave me a list of Ngubane elders.

Within a few weeks, I began to gather the outline of the Ngubane land claims in Maputaland. In search of the Ngubane's oral history, I sought the perspective of the Tembe royal family in relation to the historical claim made by members of the Ngubane clan. I was struck by the fact that land and authority claims in Maputaland were more complex than I had previously thought. I learned, for example, that besides the

[6] A common passage from the Ngubane clan's tales shared by many members of this clan in Maputaland on how they crossed rivers as migrated from Zululand to Maputaland during Shaka's reign.
[7] Interview with Bhidi Ngubane, KwaMandende in Maputaland, January 1998.

Ngubane people, who are challenging the authority of the present Tembe royal family, there was another branch of the Tembe family with a similar claim against the reigning Tembe. After listening to the narratives of the second Tembe family, I realised that the stories that I was told by Bukiwe Tembe were not just tales, but an alternative part of what was known more popularly as Tembe history.

The three stories presented above summarise the competing claims over land and authority among different clans in Maputaland. In this thesis I chose to focus on one complex claim because there are so many, and one scholar could not research them adequately. Hence much of the evidence in these claims is based on oral accounts.[8] Individual families' stories of migration, genealogy and family lore were interrogated to substantiate the contemporary claims to land and power. In Maputaland, these disputes are becoming, in the words of a historian Michel-Ralph Trouillot, "sites for the production of history" in Maputaland.[9]

Distribution of traditions

One of the remarkable aspects of the competing claims are the oral traditions that extend as far back as the eighteenth century, tracing the legitimacy and dissemination of this knowledge. In West Africa, where oral history plays a vital part in political culture, historian, Sara Berry found that the Ashante chiefs remembered the history of their jurisdiction by keeping track of ritual titles and physical boundaries. She was told:

---

[8] There are other clans such as Mathenjwa, Mdletshe and Ntuli who are claiming that their ancestors ruled certain parts of Maputaland before the arrival of the Tembe family. arrived in the present Maputaland. The Mathenjwa claim for example, seeks to establish the independent chiefdom of the Mathenjwas so that they can practice their customs, which seem to be fading because of the influence of the Thonga culture from the Tembe. The mobilization culture, customs and history for power and wealth constitutes the central theme of this dissertation.

[9] Michel-Ralph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), especially the introductory chapter.

"chiefs know their boundaries."[10] Unconvinced by this short answer, Berry used specific techniques to investigate how oral societies store and distribute collective memory. She observed that witnesses are created when the narrator tells the story and these witnesses become willing participants in the past by listening, preserving what they hear, and, later becoming narrators of oral history themselves.[11] Bhidi Ngubane narrating at the feast provides an example for Berry's theory. This man used an opportunity afforded by the feast to reaffirm and reproduce the evidence of the history of Ngubane's land claims. The narrator had obtained oral tradition from the elders who passed the traditions of the Ngubane to him. He dramatized history in order to create witnesses (I was one), who could decide to become narrators in future. The discussion of Ngubane history in *ingwabulani* drinking assembly may be seen as a form of passing time, but it confirms what Elizabeth Tonkin discusses in *Narrating Our Past,* history is constructed in social settings where the past is openly debated and brought to the attention of those who might not have historical knowledge.[12]

Makhuza Ascendant

After listening to the oral accounts from the Ngubane, Makhuza, and Ngwanase, I decided that this study should focus on the history of Makhuza and Ngwanase families. First, at the time I was conducting fieldwork there was evidence suggesting that the members of Makhuza were holding meetings with the royal family to discuss the authority of the Makhuza family in Maputaland. It also appeared that this family had

[10]Sara Berry, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries: Essays on Property, Power, and the Past in Ashante, 1896-1996.* (Cape Town: David Philip; Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann and Oxford: James Currey, 2001).

[11] Sara Berry, "Tomatoes, Land, and Hearsay: Property and History in Ashante in the time of structural adjustment." *World Development* 25, 8 (1997), 1225-41.

[12] Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Similar ideas are elaborated by other historians such as, Leroy Vail and Landeg White, *Power and the Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History.* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991); Isabel Hofmeyer, *We Spend our Years as a Tale that is Told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom.* (Johannesburg: Witswatersrand University Press, 1993).

approached the Tembe royal family more than three times since Ngwanase and his family arrived in Maputaland in 1896. A well-known incidence of resistance to the royal family by the members of Makhuza family took place from 1967 to 1971. This resistance was ignited by a court case. Although members of Makhuza lost when the Nationalist government made it clear that it was not going to allow two tribal authorities in a small area such as Maputaland, this event was important enough to be recorded in the government archives.[13]

Secondly, this resistance reappeared in the 1990s when descendants of Makhuza formed alliances with all clans residing in coastal Maputaland to support the establishment of a separate tribal authority under the leadership of Makhuza family. There was a new edition to this resistance as the Ngubane clan joined this alliance. The combination of the Makhuza and Ngubane-families with two conflicting histories reshaped the meaning of history and pitted current histories against oral histories past. The allies of Makhuza revived the idea of an independent chieftainship of Makhuza to be led by a Makhuza heir, Ncelaphi Isaac Tembe[14] There is a strong belief among the allies that the newly democratic ANC-led government will consider this new Makhuza claim under the laws enacted in the new South African Constitution formulated in 1994.

The Setting: Geographical location of Maputaland

Maputaland is situated in the low-lying part of southeast Africa, once bounded by Portuguese East Africa to the north, now called Mozambique, Lake Sibayi to the south,

[13] Ulundi Archives (UAR), C. 108, N1/1/3/3(18) 4, Zylstra to Coertze, (10 January 1968).
[14] This objective appears in the memorandum for preparation of the Application for the re-establishment of Makhuza's chieftaincy. This memorandum was endorsed by all the leaders in Makhuza ward including Isaac Ncelaphi Tembe, the grandson of Makhuza, (11 November 1996).

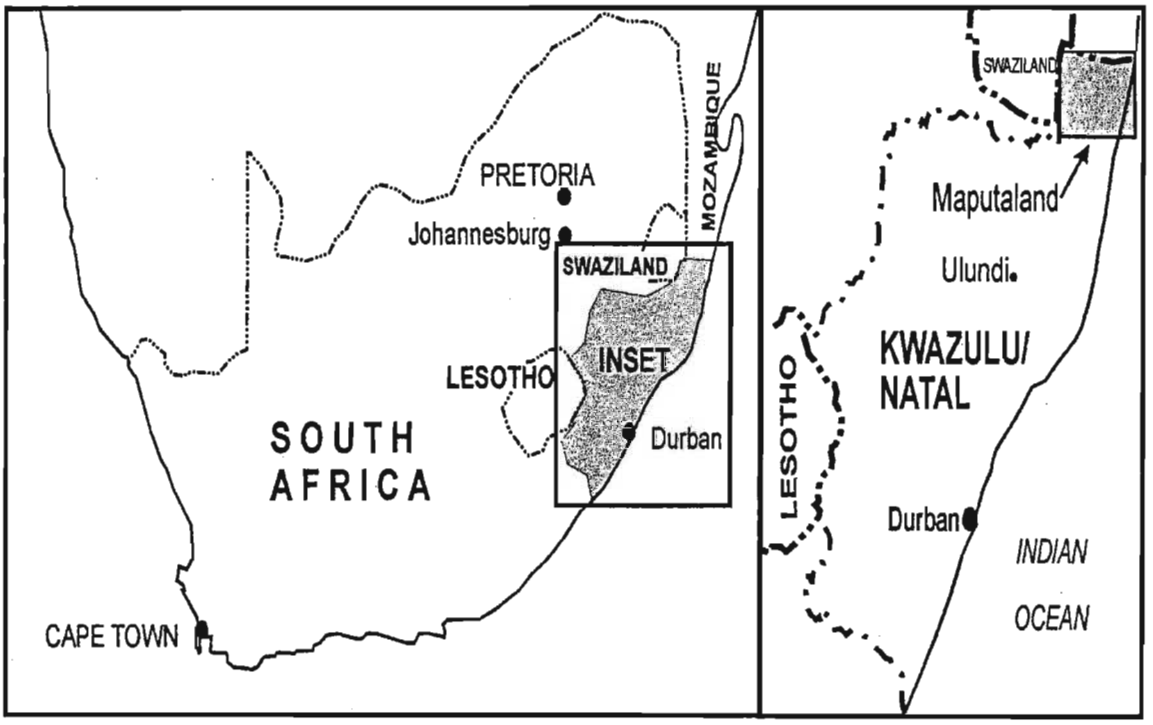
and the Lubombo Mountain Range to the west and the Indian Ocean to the east. Some cartographers include Hluhluwe in Maputaland. The northern boundary of this area has been changed several times since the British and Portuguese colonial governments turned their attention to east Africa in the nineteenth century. Traditionally the borders of Maputaland included the Island of Inyack and Delagoa Bay to the north, in the west Maputaland was bounded by the Lubombo Mountains and Mkhuze River to the south. During the colonial squabble between Portuguese East Africa and the British government, 1875-1897, the boundaries of this area shifted. Today, the northern part of Maputaland is in Mozambique. The southern part of Maputaland was annexed by the British Imperial government in 1897 as part of Zululand, which included the expanded Zululand in Natal. In 1910, this whole southern region of Maputaland fell under the Union of South Africa.[15] This study is concerned with the southern region in South Africa.

The area of disputed Maputa and Makhuza power is in a region called alternatively Tongaland, Tembe-Tongaland, and Maputaland. It was also called KwaNgwanase after the chieftainship of the Maputa Royal family. The area is inhabited by a number of clans who owe allegiance to one of the two Tembe families.[16]

---

[15] Philip Warhurst, "Britain and the Partition of Maputo 1875-1897," a paper presented in Natal and Zulu History Workshop, University of Natal, Durban, (July 1985). Warhurst discuses the details of the shifting boundaries of Maputaland.

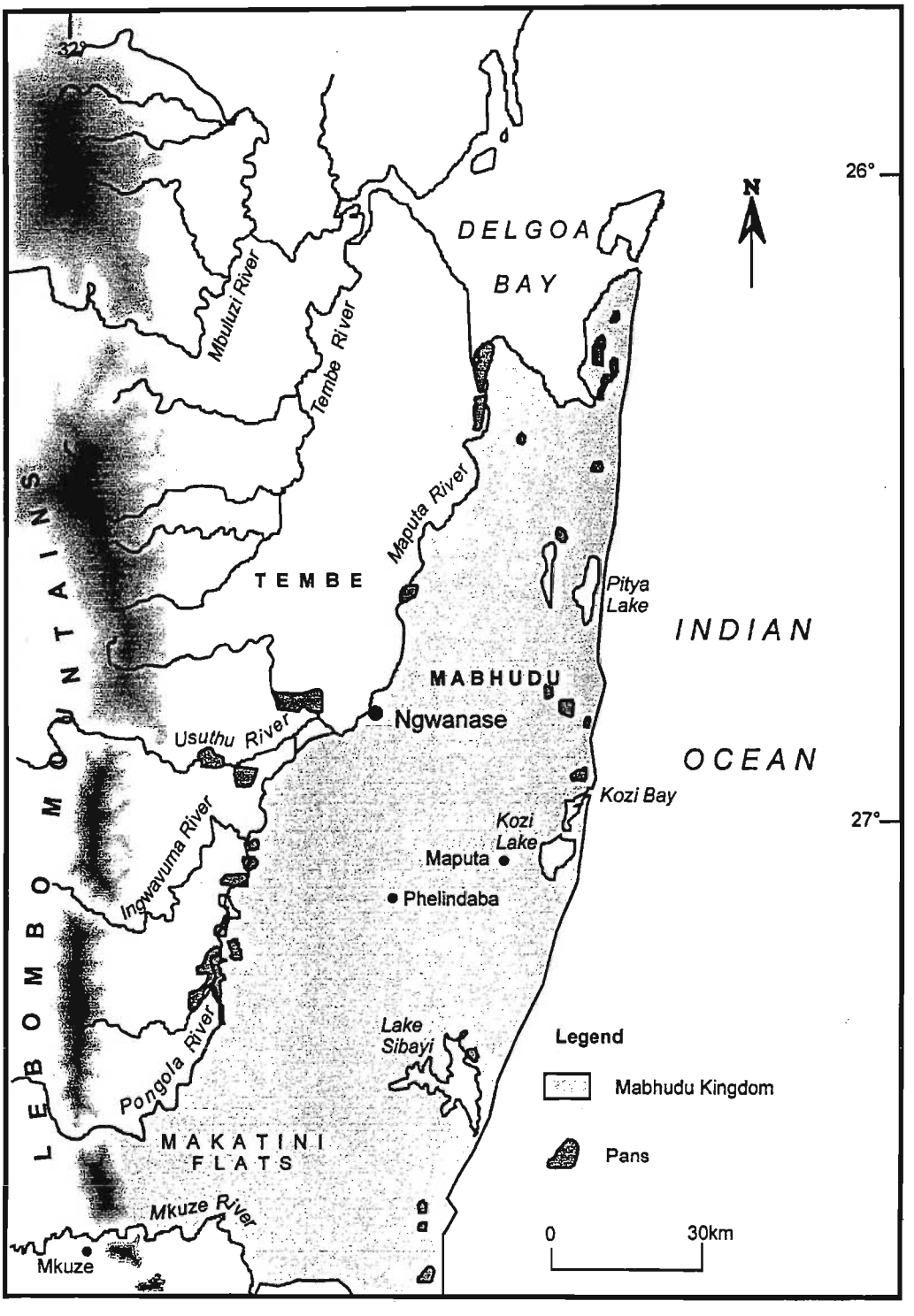
[16] David Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakele: Ethnicity & Gender in a KwaZulu Border Community." *Tradition and Transition in Southern Africa.* (eds.) A.D. Spiegel & P.A. McAllister. *African Studies, 50th Anniversary.* Volume (1&2), (Johannesburg, 1991); Walter S. Felgate, *The Tembe Thonga of Natal and Mozambique. An Ecological Approach.* (Department of African Studies, University of Natal, Durban, 1982).



Map 1: Location of Study Area

The two Tembe families originally lived as one family in the northern part of Maputaland, now in Mozambique. Both families moved to southern Maputaland at different times. According to certain oral testimony, the house of Makhuza moved to present-day Maputaland in the early 19th century, while the house of Ngwanase arrived at the end of the nineteenth century.

Oral evidence from contemporary local people also suggests that when Ngwanase moved to the southern part of Maputaland, Makhuza ruled this region. There was a conflict between the two families in the late 19th century, as both families wanted power and possible access to followers's tributes. The stronger house of Ngwanase manoeuvred to become the ruling family. The house of Makhuza was relegated to a subordinate position within the royal family, yet it still retained independent powers to



Map 2: Pre-Colonial Maputaland

rule the coastal regions of Maputaland from Kosi Bay to Lake Sibayi. This controversial division of power will be discussed later in this thesis.

People who are living in Makhuza area enjoy access to Kosi Lake, which physically divides Makhuza's section into two parts. The areas of Enkovukeni, KwaDapha and Malangeni form part of Makhuza ward that are bounded by Kosi Lake to the west and the Indian Ocean to the east. The other parts of Makhuza ward stretch south to Lake Sibaya and abut the west border of the ward of Ngwanase. Geographically, Makhuza ward occupies the coastal part of the Tembe area. Two houses, therefore, ruled Maputaland, which resembled "two bulls in one kraal." The Makhuza house governed clans such as Ngubane, the Ntuli and Mdletshe, who claimed to have settled in the region long before both Tembe families.

The political boundaries between the two Tembe families are not clearly defined for two reasons. There is no physical boundary between the wards of the two Tembe families; the African conception of physical boundary is associated with occupation of territory. The whole country is demarcated by the oversight of a number of headmen who counsel followers and collect tribute on behalf of the two Tembe families. Thus, the boundaries create conflicts, as Sara Berry's book, *Chief Know their Boundaries* demonstrates among the Ashante.[17] As the land values rose due to tourism and commercial use of natural resources, boundary conflicts intensified.

More specifically, local struggles in Maputaland between traditional leaders are influenced by the present changes in the utilization of land that encompasses more commercial purposes. Old agreements and boundaries are being re-debated by the descendants of the different families in a new political order. When chief Ngwanase and Makhuza agreed in 1896 that Makhuza should rule independently, along the coast,

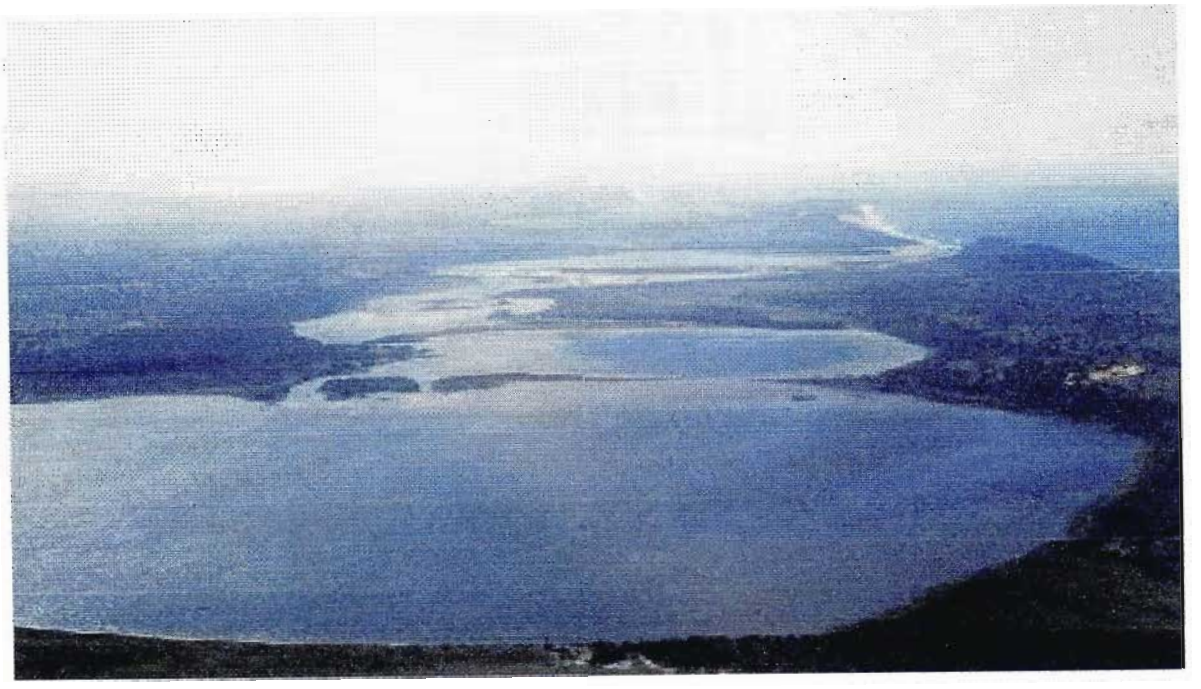
[17] Sara, Berry. *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries: Essays on Property, Power, and the Past in Ashante, 1896-1996.*

they never thought that there would be a need for the royal family to control the seashore because this area was not worth much; the area had no developed beach tourism or parks. The fact that it was not clear whether Makhuza was a chief or a headman now complicates not only the history of the region, but also the issue of legitimacy of the royal family. New evidence presented by other clans has asserted that they occupied Maputaland long before Maputa or Makhuza families arrived. The history produced by other clans challenges the Tembe families' claim to the right to reap the new benefits of Maputaland.

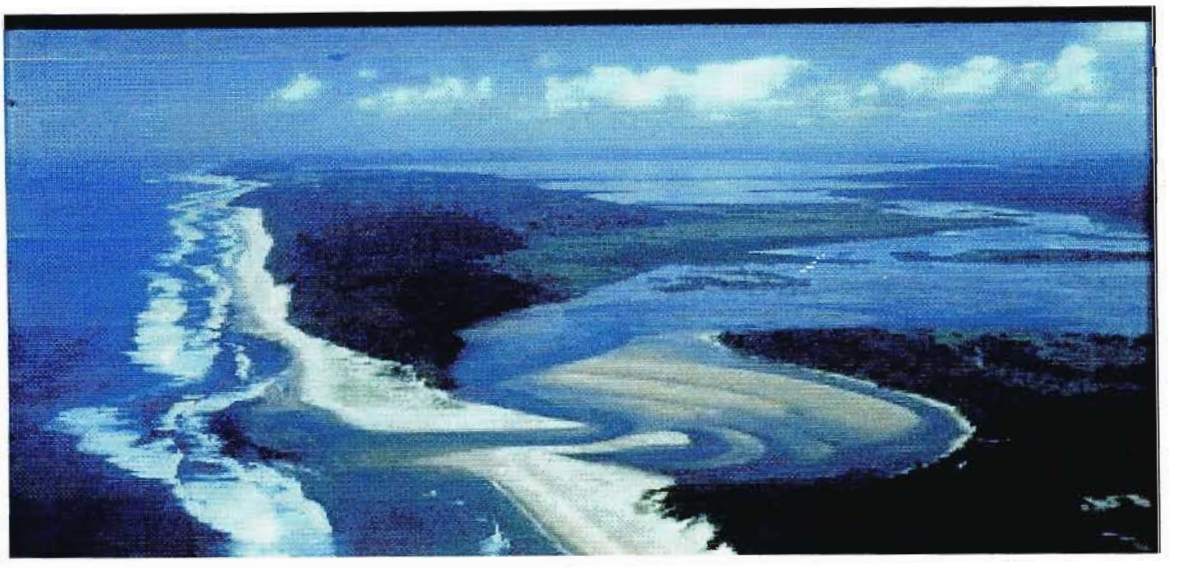
The position of headman has a crucial political role in Maputaland. Many headmen are relatives of the two Tembe families, yet there are a number of headmen who are not related to either Tembe families. Some families of these headmen have resided in Maputaland area long before both Tembe families moved to the area. A brief history of these headmen will be explored later but the full story will require more space than allowed here. The Ngubane clan is but one example; its members still insist that they are the original rulers. Many have acquired headman positions by inheriting these positions from their forefathers who held similar positions based on meticulous and often conflicting processes of succession within the Ngubane clan.

Features of Maputaland

Maputaland contains diverse natural environments that have attracted many researchers, tourists, and leisure company entrepreneurs. Kosi Bay, for example, is a stunningly beautiful lake system, consisting of three elongated water ways joined together and leading into an estuary that flow into the Indian Ocean.



Makhuza Ward: Kosi Lake System viewed from the south side



Makhuza Ward: Kosi Lake System viewed from the north side.[18]

[18] The two pictures show the northern part of Makhuza district, Kosi Lake system and Indian Ocean. The portion of land in between the ocean and the lake stretches to the south and ends in Lake Sibaya all belong to Makhuza. It is this land that is now causing disputes between the two Tembe families.

The water of this lake is crystal clear and contains a variety of tropical fish; colourful and rare birds also call at Kosi Bay. Recently, a precious mangrove tree, one of the only species of its kind in a country has been discovered in Kosi Bay.[19]

In southern Africa, the lakes that share similarities with Kosi Bay have attracted tourism ventures that won contracts from the South African governments since the 1950s. Examples are St. Lucia, Sodwana Bay and Richards Bay; the later is one of the most highly industrialized areas in the province of KwaZulu Natal, and it is no longer a place for pleasure. It is remarkable that Kosi Bay has not been developed either by the British colonial government or by the Nationalist government. Yet Kosi Bay has been the subject of intense disputes between imperial powers, mainly Great Britain and Germany, between Great Britain and the Z.A.R. (South African Republic). The Kosi waterway once attracted ambitious Afrikaners under Paul Kruger who turned their attention to Kosi Bay as a possible harbour in southeast Africa for its raw materials to be shipped out to sea under Boer control. Such attempts ultimately failed because Lord Ripon, the British Colonial Secretary, had already decided to annex this territory in 1894.[20] Afterward, the British colonial government had no interest in this region; in fact, the British presence in Maputaland was very light. Thus, Maputaland was left undeveloped by imperial and colonial rulers. Similarly, under the Nationalist government in the 20th century there had been no major development in Maputaland other than using it as reserve for labour recruitment. Beside the colonial police station, and later nature conservation under Natal Parks Board, there was nothing to show the presence of the state until the KwaZulu homeland government imposed its authority

[19] The Xylocarpus granatum was spotted on the eastern shores of Kosi Bay in Maputaland by ecologist Roddy Ward in 1998.

[20] N. G. Garson, "The Swaziland Question and a Road to the Sea, 1887-1895," in A *Year Book for South African History*, (1957), 306-310.

under the Bantustan policies in the 1970s. It was really the growth of the tourism industry and the controversies sparked by the Ingwavuma "land deal" in the 1980s that attracted the KwaZulu and Nationalist governments to Maputaland.[21] Several studies, such as ecology and environmental showed that Maputaland had a great potential for tourism because it contained unmolested landscape.[22] Today Maputaland has become one of the most important resorts in South Africa.

In conjunction with the Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park, Maputaland won the status of a World Heritage Site in 1999. A reporter from *South African Life* magazine, Chris van der Merwe, covered this momentous story.[23] He was one of the first public voices to say that since eco-tourism had more potential to create opportunities for economic development, local communities ought to be involved in the parks, as they stood to benefit from the development of tourism. Local communities became aware of the potential and directed their interest at maximizing their control over the land and the profits they envisaged to reap from the sale or lease of that land. A survey conducted by Japheth Ngubane between 1997 and 1999 showed that there were more than sixteen tourists facilities with sleeping accommodation, mostly located around Kosi Lake and the shoreline.[24] This survey also showed that an average of 17 000 tourists visit Kosi Lake area every year.

The advent of tourism began to attract more investors from outside Maputaland, who

---

[21] The Ingwavuma Land "Deal" which will be discussed later in this dissertation was a controversial plan of the Nationalist government to integrate Ingwavuma to Swaziland.
[22] M.N. Bruton and K.H. Cooper, Studies *on the Ecology of Maputaland.* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1980) This book contains a number of articles researched on Maputaland.
[23] Chris van der Merwe, "World Heritage-a win –win situation." *South African Country Life*, (March 2000).
[24] Japhet Ngubane, Notes prepared for a Ph.D. thesis on environmental studies in Maputaland, University of Natal (work in progress).

saw a potential resource in community owned accommodation facilities. Local leadership became aware of benefits in allocating land to the investors. This process created overlapping claims and debates over landownership and chiefly authority. During the interview stage of my thesis, a member of Makhuza family pointed out that his family was aware that the territory of Makhuza was conducive for rural development through tourism.[25]

The newly democratic South Africa in 1994 presented Maputaland with new opportunities including the economic prosperity through eco-tourism. The prospects for wealth based on the exploitation of pristine nature in Kosi Bay sparked internecine conflicts between traditional authorities. The Maputa Royal family is facing challenges not only from the house of Makhuza, but also from a number of clans living in coastal Maputaland. Although memories and traditions are being mobilized for the riches of eco-tourism, the squabbles between resident chiefs have escaped wider scrutiny. The absence of analysis of these conflicts in colonial records and South African historiography points to the need for a closer investigation of this neglected phenomenon.

This project also emerged from my studies of how Zulu history is constructed. To a certain degree, oral traditions have strongly influenced this thesis more than anything I have read in terms of published history. Although the written documents are important and perhaps the most reliable sources, oral evidence can serve as crucial "texts," moreover archives often neglect to keep records of oral history. Also shaping my research are the studies of other scholars who have used oral traditions to collaborate or

[25] Interview with Walter Tembe, Maputaland, (10 November 1999).

contradict primary documents.[26]

The chapters in the thesis draw on both oral and written testimony to examine how competing claims over land and chieftaincy have developed over the past hundred years. My study of Maputaland demonstrates a point already identified by other historians: struggles over political power and land kindle the longest historical memories. Holders of oral history are driven by motives that affect the way they tell their stories at various times and in different settings.[27] Conflicts among local African local rule punctuate the British and Natal colonial and apartheid governments in Maputaland. The extent, to which these governments have supported and silenced local leaders, is another important consideration. As Walter Tembe, one of local historians of Makhuza claimed: "let us not talk about the history written by white people, they never wrote it all. We know the history of our ancestors."[28] By using oral evidence, I seek to inject the memories of local people who were often disregarded by "official history." In the British colonial records there is little evidence of Makhuza Tembe, yet the oral accounts suggest that the British government was involved in resolving the conflict that emerged between Ngwanase and Makhuza in the late 19th century. Records from the time of the Nationalist Party who ruled South Africa from 1948 to 1994 provided little evidence of this case. Confirming the silence about Makhuza was Walter Felgate, who conducted interviews with local people in the 1970s to the 1980s

---

[26]Isabel Hofmeyer, "*We Spend Our Years As a Tale That Is Told.*" Many researches that I have found relevant to this research were published outside South Africa. The classic is Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition, And Historical Methodology.* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965); Sara Berry. "Tomatoes, Land, and Hearsay," William Murphy, "Secret Knowledge as Property and Power in Kpelle Society: Elders vs Youth," *Africa*, 50, 2 (1980) 193-207; Trevor Lummis, *Listening to History: the Authenticity of Oral Evidence*. (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Keith B. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*. (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 1995); Paul Thompson, *The Voices of the Past: Oral History.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); and Tonkin, *Narrating Our Past.*

[27] Hofmeyer, "*We Spend Our Years As a Tale That Is Told.*"; Tonkin *Narrating Our Past.*; *and* Berry, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries: Essays on Property, Power, and the Past in Ashante,1896-1996.*

[28] Interview with Walter Tembe, Thengani, Maputaland, (5 January 2000).

at the time when evidence of conflict was still fresh following the court case between chief Mzimba of the house of Ngwanase and Walter Tembe of Makhuza family. While Felgate became aware of competing land claims, his scholarship does not recognize local oral historians. His work will be reviewed in the next chapter.

This study assesses the conflicts among African leaders that may hinder economic growth, not only in Maputaland but also in adjacent areas such St. Lucia, where the opportunity to make land claims through the recent democratic government's Land Commission ignited rivalries among local leaders. In St. Lucia the apartheid regime forcibly removed people to create space for the timber industry. What appeared to be "quiet" regions are now becoming more active as local people fight over their territories. These struggles may negatively impact the tourism industry, which is already sensitive to violence and civil unrest.

Economic development in Maputaland may be undermined by social threats to peace. In some areas, such as Lake Sibaya, cooperation between developers and traditional leaders has led to a success partnership benefiting the entire community. However, the traditional rivalries between chiefs always loom. Development cannot take place in rural areas if economic growth sets off conflict between traditional leaders.

Oral Interviews

In trying to understand the conflict that is rumbling through Maputaland, I conducted field interviews from 1997 to 2000 with members of the Ngubane, Makhuza Tembe, the Tembe royal family, and various clans. This has not been a simple process because certain subjects of this thesis deal with a violent political past, which are considered

taboo. Some people were reluctant to speak openly about many ordinary topics, especially women. For example, Mtitingwenya Tembe, the wife of polygamous George Tembe who was a brother of chief Ngwanase, refused to be interviewed claiming to know nothing about the chieftainship of the Tembe people. Instead she asked a question: "Why don't you talk to men?"[29] MaMkhwanazi, wife of the late chief Mzimba Tembe, expressed similar views. Asked whether she knew anything about other families challenging the royal house, she said that her husband once mentioned it, but as a woman she was never allowed in discussions.[30] Once, it took me three days to secure an appointment with one woman who I was told knew Chief Ngwanase Tembe. She emphatically informed me that I should speak to men about issues of Tembe chieftaincy because she, as a woman, could not reflect with certitude on discussions in the men's council, the *ibandla*, where important political issues are discussed.

In most cases, women were harder to approach since their domestic tasks could rarely be postponed. They had to perform farming tasks: hoeing, planting, grinding grain, and many more. Their labour is also required in the preparation of meals, washing clothes, and fetching of water. In an area known as *Siqewini*, a woman who was hoeing in a maize field on a torrid day refused to make an appointment with me. She said: "*Kodwa we mtanami uma ubheka wena ubona sengathi nginesikhathi sokudlala. Uthi angikhulume ngezindaba zoNgwanase? Bazongenzelani? Ufuna ngiyeke ukuhlakula ngizoqoq'* [xoxa] *izindaba! Uyazi ukuthi impilo yabantabami ila kuleli geje engiliphethe?"* She was asking me whether she was supposed to leave her work to attend me to talk about the stories of Ngwanase. She wanted to know how those issues

[29] Interview with the Mtitingwenya Tembe, Maputaland, (11 July 1999).
[30] Interview with MaMkhwanazi, Thandizwe, Maputaland, (5 November 1997). For a detailed analysis of distinction between men and women in oral storytelling, see, Isabel Hofmeyer, '*We Spend Our Years As a Tale That Is Told.*', 25-37.

were supposed to help her. She also asked me whether I was aware that hoeing is what makes a living for her children. She refused to give me her name and any opportunity to interview her. As a resident of Maputaland I know the difficulties faced by the majority of women in that region. Understanding her anger, I apologized and left.

As I was leaving, I thought about her. The sun was at its midday height, and I knew that women usually perform hoeing early in the morning before the sunrises so that they could leave the fields before the heat of the day. A woman who was angry with me (I thought,) must have been working in someone's field for extra income, so she had no choice. She only got paid once she finished her task. They only get paid once they finish the task. In local languages such as isiGonde, hoeing for money is called *ikhakhu.* Sometimes the *ikhakhu* does not yield cash, but gains credit because the owner of the field will have money to pay at the month end, when her husband engaged in migrant labour sends her his wages.[31] Usually migrant workers send money to the rural homestead to feed their families, but sometimes when there is a need for extra labour, that money goes to hire a local person to till in the fields.

Attempts to interview young people were not particularly successful either. They seemed not to know much about the competing land and authority. It was also clear that discussions of these claims took place in tribal councils with high-ranking men, where many young people are barred from participation. Many young people would occasionally inform me that they had heard their male relatives talk about conflicts but paid little attention. This may also suggest that young people who are more engaged in

[31] Discussion with a woman at Siqewini, Maputaland, (5 November 1997). Other researchers in other countries have experienced similar problems in interviewing women. A classic example, would be N. Gross and R. Barker, (eds.) *At the Desert's Edge: Oral Histories from the Sahel.* (London: Panos/Sos Sahel, 1991).

migrant labour and western education do not see a future in the politics of the region. As a result they pay less attention to the tribal disputes. However, it is important to note that elders are reluctant to discuss important political issues with young people.[32] By contrast, men were more inclined to sit down, abandon their chores, and enjoy male bonding during communal time. Perhaps it is important to mention that very few interviews were conducted with members of the royal family because most of them seem to be reluctant to talk about the leadership of the house of Ngwanase. In most cases their evidence emphasized that the house of Ngwanase was and still is the only ruling family of Maputaland; they asserted that Makhuza could only rule on behalf of this family and no other. As a result my informants tended to be senior men from Ngubane and Makhuza clans and elders from various other families, outside the kinship networks of Tembe families, who reside in the region. It was remarkable that members of Makhuza and Ngubane felt that their narratives should be written down so that their descendants could read them and perhaps expecting that such information may in future be used to debate in court.[33] For example, during my interview with Walter Tembe, I noted that he was carefully watching me and kept on asking me whether I was writing down all the details of stories he was telling me.[34]

When informants first offered their life histories, a series of questions about the Tembe chieftaincy, the house of Makhuza, the Ngubane clan, and recent political development in Maputaland prompted them. In follow-up discussions, they tended to reconfirm

[32] Murphy William, "Secret Knowledge as Property and Power in Kpelle Society." Murphy observed that the Kpelle elders would limit secret information to young people for that knowledge is a source of power to elders.

[33] In my interview with Albert Twayi Ngubane in July 1999, he mentioned that it would take time for the members of Ngubane clan to put their land claim because their history was never recorded. He felt that if they go to court they will lose because there is no evidence, so any person showing interest in the history of Ngubane is welcome, as he said in isiGonde tone: "Mhlawumpe ungasisiza wena mfana," meaning "maybe you will help us young man." Meaning that this may be the first step to collect the history of the Ngubane people and thereby recording information that will in future be used as evidence.

[34] Interview with Walter Tembe, Maputaland, (10 November 1999.)

prior accounts; some however, contradicted themselves. Interviews were conducted in isiThonga, isiGonde and isiZulu languages, depending on the informant's linguistic preference. The tape recorder was used, although some people did not like this device fearing that they might be brought to the tribal authority to account for their memories. This meant that interviews had to be translated and transcribed from these different languages into English.

One of the problems faced in translating interviews from these languages was that some information was couched in subtle idioms and proverbs, which could not be easily translated. Some proverbs contained expressions often known exclusively to a particular group. For example, one informant said in isiThonga language: "*Lwe wa nuna khali angana ntsala wanandi.*"[35] Apparently the proverb refers to the person who does not recognize people who have helped him or her. This phrase was used to refer to Ngwanase, for he did not recognize chief Makhuza's help in building a homestead when Ngwanase had no followers. Some informants also professed a tendency to mythologize or generalise when they relayed their stories. Their evidence was largely symbolic rather than verifiable. For example, an elderly Ngubane man I interviewed said in a combination of isiThonga and isiGonde languages: "*Ngwanase khali ayimelela yibhanu, abatlaba yitinunga.*"[36] This portrays Ngwanase as a chief who used to hurt people. This statement literally says that when Ngwanase stood up, he used to balance on people's bodies while stabbing them with wooden spears. It is hard to imagine these words as truth, but they capture the anger generated by Ngwanase in Maputaland.

[35] Interview with Nkaphani Ngubane, Shengeza, in Maputaland, (12 July 1999).
[36] Interview with Nkaphani Ngubane, Shengeza, in Maputaland, (12 July 1999).

Chapter summaries

Chapter one reviews the previous scholarly research of the Maputaland region. Chapter two provides a background of Maputaland history, starting from the pre-colonial period and ending in 1896. It focuses on the forces of imperialism and colonialism that transformed the history of the Maputa kingdom and compelled a Thonga king to flee into British territory. Chapter three focuses on the consolidation of Ngwanase's power in the British territory, 1896-1928. This chapter explores the role played by both the British and Natal colonial government in their support of the Maputa or Tembe royal family. Chapter four traces the rise of the house of Makhuza during the implementation of Bantustan policies from 1948 to1971. The focus is on the establishment of tribal authorities that was believed by the house of Makhuza to have played a crucial role in undermining leadership and independence of the Makhuza family. In a way chapter four introduces the fifth chapter that focuses on the conflict between the KwaZulu "homeland" and the chief of Maputaland after an attempt to liberate "Thonga" country from Zulu cultural nationalism of the later Inkatha, which reduced the status of Maputa kingdom to a "headman" of the KwaZulu. Chapter six leaps to the recent period, covering the 1980s to 1997. It examines nature preservation policies introduced by KwaZulu government in Kosi Bay. Resistance to conservation, combined with the local politics of the Inkatha liberation movement, spurred on the demand for a separate tribal authority under the leadership of Makhuza family. This struggle is at the heart of chapter six. The conclusion explores the wider implication of the mobilizations of different histories in Maputaland.

Chapter One

The past and the present

The greatest challenge for historians examining questions of ethnicity in Maputaland is the lack of written evidence to explain the Tembe conflicts in the present context. Oral evidence collected from local people suggests that the struggles over land and authority between Ngwanase and Makhuza families started in the late 19th century. Chief Ngwanase Tembe left his palace in Portuguese East Africa and migrated to the southern part of Maputaland that had become a British Protectorate in 1895 and Ngwanase maintained his position as a chief of all people who were living in this region. The descendants of Makhuza now claim that they had virtual independence from the Tembe royal family, yet Ngwanase claimed that he was always a ruler of the whole area between Mkhuze River and Delagoa Bay.

The colonial archives reveal that the British colonial government always recognized Ngwanase's family as the ruler of the whole region of Maputaland. From the 1880s the British colonial government's attempt to prevent other colonial powers in southeast Africa resulted in a treaty with Ngwanase's family. When Ngwanase moved to the southern part of Maputaland in 1896, the Natal government recognized him as the paramount chief of Maputaland. The members of Makhuza are now claiming that Makhuzas' authority was undermined, as Ngwanase became a paramount chief in the area that was previously ruled by Makhuza.[1] When Ngwanase arrived in Makhuza's

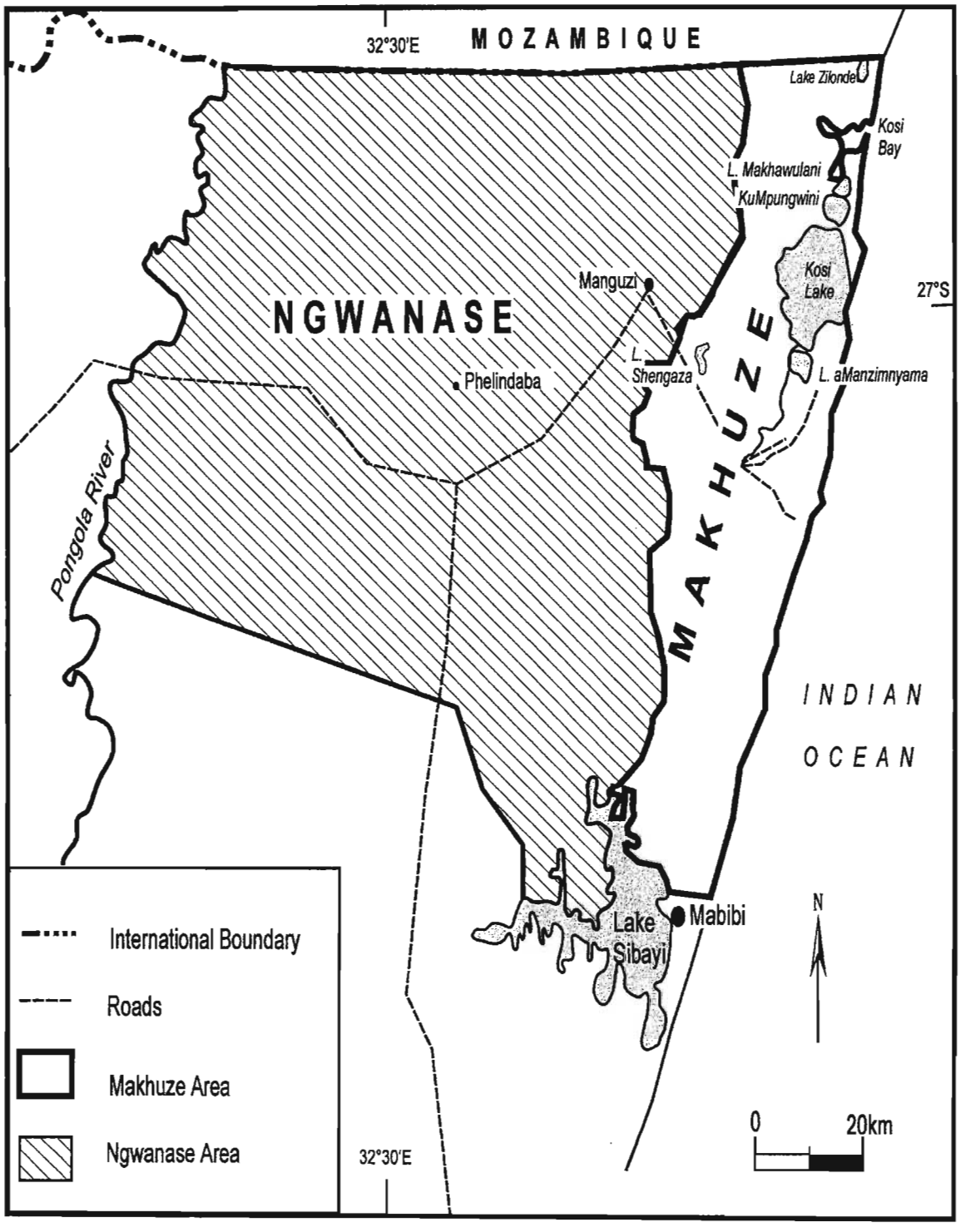
[1] This believe is shared by the descendants of Makhuza, such as Walter Tembe and Albert Tembe both interviewed during the research for this thesis from 1997 to 2000.

area, a conflict emerged with Makhuza over the leadership; however, it was resolved as the two leaders decided to forge agreements. According to this oral account, the two cousins (Makhuza and Ngwanase) agreed that they should both rule. Makhuza was given the coastal area while Ngwanase ruled the inland. The agreement reflected that Ngwanase had come from a more senior family than Makhuza, as he became the paramount chief of Maputaland. The Tembe royal family has been reluctant to discuss this incident. Their response to questions regarding this agreement was that their family ruled from Portuguese territory up to Mkhuze River, so they believe that Ngwanase as a king of Maputa was not supposed to share power with Makhuza. This statement put Makhuza's area within the jurisdiction of the Tembe royal family.[2]

Yet there is strong evidence from oral traditions that the house of Makhuza was influential in the politics of this region and local people understand the division of the two Tembe families. The headmen in coastal area are closer relatives to Makhuza than to Ngwanase. Some of these headmen claim to have obtained their positions because Makhuza appointed their ancestors. Maps No. 3 and 4 in pages 28 and 29 were constructed through oral testimony and they show how local people divide Maputaland into two sections between Ngwanase and Makhuza. Map 6 shows sub-sections of the coastal area that were named after the relatives of Makhuza and Ngubane families.[3] It is this area that the house of Makhuza feels they lost power and its control during the establishment of tribal system under the Nationalists government. The nationalist party's tribal system gave more power to the house of Ngwanase. There are two conflicting histories; the house of Makhuza claim to have been an independent

[2] Interview with the Queen MaMkhwanazi Tembe, a wife of late Chief Mzimba, Thandizwe, Maputaland, (5 November 1997). Mzimba Tembe was a son to Ngwanase Tembe, and became a chief in 1953.

[3] The names of *izigodi* or districts in coastal Maputaland are the descendants of Madingi or Makhuza.



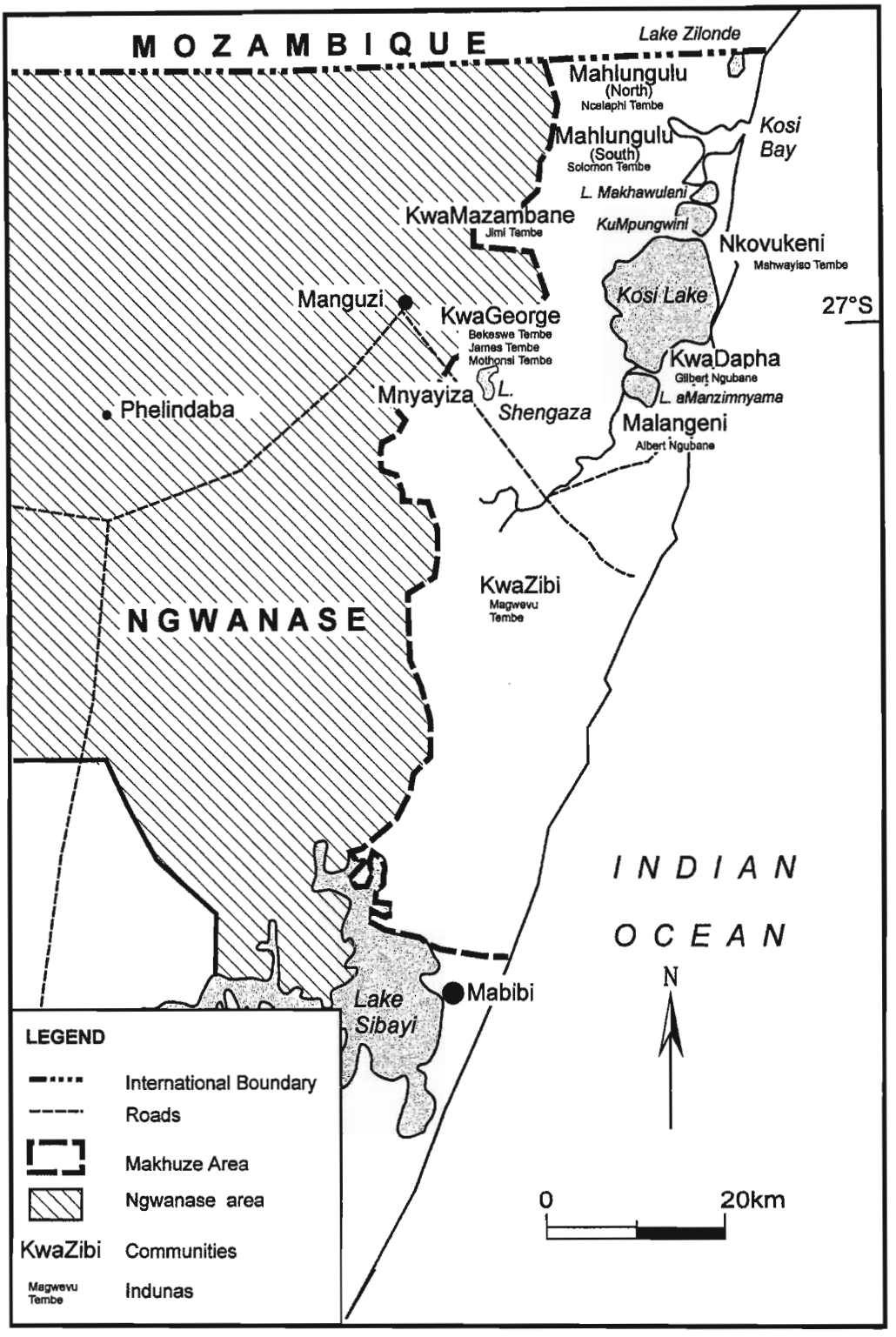
Map 3: Phelindaba Agreement - 1986

chiefdom in southeast Africa and their evidence is based on oral traditions. On the other hand, there are members of the house of Ngwanase, who are claiming the whole area of Maputaland, and colonial records support this claim.

The evidence collected from local sources suggests that a British colonial official witnessed and chaired the meeting that resulted in a resolution between Ngwanase and Makhuza in 1896 at Phelindaba village. It was in this meeting that Maputaland was divided between the two Tembe chiefs. Cuthbert Colenso Foxon known to local people by the nickname of *Mqondo* is alleged to have witnessed the negotiations between the two Tembe leaders.[4] Foxon was a junior official working for the British colonial government in Maputaland from 1896 to 1899. He worked with a detachment of the Zululand Police, was appointed Resident of British Maputaland, and later became the magistrate of Maputa. However, there is no evidence in the government documents to reveal that he was involved in the Makhuza-Ngwanase conflict. Any attempts to search Makhuza's history in colonial documents have been unsuccessful, albeit that people recall that Makhuza was a ruler in Maputaland.

Historical works on Maputaland have not addressed the struggles between traditional authorities. They have been comparatively silent about local people. Perhaps because Maputaland was a frontier area carved out and divided by competing Imperial powers such as Britain and Portugal, there is little information relating to the conflicts among the region's African rulers, the focus was on the imperial competition. Or perhaps as

[4] The members of Makhuza family reveal this evidence. Interview with Albert Mabole Tembe, Star of the Sea, Maputaland, (7 November 1997); Walter Tembe, Thengani, Maputaland, (10 July 1999).



Map 4. Makhuze's Area

Lummis argued in his book *Listening to History: The Authenticity of Oral Evidence*[5] there is a tendency among historians to disregard oral history and rely on colonial records. What is certain is that colonial records have only documented details of correspondence of the British colonial government with the Maputa (the house of Ngwanase) royal family, and these records are about the British administration policies in the southeast Africa. In the government records such as the Ingwavuma magistrate documents, Chief Native Affairs Commissioner, Colonial Secretary's Office, Natal Blue Books and the British Parliamentary Papers, one reads how the colonial government struggled to control the Tembe chiefs. The diplomatic relationship, the treaties and the correspondence between the colonial government and the Tembe leaders are well recorded in these documents. The publications based on the above-mentioned material are not comprehensive because most of what had reached the record offices was simply an enlargement of the bureaucratic perspective.

Although Foxon was a junior official, it would be expected that he should have left some evidence about the Tembe conflicts, especially if he played a crucial role in the resolution between Ngwanase and Makhuza. For instance, Foxon mentioned in one letter to the magistrate of Ubombo that he met chief Ngwanase on several occasions and revealed that Ngwanase was collecting tribute from traders working in Maputaland, yet nothing was said about Makhuza.[6] There is also evidence showing that some political issues that were taking place in Maputaland at this time reached the government officials, such as the magistrate at Ubombo, which was responsible for Maputaland before the establishment of Ingwavuma and Maputa magistracies. When

[5]Trevor Lummis, *Listening to* History: The Authenticity of Oral Evidence. (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 1.

[6] Warhurst, "Britain and Partition of Maputo, 1875-1897," a paper presented in Natal and Zulu History Workshop, University of Natal, Durban, (July 1985).

Mpobobo Tembe, another Tembe chief residing in the Portuguese territory threatened to attack Ngwanase, the British colonial officers sent police to protect chief Ngwanase.[7] Perhaps the conflict between Makhuza and Ngwanase was treated as a minor issue because it was not posing a threat to the colonial government. If this were the case, the history contained in these documents should be seen as a selective history.

The migration of Chief Ngwanase from the Portuguese to the British territory towards the end of the nineteenth century sparked deeper interest among British colonial officers. From 1887, the British government had been trying, without success, to persuade the Tembe rulers to support the British government. In 1895, a year before Ngwanase decided to move to British-Maputaland; a British Protectorate was imposed on Maputa kingdom. This means that although it was Ngwanase's decision to seek protection under British government, his movement was a benefit to the British who had already began a steady move of annexing Maputaland by imposing a protectorate in this region. This was indeed proven in 1897 when Maputaland was incorporated into Zululand. Ngwanase was seen not only as a symbol of unity in Maputaland, but good terms with him meant that the British colonial government sealed off southeast Africa from other competitors. The colonial official's tendency to present a favourable picture of compliant chiefs could have resulted in the exclusion of other local leaders in the colonial records and Makhuza could have been excluded in this context. As Lummis points out, bureaucratic bias tends to dominate the historical record of bureaucratic societies.[8]

Another possible explanation for the lack of documentation from Maputa in the closing

[7]Pietermaritzburg Archives (PAR), SNA, 84/50/96, Confidential Minute No. 46, Walter Hely-Hutchinson (Governor, Natal) to the Resident Commissioner, Zululand, 11 June 1896.
[8]Lummis, *Listening to History,* 13.

years of the 19th century, and the more likely one, is that the correspondence was lost or incorrectly archived. There is no body of documents from 1896 to 1898. In the inventory of Archives of the Magistrate and Commissioner, Ingwavuma (I/INGW), the Minutes Papers only begin in 1898; the Civil Cases in 1901; and Criminal Cases in 1902. There was a magistrate in Maputaland from 1895 and the district was conflated with Ingwavuma District on 15 September 1898. All correspondence for the earliest years is missing. In the absence of written documentation, the oral history becomes important in the re-construction of the past.[9]

Little information about Maputaland came from traders and missionaries who had worked in this area in the closing years of the 19th century. One of the prominent traders of this period was Von Wissell, who owned a construction company and was licensed to trade as shop owner in Maputaland.[10] Von Wissell's "Reminiscences of trading days in Northern Zululand 1895-1919," details the accounts of his work in this region. His records reveal that he met chief Ngwanase in Maputaland before the British colonial government accepted Ngwanase. He traded with Ngwanase and, at some point, clashed with Ngwanase who was always behind in paying his bills, while demanding tribute for trading in his country.[11] This evidence cites Phelindaba as the place where Ngwanase settled temporarily before he re-established the eMfihlweni royal site on the north side of Phelindaba. This is the place (according to local information) where Ngwanase and Makhuza settled their differences.[12] The records

[9] Paul Thompson, "Life Histories and the Analysis of Social Change," in D. Bertaux (ed.) *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences.* (Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 1981) 290-1 explores the importance of oral history.

[10] KCM 2309, Miller Papers, 204, Von Wissell, Louis Charles, "Reminiscences of trading days in Northern Zululand 1895-1919." This manuscript contains an account of the traders and hunters in British and Portuguese-Maputaland in the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries.

[11] KCM 2309, Miller Papers, 204, Von Wissell submitted evidence of Ngwanase's bills to the Magistrate at Ingwavuma. See also Warhurst, "Britain and Partition of Maputo," 27-28.

[12] Beside the members of the Tembe royal family who were not interested in discussing the details of

from Von Wissell's are important to the understanding of the events that took place in Maputaland at the turn of twentieth century, however, Wissell did not mention a conflict that emerged during Ngwanase's arrival in British territory, nor does he reveal other local leaders in the area. Wissell was more concerned about his trading business and other issues that seemed to obstruct his profit. Very little, therefore, can be learned about the struggles between chief Ngwanase and other leaders such as Makhuza and Ngubane who were residing in Maputaland before Ngwanase came to this region.

In colonial Africa, missionaries offered important information about the dynamics of local areas though their words rarely appear in official documents. However, in Maputaland missionaries were scarce from 1896 until the 1920s. A group of missionaries visited occasionally and recorded a little information about the area. Reverend L. H. Frere wrote that in April 1896, he met chief Ngwanase and Isaac Mtembu, Ngwanase's interpreter, at Ubombo Magistracy who came to meet Sir Marshall Clarke.[13] According to Frere, a photograph of chief Ngwanase was taken on this day, yet Frere had come as a visitor to Maputaland and no further information from his records.[14] The British colonial government was reluctant to grant land rights to missionary stations in northern Zululand at this time. Charles Saunders, a Magistrate and Civil Commissioner in Zululand wrote to Reverend Spencer Walton, Superintendent of the South African General Mission in 1900, that the government had problems in granting mission sites pending the settlement of the land question, and the

---

Makhuza and Ngwanase, all people interviewed in Maputaland believed that Phelindaba is the place where the Makhuza-Ngwanase disputes over Maputan leadership was settled, hence the name means "end of the story." However, it should be mentioned that there is strong evidence from local people that suggest a name Phelindaba was used for this place before the meeting between Ngwanase and Makhuza or even Ngwanase moved to the south.

[13] Rev. L.H. Frere to Mr Robertson, Easter Eve, 1896, cited in E. and H. W., *Soldiers of the Cross in Zululand.* (London: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 4, Snow Hill, E.C. and Derby, 1905), 168-169.

[14] E. and H. W., *Soldiers of the Cross in Zululand,* 169. This photograph is in the preface on page VII.

British government did not open the northern Zululand to the Natal settler until the beginning of the twentieth century.[15]

Hannchen Prozesky was first missionary to live in Maputaland in 1925.[16] Prozesky recorded that she met Ngwanase and his headmen several times.[17] She also met the sons of Makhuza such as Dapha, Mnyayiza and Mnini who succeeded his father Makhuza upon his death. This was a crucial period of the conflict between Makhuza and Ngwanase for the name Mnini, "the owner" is another piece of evidence that suggests that Makhuza was beginning to suspicious of Ngwanase encroaching into his ward.[18] Yet Prozesky was so concerned with her mission of civilizing the heathens of Maputaland that she did not record details of political structures.[19] Despite the fact that Prozesky lived in the area controlled by the house of Makhuza, she was blind to the conflict that was taking place between the Tembe families. Moreover, other missionaries working in Maputaland left no records about the local people or evidence of the Makhuza-Ngwanase conflict in their records. Rev. Spencer of South African General Mission wrote that he met a headman in Kosi Bay area but never mentioned the name of that headman.[20] However, Prozesky's acknowledgement of the names of

[15] PAR, SNA 1/1/419/1981/1900, C. Saunders, to Rev. Spencer Walton, (11 December 1900).
[16] Hannchen was a daughter of Rev. August Prozesky, a German missionary who sailed for South Africa in 1863. This man worked in northern Natal. His daughter Hannchen was appointed to work in Kosi Bay, Threlfall Mission station, named after Rev. William Threlfall of the South African Methodist Church.
[17] Rev. E. H.Hurcombe, "The Lady of the Sun Helmet. Hannchen Prozesky's ministry of Healing in Zululand." (Durban: Killie Campbell Library); E.H. Hurcombe, *A Walk Round Kosi Lake, Undertaken by Miss Prozesky, Nkosazane yaseMaputa.* (Blythswood: Blythswood Press, 1925); Prozesky Hannchen, *An Account of a Trip in Maputaland.* (Blythswood: Blythswood Press, 1925).
[18] Interview with Walter Tembe, Maputaland, (10 November 1999). Walter Tembe, one of the living descendants of Makhuza family revealed that Makhuza named his son, as Mnini to emphasize that Makhuza was the owner of the land in Maputaland because the house of Ngwanase was beginning to claim authority over the whole region.
[19] E.H. Hurcombe, *A Walk Round Kosi Lake.*
[20] PAR, SNA R.1981/1900, Spencer Walton to R. Colenbrander, Native Commissioner at Ingwavuma, (21 November 1900.)

Makhuza lineage, such as Mnini Tembe and others in Kosi Bay area provides strong clues that Makhuza family did influence politics in the region they are claiming today.

The volumes of oral histories collected by A.T. Bryant, H. Junod, and James Stuart focus on royal families, ancestral journeys and internal clan struggles and thereby demonstrate how the great figures (Mabhudu, Shaka, Ndwandwe, Mthethwa) consolidated their polities in the beginning of nineteenth century.[21] Intensive details tend to cover the genealogy of the royal families while ignoring the history of other leaders. In his study of South African "tribes," Bryant maintained that the Thonga people used to settle around the rivers flowing into Delagoa Bay. The Tembe members of the "Thonga family of Bantu," believed by Bryant to be abaMbo, lived between the Lubombo Mountains and the sea.[22] Shula Marks's "The traditions of the Natal Nguni," was suspicious of Bryant's use of Nguni and Thonga terms. She regards the word "Thonga" as no more than a convenient label for a group of people varying origins speaking dialects and bearing a geographical relationship to one another.[23]

Junod's work made a contribution to our understanding of many social and cultural practices of the Thonga people. Junod was the first to write a detailed analytical monograph of the Thonga people.[24] However, the problem with Junod's work is that he collected his information from widely differing areas. For example, his work was done in southern and northern Mozambique and Transvaal, and he collected his information

---

[21] A.T. Bryant, *The Zulu People: As They Were Before The White Man Came.* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shuter, 2nd ed., 1967); H. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe. Social Life.* Vol. I. (London: D. Nutt, 1913); Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe. The Mental Life.* Vol. II. (London: Macmillan, 1927); *The James Stuart Archives of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples.* C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds.), (Pietermaritzburg and Durban: University of Natal Press and Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1976-86).

[22] A.T. Bryant, *The Zulu People: As They Were Before The White Man Came*, 11-13.

[23] Shula Marks, "The Traditions of the Natal 'Nguni': A second look at the work of A.T. Bryant," in L. Thompson (ed.) *African Societies in Southern Africa.* (London: Heinemann, 1969).

[24] H. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe. Social Life.* Vol. I & II.

from only a few people. As a result his work become a checklist of traits of the Thonga people with few hints to the conflict that pervades contemporary Maputaland. His main contribution to this study is general structures of succession patterns within the Thonga people and how such patterns could cause disputes in the long run.[25]

James Stuart's *Archives* made a great contribution to the history of the Tembe people. It is one of the oldest sources in which Madingi Tembe, a grandfather to Makhuza appears in the genealogical table of the Tembe clan. Although not much was said about Madingi's lineage, his documentation of this family as a separate branch from the main Tembe branch supports the oral accounts of the descendants of Makhuza. Perhaps Stuart's testimonies were restricted because he was covering northern Zululand systematically. Sitting in Durban, five hundred kilometres away from Maputaland, Stuart interviewed people who were introduced to him as coming from Maputaland. Mahungane and Nkomuza were the persons interviewed by Stuart on the history of Maputaland. These men were residing in Ingwavuma, in a distance of about eighty-five kilometres from Makhuza's district. It is possible that Stuart informants may have possessed little knowledge about issues in the coastal regions of Maputaland, thus, Stuart's texts tend to reinforce the limited narratives of local African life in colonial documents.[26]

In the voluminous scientific material that was produced by the Tongaland Expeditions from the year 1947 to 1954, there was no hint of the conflict between local leaders in

---

[25] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 406.

[26] Evidence by Nkomuza and Mahungane, who were interviewed by Stuart on the history of the Tembe people. Both of these men were relatives of the Tembe royal family, in C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds.), *The James Stuart Archives of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples.*

Maputaland.[27] This material contains data on plants and animals, soil and insects but little evidence on people's power relationships. Another group of researchers who studied the ecology in Maputaland came from various universities and government departments. They focused on economic development of Maputaland through natural resources such as the *lala* palm, tourism, and agriculture.[28] In these works, Madingi and Makhuza's names are mentioned in passing, and the Makhuza-Ngwanase issue is not discussed at all.[29] The well-known ecologist, Ken Tinley, writes that the name Kosi was derived from the name of Makhuza by visiting Europeans who called the estuary of Makhuza's Bay, which was corrupted to Kosi, but provides no other historical information about Makhuza.[30]

Marvin Harris's research, "Labour Migration among the Mozambique Thonga," has shown some interest on the history of the Thonga people yet Harris was mainly concerned about the Thonga labour migration. His work is important in understanding the inheritance system, which he argued is vulnerable to succession disputes among the Thonga chiefdom. His work revealed that there was a relationship between the pattern of labour migration and inheritance in the Thonga areas as the junior houses tended to send out work-seekers, while those in direct line of succession stay at home, waiting to

---

[27] A.C. Ferraz, "Probing the Mysteries of Tongaland." *The Outspan.* (5 September 1947); I. Garland, "An Expedition to Ingwavuma." *African Wild Life,* Vol. 6 No.1 (July 1952); Garland, "Ingwavuma Expedition." *African Wild Life.* Vol. 8 No. 4, (July 1954) 323-328.

[28] E.J. Moll, "The Distribution, Abundance and Utilization of the Lala Palm, Hyphaene Natalensis on Tongaland, Natal." *Bothalia* 10, (1972); J.R.L, "The Amathonga people of Maputaland with special Reference to the Inhabitants of Pongolo Floodplain Area," in M.N. Bruton and K.H. Cooper (eds.), *Studies of the Ecology of Maputaland;* C.L. Louw, "The Peasant Agricultural System in Eastern Maputaland. A Developmental Strategy." A paper prepared for a Carnegie Conference, Paper No 228, (Cape Town, April 13-19, 1984); I.K. Bejak, "Environmental and Engineering Aspects and Implication for Tourist Developments along the Maputaland Coast." Msc Geography and Applied Geology. (Durban: University of Natal, 1998).

[29] M.N. Bruton and K.H. Cooper, (eds.), *Studies of the Ecology of Maputaland.*

[30] Alan Mountain, *Paradise under Pressure.* (Johannesburg: Southern Publishers, 1990), 48-49.

inherit the family wealth in the form of cattle and access to land.[31] This information is important to the understanding of succession disputes within Tembe chiefdoms, yet there is no evidence of Makhuza and not much can be learned from this work. Other works on Thonga kinship missed important details that could be used for this study.[32]

In the 1970s there had been numerous researches related to Maputaland. Most of these works focused on colonialism, trade and migrant labour.[33] These works provide crucial historical background of pre-colonial and colonial life. Alan Smith, for example, made an important contribution to the understanding of trade patterns and the regional commerce in the eighteenth century Maputaland. He maintained that the Portuguese were the first to dominate trade in Delagoa Bay. The Dutch later dominated followed by the Englishmen. He analysed how Thonga people became involved in trade by supplying Europeans with local provisions, but he ends his investigations before the mid-nineteenth century, the period of the nascent conflict in the kingdom of Mabhudu.[34]

Other historians writing on trade have also indicated how the need to control trade with Europeans became a factor in the consolidation of power among the Thonga kings. David Hodges's doctoral dissertation, "Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and

[31] Marvin Harris, "Labour Emigration among the Mocambique Thonga: Cultural and Political Factors," *Africa XXIX* (1): 50-56 (1959), 55.
[32] A. Clerc, "The Marriage laws of the Ronga Tribe (Specially the Clans of the Maputo District, South of the Espirito Santo, Portuguese East Africa)," *Bantu Studies XII* (2): 75-104 (1938); A.A. Jaques, "Terms of Kinship and Corresponding Patterns of Behavior among the Thonga," *Bantu Studies III*, Vol. 4, 1929, 327-348.
[33] Alan Smith, "The Struggle for Control of Southern Mozambique, 1720-1835." PhD. Thesis, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1976); D.M. Schreuder, *The Scramble for Southern Africa 1877-1895: The Politics of Partition Reappraised.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Charles, Ballard, "Migrant Labour in Natal 1860-1879: With Special Reference to Zululand and Delagoa Bay Hinterland," *Journal of Natal and Zululand*, Vol. 1(1978) 25-42; David Hedges, "Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in Early Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." Ph.D.,University of London, (1979); T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History.* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1977).
[34] Alan Smith, "The trade of Delagoa Bay as a factor in Nguni politics 1750-1835," in L. Thompson, (ed.) *African Societies in Southern Africa.* (1969) 173-176.

Zululand in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," closely examines the process of political and economic control in Thonga polities. He illustrates the methods adopted by competing African leaders to manage the acquisition and export of trade goods, primarily ivory. His work reveals that the Thonga chiefs were in control of the area more or less from Delagoa Bay to St. Lucia.[35] Hedges also focused on the influence of the incoming European commodities. He argues that the Thonga chiefs put restrictions on the movement of European traders to prevent their subjects (other Africans) from trading for their own benefits. The effect of these successful restrictions helped to consolidate the position of the ruling lineage and gave followers ample resources for patronage and tribute networks. Thus, Hodges's scholarship of the rise of Maputa or Mabhudu kingdom sheds light on the violent conflict between clans living in the southern Maputo and eastern Phongola regions. The survivors of these "wars" continued to perpetuate their claims as landowners long before the Tembe arrived. Among these groups was the Ngubane clan. Hedges further unearths evidence of how Madingi Tembe established his own chiefdom in the southern part of Maputa Kingdom after he was bestowed independence by his father in the early 19th century.[36] This work provides a background against which the testimonies and traditions of the Ngubane and Makhuza could be examined for the present land claims.

The environmental studies provide useful evidence on the relationship between the environment and inhabitants in Maputaland, and there are occasional references to the

[35] Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 111-135.

[36] It seems as if Hedges did not have sufficient time to conduct oral interviews. As a result he had limited information about the political situation of Maputaland. However, his pioneering work provided a background against which the testimonies and traditions of the Ngubane and Makhuza could be examined to see how they are being mobilised for the present land claims. Hedges had one day to conduct interviews in Maputaland and he only interviewed two persons, Walter Tembe and Simon Mathenjwa, on 4 March 1970.

hostility between the royal family and other groups in this region.[37] For instance, Walter Felgate's *The Tembe-Thonga of Natal and Mozambique* traces disputes over land among the communities of Maputaland, highlighting how the Ngubane people opposed Tembe authority.[38] Such documentation is important in examining the present claims, yet Felgate did not take these conflicts as serious issues. Perhaps his main contribution was to mention that competing claims over land and power were taking place all over Maputaland starting from Kosi Bay to Lake Sibaya. He indicated that the Ntuli, Mdletshe, Malambule and Mlambo clans were also claiming to be the rightful "owners" of the land near Sibaya Lake.[39] Felgate did not provide a list of people, nor does he explain how he gathered information. This is a problem for historical studies because such a methodological account would be useful in understanding the present political position of the Makhuza family.

In the 1990s other scholars published their research on Maputaland. For example, Patrick Harries's book, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Labour in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910*, focuses on the impact of labour migration on this region.[40] He shows how the Thonga people were involved in extensive trading networks long before European influence in south eastern Africa. He reveals that the 1860s the Thonga people had already begun to seek work in Natal to compensate for their agricultural economy. The author examines an earlier time than this study, and Harries' area of focus is central and southern Mozambique, far away from Maputaland. Yet, Harries's pioneering research sheds new light on our understanding of the Tembe

[37] Alan Mountain, *Paradise under Pressure.*
[38] Felgate, *The Tembe-Thonga,* 124-5
[39] Felgate, *The Tembe-Thonga,* 125.
[40] Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant labour in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910.* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994).

polity.[41]

David Webster's scholarship on kinship was centred on Kosi Bay. He was killed tragically on 1 May 1989 before he could publish his vast field notes. Yet, two journal articles re-authored in the mid-eighties provide a general anthropological perspective of Maputaland.[42] His study of kinship among the Thonga provide an insight that gives us a generally idea about the importance of oral evidence in the power struggle within the Thonga people. He maintains that, "the genealogical depth of memory open up a competition between a range of brothers and nephews; in the end, the person or faction which is able to mobilize the greatest support will succeed, and *ex post facto*, his genealogical claims will become legitimised against those of his rivals."[43] This idea helps in understanding why the members of the Makhuza family are using the genealogical knowledge of Madingi to mobilize the people living in an area once ruled by Makhuza and Madingi. This study also provides crucial information on how marriages were strategically used by the Thonga chiefs to remain in power.[44] The most important contribution of Webster's works was to demonstrate the importance of using both the anthropological and the historical approaches in order to understand historical development among the Thonga people, a perspective that is missing in Felgate and Harris's approach in writing the Maputaland past. As Webster wrote that, "anthropology can benefit from historical insights-especially the need to periodize

[41] P. Harries, "Migrants and Marriage: The Role of Chiefs and Elders in Labour Movements from pre-colonial Southern Mozambique to South Africa." A paper prepared for the seminar. (University of Cape Town, 1979); Harries, "History, Ethnicity and the Ingwavuma Land Deal: The Zulu Northern Frontier in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. VI, (1983); Harries, "The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-east Africa." *African Affairs* 87, No. 346 (1988) 25-52; Harries, "Plantations, Passes and Proletarians: Labour and the Colonial State in Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Southern African Studies (JSAS)* 13, No 3 (1981) 372-99; Harries, "The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal: H.A. Junod and the Thonga." (*JSAS*) Vol. 8, No 1 (1981).
[42] David Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kinship: The Marriage of Anthropology and History," *Cahiers d' Etudes Africans,* 104,XXVI-4, (1986), 611-632; Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakele."
[43] Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kinship,"625
[44] Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kinship," 626

clans, lineages, chiefdoms, etc., for they are not static, but changing and responding to shifts in the political economy of the region. But I wish to stress just as much that historians need to take cognisance of anthropological theories and insights."[45]

Historian Philip Warhurst's articles, "Britain and the Partition of Maputo 1875-1897," and "What's in a Name? Ethnicity and the Kingdom of Maputo," show a close interest in the recent history of Maputaland. It analyses the policies of Portuguese and British governments that resulted in the partition of Maputaland at the end of 19th century.[46] He unearths vital evidence of British and Portuguese colonial officials' negotiations with the Tembe leaders. His scholarship extends to the annexation period of Maputaland in 1897 and does not delve into Makhuza's affairs.

Raul Davion's thesis on the study of the conflict between the KwaZulu Bureau Nature Resources (KBNR) and the residents of Kosi Bay area over the establishment of Kosi Bay Nature Reserve contributes to our understanding of conservation in Maputaland.[47] Davion observed during his field research that a headman was rejecting the authority of the Tembe royal family. Whilst he was granted permission by the tribal authority to conduct research, one headman from Kosi Bay refused him permission. He was then forced to make individual arrangements with other headmen.[48]

Davion interpreted this reluctance of the headman as a form of resistance against the

[45] Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kinship," 630
[46] P. Warhurst, "Britain and the Partition of Maputo," and, "What is in a Name? Ethnicity and the Kingdom of Maputo," *Journal of Natal and Zululand History*, Vol. 3, (1983).
[47] Raul Davion, "A Contribution to Understanding Contemporary People-Environment Dynamics: South African Context." M.A. (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1996).
[48] The people of Ngubane and the Tembe of Makhuza dominate the area of Kosi Bay. Although he does not mention the name of a headman, it can be assumed that it was either one of the two headmen and the two have already been introduced as challengers of the royal family.

establishment of the reserve. With the KBNR's institutional and policies stirring anger and anxiety among communities, local resistance to the royal family was likely subsumed within other grievances.[49] The KBNR used tribal authority to construct the nature reserve in 1988. Davion puzzled over why the residents around Kosi Bay decided to embrace Ulundi as the head office of the KBNR, and claims that since Ulundi was the head office of the KwaZulu government, the Tembe tribal authority naturally obeyed its political order. In this way, Ulundi reinforced the superiority of the house of Ngwanase in the same manner as the Nationalist Party subordinated the house of Makhuza when they established tribal authorities.

Written evidence is very important and the most reliable source to the construction of the past, yet they are not the only sources of history. Oral history has proven to be another useful source in reconstructing the past. Despite some gaps in primary and secondary sources on the history of Maputaland, these sources will be used in combination with oral evidence from Maputaland local residents in an attempt to examine the development of disputes over land and chieftainship in Maputaland. The next chapter gives a brief review of the study area.

[49] Davion, "A Contribution to Understanding Contemporary People- Environment." 79-96.

Chapter two

The Scramble for Maputaland

AbakwaMabhudu

The people who live in Maputaland are commonly known as amaThonga. Although Maputaland was incorporated into Zululand, the people of this region are distinguished from the Zulu speakers by using the Thonga language. Junod's book, *Story of a South African Tribe* maintains that the Thonga language was dominant in the southeast African coastal areas since the mid-sixteenth century.[1] Yet, a survey by Sihawukele Ngubane suggests that the Zulu language is dominant in Maputaland. Other researchers have revealed that dialects such as isiGonde and Thonga are common to the older women of this region.[2]

The literature on the history of ethnicity suggests that, ethnic consciousness is very much a complex phenomenon, an ideological construct, usually of the twentieth century, and not an anachronistic cultural artefact from the past.[3] The historian, Patrick Harries, for one, doubts whether the Thonga ever existed as a tribe or an ethnic group.[4] Nevertheless, an anthropologist, A.T. Bryant, argues that by the sixteenth century the

---

[1] For an interesting, though not wholly convincing early Thonga history, see Junod, *Story of a South African Tribe*. The first chapter contains little history of the Thonga.

[2] For detailed analysis of languages spoken in Maputaland see S.E. Ngubane, "A Survey of Northern Zululand Dialects in the Ingwavuma District." (Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Natal, Durban, 1991); Felgate, *The Tembe Thonga of Natal Mozambique: An Ecological Approach*. Occasional Publication No. 1, (Department of African Studies, Durban, University of Natal, 1982); and Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala. Ethnicity and Gender. KwaZulu Border Community." *Tradition and Transition in Southern Africa.* Andrew Spiegel and Patrick McAllister, (eds.) *African Studies, 50th Anniversary*, Vol. 1&2 (Johannesburg, 1991).

[3] There is a vast literature on ethnicity. Leroy Vail, (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.* (London, Berkeley, and Los Angeles: James Currey and University of California, 1989); Harries, "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity Among the Tsonga-speakers of South Africa." In Leroy Vail (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.*

[4] Harries, "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialsim,"110; Harries, "History, Ethnicity, and the Ingwavuma Land Deal," 7; and Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala,"249.

Thonga people were living around the rivers flowing into Delagoa Bay. Bryant wrote that when the Nguni migrants, moved along the southeastern coast of Africa they intermarried with the Thonga people. He maintains that Thonga people were not one centralized group; they lived as individual separate families in scattered homesteads, but clustered into districts for mutual aid and defensive purposes. Some evidence hints at shared cultural and religious practices. However, it would be possible that these people spoke different dialects such as Thonga and IsiGonde languages.[5] Among Thonga groups was one large clan known as Tembe. Because there was more than one Tembe group, many historians called the Tembe-Thonga to identify the Tembe that finally settled in what became South Africa. It is this clan that gave rise to the two Tembe families that become a principal subject of this study.[6]

The variety of sources on the history of Thonga people is problematic. The earliest written accounts come from the survivors of the shipwrecked Portuguese trading ship, the *São Thomé,* which went aground near Sodwana Bay in 1589.[7] Their description of the Thonga people is not very useful, yet this record shows a higher level of state formation among the people of this region than in what appeared to be Nguni groupings to the south.[8] A tentative discussion suggests that the Thonga people lived in the area between Delagoa Bay and Lake St. Lucia from the mid-16th century, and they were mingled with smaller numbers of Zulu and Swazi clan-members.[9] In the 1750s,

---

[5] See Chapter 1, in Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*; Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe,* Vol. 2, 12-30; Interview with Jalimane Nhlonzi, Thengani, Maputaland, (13 July 1999).

[6] The two Tembe families refer to the house of Ngwanase and that of Makhuza Tembe. Unless stated otherwise the names Tembe royal family, Maputa will be referring to the Tembe of Ngwanase.

[7] G. M. Theal, (ed.) *Records of South-Eastern Africa, Collected in Various Libraries and Archive Departments in Europe*. (London: Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1898), Vol. II.

[8] Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 102.

[9] Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 111-135. Hedges reports that, in mid-16th century, two Ronga chiefdoms were in control of the region and in contact with the Portuguese-Nyaka (Thonga on the north coast) and Tembe (inland, bounded by the Ubombo mountain range). This account shows how the two Ronga chiefs were powerful rivals. For instance, the Tembe were stronger prior to 1550, yet the Nyaka

European competition increased for African trade on goods such as ivory. This period is associated with the consolidation of power among the Thonga groups, which resulted in the establishment of a new powerful kingdom under the leadership of Mabhudu Tembe. Mabhudu's kingdom was bounded by the Mkhuze River in the south, by Delagoa Bay in north 26°S, by the Maputa River and Lubombo mountain range in the west and by the Indian Ocean in the east.[10]

This country was named after the Thonga king Mabhudu and later corrupted by the Portuguese to Maputo or Maputa kingdom.[11] It is this name that gave birth to the "Maputaland."[12] In many books the name Maputa appears as Maputo; however, local people prefer to use Maputa with "a" at the end because they feel that Maputo with "o" at the end refers to the capital city of Mozambique.[13] This may suggests the tendency of Maputa people to identify themselves with Zulu rather than a Thonga identity.[14] Unless explained, the names Maputa kingdom or Maputaland is used to refer to a country and Maputa or Tembe royal family will be used to refer to the present Tembe leadership in Maputaland. This will help to avoid confusion with another Tembe kingdom that remained in the Portuguese territory known today as Mozambique. In the colonial government records the name Thongaland is used for Maputaland. The Thonga chief, Ngwanase, once complained against the use of the name Tongaland in referring to his

---

dominated after 1580s. Hedges shows that Nyaka territory stretched to the Mkuze gap at Ubombo, and this territory became sub chiefdom in Tembe-Thongaland of Mabhudu when Nyaka chiefdom declined in power.

[10] Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 114

[11] Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 127

[12] Interview with Themba, Nkathwini, Maputaland, (6 November 1997). Themba is a grandson to George Tembe, a brother to the late chief Ngwanase Tembe.

[13] Interview with Themba Tembe, Nkathwini, Maputaland, (6 November 1997)

[14] Webster's article, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala. Ethnicity and Gender," maintains that the Thonga language is mainly spoken by women in Maputaland as men tend to speak Zulu language.

people claiming that it was an insult to his people by the Zulus. Instead, Ngwanase preferred Maputaland for his country.[15]

The rise of Mabhudu Tembe

Historical evidence shows that the Maputa kingdom was once a pre-eminent political force in the subcontinent of southern Africa, albeit that many historians tend to emphasise the power of the Zulu kingdom, as if it was the only kingdom that had ever been truly dominant in the regions of southern Africa. Maputa kingdom pioneered the organization and the centralization of young men into regiments, before Shaka Zulu organized his military into a similar style.[16] Or perhaps the Maputa kingdom did this in parallel with others, such as Mthethwa and Ndwandwe. Mabhudu controlled other Thonga chiefs and insisted that trade with Europeans take place with his permission. In the table of Tembe genealogy recorded by James Stuart, King Mabhudu reigned around the 1780s, which can be linked to Newitt's observations that describe how the Portuguese traders only carried goods by sea and that the conduct of inland trade remained in the hands of African chiefs before the eighteenth century.[17] Newitt could be referring to chief Mabhudu when he maintained that in around Delagoa Bay, the Thonga chief was the only coastal ruler of Mozambique who maintained trade relations with other European nations. This demonstrates that at least by the 1780s the Thonga King, Mabhudu, was in control of the areas surrounding Delagoa Bay.[18]

---

[15] PAR. SNA, 1266/1897, Foxon, District Commissioner to C. R Saunders, Acting Resident Commissioner, Zululand, 6 May 1897.
[16] Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 153-154; Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kingship," 613.
[17] Newitt, "Towards a History of Modern Mocambique," 38-46, C. de B. Webb and J. B. Wright (eds.), *The James Stuart Archive.* (four volumes),see evidence by Mahungane, 150-151.
[18] Alan Smith, "The Trade of Delagoa Bay as a Factor in Nguni politics 1750-1835," in L. Thompson (ed.), *The African Societies: Historical Studies.* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 180-182.

The records and traditions on the history of the Tembe family do not provide a unified account about the founding father of this family. Names such as Sikuke, Tahumba, Shilambowa and Mangobe appear in oral traditions as the forefathers of the Tembe family. However, many people interviewed in Maputaland put emphasis on Mabhudu as the founding father of the Mabhudu kingdom.[19] Albert Tembe, a descendant of the Makhuza family, believes that chief Mabhudu became famous because he resisted the authority of the Portuguese East Africa and therefore his history was recorded.[20]

Mabhudu was the third son of Mangobe Tembe who ruled between 1746 and 1764.[21] Mangobe placed his sons in different areas to ensure his control in his territory. Nkupho, his heir, succeeded him, yet Nkupho did not inherit his father's ability of commanding authority in areas that were unified by his father. Thus, Nkupho's youngest brothers, among them Mabhudu, declared themselves as sovereigns. At this time Mabhudu saw his opportunity to establish his kingdom by absorbing other weaker chiefdoms.[22] Thonga people became prosperous under Mabhudu's leadership because he developed trading and military alliances with other powerful chiefdoms such as Mthethwa under Dingiswayo.[23]

Hedges wrote that the Tembe people spoke of Mabhudu as "the most intelligent, proud, arrogant, warlike and intrepid of Mangobe's sons. Mabhudu is known by his descendants as the one who knew how to impose his authority and to dominate not only

---

[19] Many historians have constructed the genealogy of the Tembe family and there has been no agreement in these sources. Webb and Wright, *Stuart Archive* Vol.II, 150-153; Hedges, "Trade and Politics"; David Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala", Junod. *The Life of a South African Tribe.* Vol. 1& 2; and A.T. Bryant. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, 293.

[20] Interview with Albert Tembe, Maputaland, (7 November 1997).

[21] Felgate, *The Tembe Thonga of Natal and Mozambique*. 9-27.

[22] See Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kingship," 614. The chiefdom of Inyaka, which was powerful on the coast, was at this time subordinated to the kingdom of Mabhudu.

[23] Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kingship," 614; Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 153-154.

the people of the lands which his father had given him but also other peoples who lived outside these frontiers."[24] David Leslie, who lived in Maputaland as a hunter and a trader in the 1870s, wrote that Mabhudu was considered to be "the one who lit the fire" or rather the chief who founded the Maputo kingdom.[25] Leslie also claimed that Mabhudu expanded his kingdom southward, conquering chiefdoms that were located between the Maputo and Mkhuze Rivers and incorporating people living south of the Maputo River and east of the Phongola River. In the northern part of Mabhudu's kingdom, people resisted his control. Some of these clans fled their areas and later formed their own politically centralized units such the Swazi kingdom.[26]

In the south of Mabhudu kingdom, Mabhudu conquered many clans such as Khumalo and Ngubane who were living in Kosi Bay area. Scholars such as Felgate argue that those people who were conquered by Mabhudu's expansion are still claiming their land today from the present Tembe ruling family. Thus, Felgate assumes that the present claims in Maputaland can be traced to the reign of Mabhudu.[27] Yet there is little evidence to support the links of the present claims with the period of Mabhudu.

After the death of chief Mabhudu in 1782, his son Mwayi or Mwali ascended to the kingship. It was immediately apparent that the new chief lacked his father's authority; as a result, the minor chiefs who lived in the southern part of the Mabhudu chiefdom became independent from direct Thonga control, though they agreed to keep up the

[24] Hedges, "Trade and Politics," 138.
[25] Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas.* (London: Edmonston & Douglas, 1875), 217.

[26] Hedges, "Trade and politics," 138; P. Bonner, *Kings, Commoners & Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State.* (Cambridge and Johannesburg: Cambridge University Press and Ravan, 1983).
[27] Felgate, *The Tembe Thonga of Natal and Mozambique*, 84-85.

offering of tribute. Mabhudu's desire to expand his kingdom may have revealed his ambition to monopolize the growing ivory trade, which earned a great wealth during his reign.[28] When Mwayi took over from his father the price of ivory was low and that could have discouraged him from exercising his authority over the southern regions.

"A wife that will never die": Madingi's quest for power

Oral evidence from the Tembe people in Maputaland suggests that although Mwayi had many children, Makhasana and Madingi were the most prominent in the family. Perhaps they are well known because the two competed for the position of chieftainship. Makhasana was picked as the successor of Mwayi; while Madingi on the other hand, was lower in standing having been born to Mwayi's junior wife.[29] The story of Madingi is still common because it was the beginning of (in Ben Carton's terms) a "generational conflict" in Maputa kingdom.[30] It is said that one day Mwayi told his son Madingi that he needed to take a wife because he was old enough. Mwayi showed some cattle to Madingi to be paid as a bride wealth if he was taking a wife.[31] However, Madingi told his father that he did not want a wife; instead, he told his father that he needed a wife that would never die. Mwayi was confused by Madingi's words because they were very figurative. The elders translated Madingi's words to Mwayi that he was meaning that he wanted to be given a land to rule. Madingi could not

[28] Historians agree that in mid-eighteenth century Delagoa Bay became an ivory trading post between African and European traders. African chiefs competed over trade in this period: Smith, "The Trade of Delagoa Bay as a Factor in Nguni Politics,"; Smith, "The Struggle for Control of Southern Mozambique, 1720-1835," Ph.D. thesis, (University of California, Los Angeles, 1970); M. Wilson, and L. Thompson, (eds.) A *History of South Africa to 1870.* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1982); Hedges, "Trade and Politics; B. Carton, *Blood From your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000), 19-21.

[29] Patriarchs sought to be polygamous. A king could have many wives which can be categorised as the first house or indlunkulu for the first wife, this category can be counted down up to the last wife whom I call a lesser wife. The status of the king's wives is based on this hierarchy. Madingi's mother was married as a second wife of king Mwali, thus I refer to her as lesser wife whose sons could not succeed to the kingship.

[30] Ben Carton, *Blood From Your Children.* Madingi was far away from being a successor yet he rebelled and requested to be given land to rule.

[31] The members of Makhuza family such as Walter and Albert Tembe tell this story.

ascend to the kingship; hence Makhasana was the legitimate successor. To please Madingi, however, Mwayi told his son to go and establish his own chiefdom in the south of the Tembe kingdom.[32] Local people present different stories about the area over which Madingi was to establish his own rule. Those who support the present royal family (house of Ngwanase) believe that the land that was occupied by Madingi was still a part of the Maputa kingdom; in that way Madingi was carving out his own base within the territory of the traditional Maputa kingdom. Madingi's lineage (house Makhuza) believes that Madingi had established an independent chiefdom in an area that had nothing to do with the Maputa kingdom.[33] Nevertheless, Madingi succeeded in consolidating his rule and established his capital at *Nhlangwini* in Kosi Bay. His grandson, Makhuza Tembe, later expanded Madingi's chiefdom to Lake Sibaya. Although Madingi was a founding father of the new Tembe chiefdom in Maputaland, Makhuza's name has replaced Madingi's name. The members of this family talk about Makhuza chieftaincy; this name, therefore, is used in this thesis to refer to the chiefdom that was created by Madingi in present Maputaland.

It is difficult to date these events because the evidence of the history of Madingi is only in oral accounts that do not respond to Western concepts of time. Oral traditions suggest that Madingi ascended before his father Mwayi died. This means that Madingi became a leader of his new chiefdom outside the traditional Maputa kingdom before his half brother Makhasana, the heir, succeeded his father. Captain Owen wrote in his

[32] Interview with Albert, Tembe, Maputaland, (7 November 1997); Walter, Tembe, Maputaland, (10 November 1999).

[33] Interview with MaMkhwanazi Tembe, Maputaland, (5 November 1997). On this day, Makhwanazi and Mahlathi Tembe, one of chief Mzimba's sons was interviewed. They both maintained that Madingi was given an area to rule in the same way that a headman rules on behalf of the chief and this argument contradicts with the members of Makhuza family who suggest that Madingi had established an independent chiefdom.

diary that in 1823 he visited the "Mapoota king Makasane."[34] This evidence could substantiate the idea that Madingi established his chiefdom before 1823 because Madingi left Maputa kingdom before his half brother Makhasana succeeded his father. The original Maputa kingdom under Makhasana remained in the north and was later divided into two parts, one under the control of the Portuguese and the other was left in the British colonial territory. Makhuza's territory fell under the British Maputaland.

The history of Madingi does not appear in any written documents. In order to understand the legacy of the Madingi chiefdom, scholars ought to rely on oral sources that are by themselves problematic. The present conflict between the two Tembe families began as a clash over chieftaincy, and now that land ownership has been added, this struggle complicates the historical interpretations of this region. Other clans, beside Tembe families assert ownership of this land. The introduction of this thesis demonstrates that oral testimony from the Ngubane clan, for example, suggests that Madingi Tembe usurped the power of the Ngubane people, the original occupants of the area when he sought to establish his independent chiefdom from the traditional Maputa kingdom. As we shall see, there is little evidence to support this argument, and it is hard to follow the oral evidence of the Ngubane people in Maputaland.[35]

In the main house of the Maputa, Makhasana had succeeded upon his father's death around early 1800s. Makhasana had to face the challenges posed by the expansion of

[34] Mabel V. Jackson, European Powers and South-East Africa: A Study of International Relations on the South Coast of Africa, 1796-1856. (London: Longman, 1967), 127-131.

[35] The oral evidence from the members of the Ngubane family in Maputaland is so diverse. Many present the story of a buck and the skinning of the buck as a trick that was used by Makhuza to assume power from the Ngubane people who were living in this region. Other evidence suggests that it was the Ngubane succession disputes that weakened the Ngubane, thus Makhuza or Madingi was given authority to rule by the Ngubane people. A research is still required on the history of the Ngubane people in Maputaland.

the Ndwandwe and Mthethwa polities in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The Zulu kingdom became another threat as King Shaka sought to impose his authority over all the neighbouring chiefdoms in Zululand, including the Maputa kingdom. Trade in Delagoa Bay was one of the major prizes at stake in the conflicts between the African states as beads, brassware, and later firearms were becoming important for the exercise of chiefly patronage and for rewarding followers.[36] Makhasana paid tribute to the Zulu king for protection whilst King Shaka devastated many trading rivals of the Zulu kingdom. Owen wrote "the young Zulu King, Chaka, had made himself master of all territories from the British boundaries of the Cape to Delagoa Bay; even Makasane and Mapoota were tribute to him."[37]

After the death of King Shaka, his successors continued to be involved in Maputa's internal affairs. For example, in 1853 King Mpande intervened in a Maputa succession dispute after the death of a Thonga King Makhasana by supporting Noziyingile Tembe as the successor. After the death of King Noziyingile in 1876, King Cetshwayo of Zulu kingdom supported Muhena, a brother of Noziyingile as the successor.[38] At this time, the tension between the Zulu and the British colonial government was increasing which concluded in the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879.

The defeat of the Zulus by the British in 1879 marked the end of Zulu dominance over the Maputa kingdom. At this time Zambili, a wife of King Noziyingile challenged Muhena who succeeded Noziyingile through the support of King Cetshwayo. Seeing that Cetshwayo was devastated by the war, Zambili overthrew Muhena and took over

[36] Hedges, "Trade and politics,"; Smith, "The Trade of Delagoa Bay as a Factor in Nguni Politics."
[37] Captain Owen cited in Mabel V. Jackson, *European Powers and South-East Africa*, 131.
[38] Warhurst, "Britain and the Partition of Maputo 1875-1897,"; also evidence of Mohungane and Nkomuza in Webb and Wright, *Stuart Archive*, Vol. 1, 56

as Queen regent of Maputaland. In the same year Zambili stopped paying tribute to the Zulu kingdom.[39]

"I cannot part with my people, my children, my relations": Zambili's dilemma.

Zambili's reign over the Maputa kingdom created numerous enemies against her. The Thonga Queen became aware that her son Ngwanase was going to face challenges when ascending to the Maputa throne following the succession disputes within the Maputa dynasty since the death of her husband, chief Noziyingili. Within her borders Zambili was facing a threat from Muhena whom she overthrew. Zambili was also aware that Muhena could collaborate with the Portuguese and overthrow her. Muhena was in exile under the protection of Luso-African government, who had clashed with Zambili over taxes that she refused to pay. The Portuguese threatened to send an army and burn the Thonga royal homestead if Zambili continued to resist the payment of tax.[40] Zambili refused to pay the taxes because Maputa kingdom had never paid taxes to Portuguese before.

Zambili was aware that during the reign of Noziyingile, her husband, the Portuguese government paid tribute to the Maputan chief for using the Island of Inyack, which was in the Maputan country. Newitt's article "Towards a History of Modern Mocambique," indicates that the Portuguese government did not have power or strategy to control African polities: "Until 1900, there was a regime in Mocambique dominated by local half-caste and African elements and not one which could impose the uniformity of Portuguese administration or law. It was in the twentieth century when the Portuguese

[39] Harries, "History, Ethnicity,"17.
[40]BPP, C6200, Havelock to Robinson, (10 July 1887).

government began to impinge on African society through taxation, demand for labour and tariff policies."[41] Demanding tax from the Maputa kingdom was a demonstration of the Portuguese authority over the Maputan people and would confirm that Maputa kingdom was a possession of the Luso-African government. Although the Thonga queen resisted paying tax to the Portuguese, this government remained a threat to Maputan kingdom.

Outside the borders of Maputa, the Zulu kingdom remained a threat even after their defeat by the British government. No one could predict as to when the Zulu would reclaim their dominance. On the other hand, the British were on amicable terms with the Maputa kingdom, yet, they could not be trusted that they would not try to control the Maputa kingdom, especially after their victory over the Zulu kingdom. Zambili also had difficulties in controlling chiefs in the southern part of the Maputa kingdom. These chiefs were living in the east Lubombo Mountains and north of the Mkhuze River. They encompassed chiefs Ncamana, Fokoti, Umgongobali and Umduku. These chiefs had been paying tribute to the Maputan chief but had stopped to do so after the death of Noziyingile Tembe. Perhaps these chiefs were opposed to the leadership of a woman.

Zambili realized that things were getting out of control, and she needed outside protection. The Thonga Queen was forced to negotiate with the British imperial government. The relationship between the British and Maputa had already been established during the reign of Noziyingili when Natal needed labour in 1870s. At this time there was a growing demand for labour in South Africa by the sugar planters of

[41] Newitt, "Towards a History of Modern Mocambique," 38-46.

Natal, the railway contracts of the Cape, diamond and gold mines. Although at first British India was approached for labour, in the 1870s labour contractors began to operate on the coast of Mozambique. Labour historians have covered the history of how the Thonga and Chopi were shipped south.[42] Evidence from South African labour historians suggests that Theophilus Shepstone, the secretary for Native Affairs in Natal sent messengers to negotiate with the Portuguese for the regular supply of Thonga labour to Natal's sugar plantations.[43] Yet, it should be noted that the Thonga labour migration started without coercion from the colonial governments.[44]

In the early 1880s Zambili began to dispatch her messengers to the British colonial government in Natal requesting help in arbitrating a boundary dispute between Maputa and the Portuguese government. She expressed her wish that the British government crown her son Ngwanase as a king of the Maputa nation in the same manner that Cetshwayo was appointed as the king of the Zulus by the British.[45] She also requested help in arbitrating a dispute that emerged between Maputan king with the southern chiefs who had begun to refuse paying tribute to Maputa kingdom. From the above requests it is clear that Zambili's main aim was to maintain the territorial integrity of the Maputa kingdom against the extension of the Portuguese influence and to maintain the position of the Maputan lineage against the southern petty chiefs. At that time, the British colonial government was pre-occupied by many issues, such as the disturbances

[42] Harries. *Work, Culture and Identity.*
[43] For discussion on Shepstone's efforts to secure a regular supply of labour from Zulu tributaries, see Charles Ballard, "Migrant Labour in Natal 1860-79: With special reference to Zululand and Delagoa Bay hinterland." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History.* Vol. 1, (1978); Jeff Guy, *The Destruction of Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884.* (London: Longman, 1979); Norman Etherington, "Frederic Elton and the South African Factor in the making of Britain's East African Empire," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History.* Vol. 9, (May 1981), 255-270; Harries, *Work, Culture and Identity.*
[44] Marvin Harris, "Labour Emigration among the Mozambican Thonga,"; Harries, *Work, Culture and Identity.*
[45] BPP, C6200, (10 July 1887),13 -15.

in Zululand following the Zulu Civil War. Therefore, it took time for the British to respond to Zambili's requests.

Events in the early 1870s had moved fast and decisions that were taken by European powers about south east Africa remained unknown to the Thonga people. The quarrel between the British and the Portuguese over the southern part of Delagoa had required outside arbitration. The area over which these two nations were fighting was a part of the Maputa country. In 1872, Britain and Portugal agreed to refer the matter to the French President. President MacMahon resolved this quarrel in 1875 by awarding the Island of Inhaca and the southern coastline of Delagoa Bay to the Portuguese government.[46] This rulling was known as MacMahon line. This line gave all the land on the north of 26° 30 S to the Portuguse government which meant that the land between the Maputo and the Tembe rivers fell under the Portuguese. In this way Maputa kingdom was divided into two parts, the independent south and the north under the Portuguese even though the Portuguese government could not impose any authority over Maputan chief at this time.[47] Only after the MacMahon arbitration could the Portuguese government impose its control over Maputa and demand taxes. Otherwise the Thonga chiefs were so powerful such that the Portuguese only maintained a trading station at Lourenço Marques at the pleasure of the Thonga chiefs.[48] Once the arbitration gave the area of Maputa to the Portuguese, taxes were demanded from Queen regent Zambili.[49]

---

[46] Warhurst, "Britain and Partition of Maputo, 1875-1897," have details of this arbitration.
[47] It is important to note that the oral evidence from the members of Makhuza is now suggesting that the MacMahon line that was created in 1875 became a boundary between the house of Ngwanase and Makhuza family; thus, Ngwanase crossed the boundary to the Makhuza country when he moved to British Maputaland in 1896. Yet, the truth is that this line was drawn twenty years before a conflict between Ngwanase and Makhuza.
[48] Webster, "The Tembe-Thonga Kingship," 614.
[49] There is debate about whether the Thonga chiefs were informed about the award, some evidence

The British and Portuguese wanted to remain dominant in Southeast Africa. Any foreign country that would show interest in this area was a threat. From the early 1880s the British southeast African policies were shaped by imperial interest to prevent other European powers from getting access to this part of Africa. Thus, the British government felt threatened in 1882 when they received rumours about the presence of Germans in the hinterland of Lourenço Marques who were intending to acquire a free anchorage in Delagoa Bay. It was alleged that the Germans were going to annex the land on the Thongaland coast starting from Delagoa Bay to St Lucia and secure entrance from the coast to Transvaal.[50]

Two years after the rumour about the German threat, the Afrikaners appeared in Zululand invited by King Dinuzulu of the Zulu kingdom to assist in a faction fight between the Usuthu and the Mandlakazi of Zibhebhu in 1884. The presence of the Germans and Afrikaners complicated the British imperial policy regarding the coastline. British officials felt that there was a need to move fast and prevent these two competing rivalries. A former British staff captain on the East Coast, Admiral de Horsey, became very suspicious. He stated that: "Whilst the late award of Delagoa Bay to Portugal instead of England was a misfortune, it would in my humble opinion, be a calamity for its possession to fall into the hands of a Power with whom we may some day be at war."[51] In December 1884, a decision was taken by the British government to

---

suggests that the Thonga chiefs were informed. For more details see, Warhurst, "Britain and the Partition of Maputo," 11.

[50] In his book, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*, Axelson argues that in 1882 there was a proposal for German immigrants and application for a concession was made from eastern Germany. They applied for concession of over 500, 000 hectares of land on the eastern slopes of the Lebombo range. This land was to be granted as the perpetual property of the Germany Colonial Society that was to enjoy full self-government with exemption from military service and various taxes, 97-98.

[51] Cited in Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*, 99.

annex St Lucia Bay in order to prevent the Germans from shaking hands with the South African Republic.[52]

The British became even more suspicious about the eastern coastline. They reminded the Portuguese about the agreement that said Delagoa Bay would remain with the Portuguese or the British government. In 1887, the British officials received another rumour that the Afrikaners from the Transvaal were collecting revenue from gold mining to purchase great quantities of arms and ammunition to overrun Swaziland and Thongaland. A Cape politician, John Merriman wrote a very influential letter to the High Commissioner stating that:

> It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon the value of that port arising out of its geographical position, as well as from the fact that it is the only absolutely secure harbour for vessels of any size on the African coast to the east after leaving Table Bay. As regards South Africa, Delagoa Bay is the nearest and the best outlet for the whole of the fertile eastern tablelands and the route to the interior that passes through and over them. There seems now to be little reason to doubt that in the near future this country, which is at once temperate and well watered and suited for European occupation, will become one of the great gold-producing countries of the world.[53]

In 1887 Britain annexed Zululand. With the increasing competition over south coastal lines, the time had come for the British imperial government to respond to Zambili's requests. Havelock, the Governor of Natal wrote to Zambili informing her that the British government was not going to intervene in the Maputan dispute with the Portuguese government because MacMahon had awarded the north of that country to Portugal. Instead, Havelock suggested that Zambili could move all her people who did

---

[52] Garson, "The Swaziland question and a road to the sea, 1887-1895," 306.

[53] Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*, 101. For more details about Merriman see D.M. Schreuder, *The Scramble for Southern Africa 1877-1895: The Politics of Partition Reappraised.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 119-121, 213, 291. Schreuder superbly narrated the role played by Merriman in influencing Great Britain to be involved in Southern Africa.

not wish to be under the Portuguese government. He also proposed a provisional agreement between Maputa and the British.[54] Resident Magistrate, C. R. Saunders, signed the Treaty of Amity between Thongaland and Britain on 13 October 1887 at the royal capital of eMfihlweni. In this treaty Zambili bound herself not to make treaties with other countries without the consent of the British government.[55]

The boundaries of the Maputaland country were defined in accordance with the MacMahon Award. The British officials were aware that once Zambili signed the treaty, it was going to serve the British interests against encroachment by other foreign countries at least in the southeast coastline. At the same time it was proposed that the treaty could be converted to a Protectorate if need be.[56] In other words a protectorate was going to be proclaimed in case the British interests were further threatened by other events that would not be covered by the treaty, and indeed, Maputaland became a British Protectorate in 1895.

In 1888 the British observed that the Republic government was showing interest in Kosi Bay through the chiefs living in Lubombo Mountain range. These chiefs encompassed Sambane, Mbikiza and Nyawo who had supported the Usuthu royal family with the Boers during the Zulu Civil war. The Zulu king made a promise to the Boers that the land of these chiefs was going to be given to the Boers as a reward for their assistance to Usuthu during the Zulu Civil War. On his way from Zambili, Saunders stopped to see chiefs Sambane and Mbikiza, and he observed that the two

---

[54] BPP, C 6200, 1890, 15-17, Notes of interview by Havelock; H.C. Shepstone (SNA) to Zambili, 7 July 1887; also see Axelson, Portugal *and the Scramble for Africa*, 104, and Warhurst, "Britain and The Partition of Maputo,"11.

[55] Warhurst has examined this treaty in depth in "Britain and The Partition of Maputo," 39-40; see also W.J. Leyds, *The Transvaal Surrounded: A Continuation of the first Annexation of Transvaal.* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1919).

[56] Warhurst, "Britain and The Partition of Maputo,"11.

chiefs had paid their taxes to J.J. Ferreira, a Boer official and Commissioner for Natives in the Wakkerstroom district. Ferreira was involved in pushing the republic's frontier eastwards to the sea. The rumours of the Boer's intention in Kosi Bay forced the British to think of the closer relationship with Thongaland. On February 1888, Sir Henry Holland, the British Colonial Secretary, wrote to Havelock saying that the British government had agreed that closer relations than those of the 1887 treaty should be established with Thonga nation. The letter also stated that Zambili should be informed that a Protectorate would be extended over the Thonga country if she still desired it.[57] This letter had an implication that Zambili had requested a British protection.

Holland's letter to Havelock was interesting because Saunder's report from Zambili did not contain any statement of Zambili's interest in a protectorate. The words '*if she still desires it*' were carefully inserted by Holland to justify the idea of a protectorate. Colonel Martin was sent to Zambili to induce her to accept British protection. Zambili was also told that the protectorate was not going to supersede her administration of her country. Instead, it was going to save her and her people from the occupation of her land by a foreign power; she was going to be protected from being induced to grant concessions to individuals who could trick her into signing forms that she did not fully understand.[58] In addition to that, Zambili was offered a chance to have a British advisor from the Governor's office who was supposed to visit or reside in Thongaland to advise the Thonga queen on various matters. Yet, Zambili was expected to pay the expenses of such an official.[59]

---

[57] BPP, C 6200, 1890, Holland to Havelock, (9 February 1888), 54.
[58] BPP, C 6200, 1890, Holland to Havelock, (9 February 1888), 54.
[59] Garson, "The Swaziland Question and a Road to the Sea," 306-310. Garson maintains that the principle of the British policy was to prevent the Republic to reach the sea.

Martin's report on his visit to Zambili does not appear in the government blue book. However, the later proceedings disclosed that Zambili refused to sign additional papers on the treaty. She told the British government that she would only accept the protectorate on condition that her people were not divided. Zambili's letter stated that:

> The arbitration may divide my country, but it cannot divide my people. I give up the country, but I cannot part with my people, my children, my relations. It must be understood that I have the power to take away my people from the award part of the country, if they like to come, and that I still rule over my people who choose to reside in that part. I want the English government to give me the country beyond the Umkhuze River in the south, which country really belongs to Amatongaland.[60]

Zambili's need to unite her nation was clear in this statement. She was saying that the MacMahon Award had taken her country and gave it to the Portuguese, but she needed her people. She was going to take those people and give them another land south of Mkhuze River. However, if the British government did not offer the land in the south of Mkhuze River she was not prepared to accept the idea of a protectorate. Yet even at this time, Zambili was becoming aware that her nation was not going to be united by her relationship with British.

In April 1889, Colonel Martin visited the Thonga queen for a second time to further induce her to the idea of a protectorate. He observed that Zambili's attitude had changed. In her homestead the Portuguese flag was hoisted. The British government protested against the government of Portugal and the flag was hauled down. At the same time Zambili wanted to be released from the original treaty of 1887.[61] In May 1889, the Queen of Thongaland turned to the Portuguese for protection. Unfortunately,

[60] BPP, C 6200, 1890, 88. Somershield to Martin, (10 June 1888).
[61] BPP, C 6200, 1890, 166-167.

Zambili's request was denied by the Portuguese because of agreements made between the Portuguese and the British government to respect their territories. At this time, Havelock reminded Zambili about their agreement of 1887 that prohibited her country from allowing any foreign power without the approval of the British Government.[62]

Beside the Boer Republic and German competitors to the British government in Thongaland, were private companies who were rushing for private land. Colonel Coope, an agent of the Maputaland Syndicate Company, submitted papers to Havelock saying that chiefs Ncamana and Sibonda had granted him concessions. Coope claimed that these two chiefs were independent from the Zulu and Maputa kingdoms.[63] Havelock told Coope that Ncamana and Sibonda were the subjects of the British government since Zululand was annexed in 1887. To justify that the two chiefs were British subjects, Havelock cited the fact that they fought during the Zulu Civil War in 1884. It is important to mention that prior to the competition over Maputaland the British had defined the area of chiefs Ncamana and Sibonda as being under Thongaland. However, the disagreement between British and Zambili over the protectorate raised some suspicions among British colonial officials that Zambili would influence chiefs Ncamana and Sibonda to accept Portuguese protection. This would make the British lose important areas on the east coast. In his letter to Havelock, Knutsford revealed the danger of what may happen in the areas of chiefs Ncamana and Sibonda. Knutsford became aware that once Ncamana and Sibonda supported the Portuguese, the British were going to lose Sodwana Bay, which was under Sibonda's ward.[64]

---

[62] Axelson, Portugal *and the Scramble for Africa,* 107; Warhurst, "Britain and Partition of Maputo."
[63] BPP, C6200, 1890, 109. Knutsford to Havelock.
[64] BPP, C6200, 1890. Knutsford to Havelock, 21 February 1889.

In addition to Coope's claim, a dispute emerged between Zambili and chief Ncamana in 1889, and Zambili seized Ncamana's cattle. Ncamana reported the seizure of his cattle to the British colonial government. Zambili was summoned to explain the seizing of Ncamana's cattle. The British government insisted that the southern petty chiefs were British subjects because they had paid tribute to Cetshwayo. Zambili was also reminded to be careful not to violate the treaty of 1887.[65] At this time Zambili became aware that the British government was confiscating the Maputan land in the southern territory. She protested:

> Zambili is surprised now to hear that these petty chiefs, who live in her country, are claimed as British subjects, which country has always been recognised as hers; and she says that in the late Panda's [Mpande] an Cetshwayo's time the Umkuze River was regarded as the boundary between the Zulu and Tonga countries; and that this river has always been recognised as the boundary, in her communications to and from the government... she says that if these chiefs belong to the British government they should be moved out of her country into Zululand. She has never given up this country, and claims it now.[66]

Havelock commissioned Melmoth Osborn, the resident commissioner for Zululand, to investigate the allegiance of the petty chiefs living in the eastern Lubombo Mountains. His report suggested that these chiefs did not belong to Tongaland. Charles Saunders was appointed to extend the northern Zululand boundary to incorporate chiefs Sibonda, Ncamana, Fokoti, Mjindi and Manaba into Zululand. The extension of this boundary was not only going to stop Zambili's claim in the areas of these chiefs, but was also designed in a manner that all the land claimed by the Maputaland Syndicate Company and Republic government was incorporated into Zululand which was already under the British since 1887.[67] At the end of July 1889, Saunders started his journey.[68]

---

[65] Axelson, Portugal *and the Scramble for Africa,* 108-109.
[66] BPP, C 6200, 1890, 127. Message from Zambili by Masololo, Kwezi, Unkonka and Ludaka to Governor of Zululand, forwarded by Osborn, (15 March 1889).
[67] BPP, C 6200, 1890, 226-227. Maps fig 2 and 4 in pages 72 and 73 below show the shifting boundaries

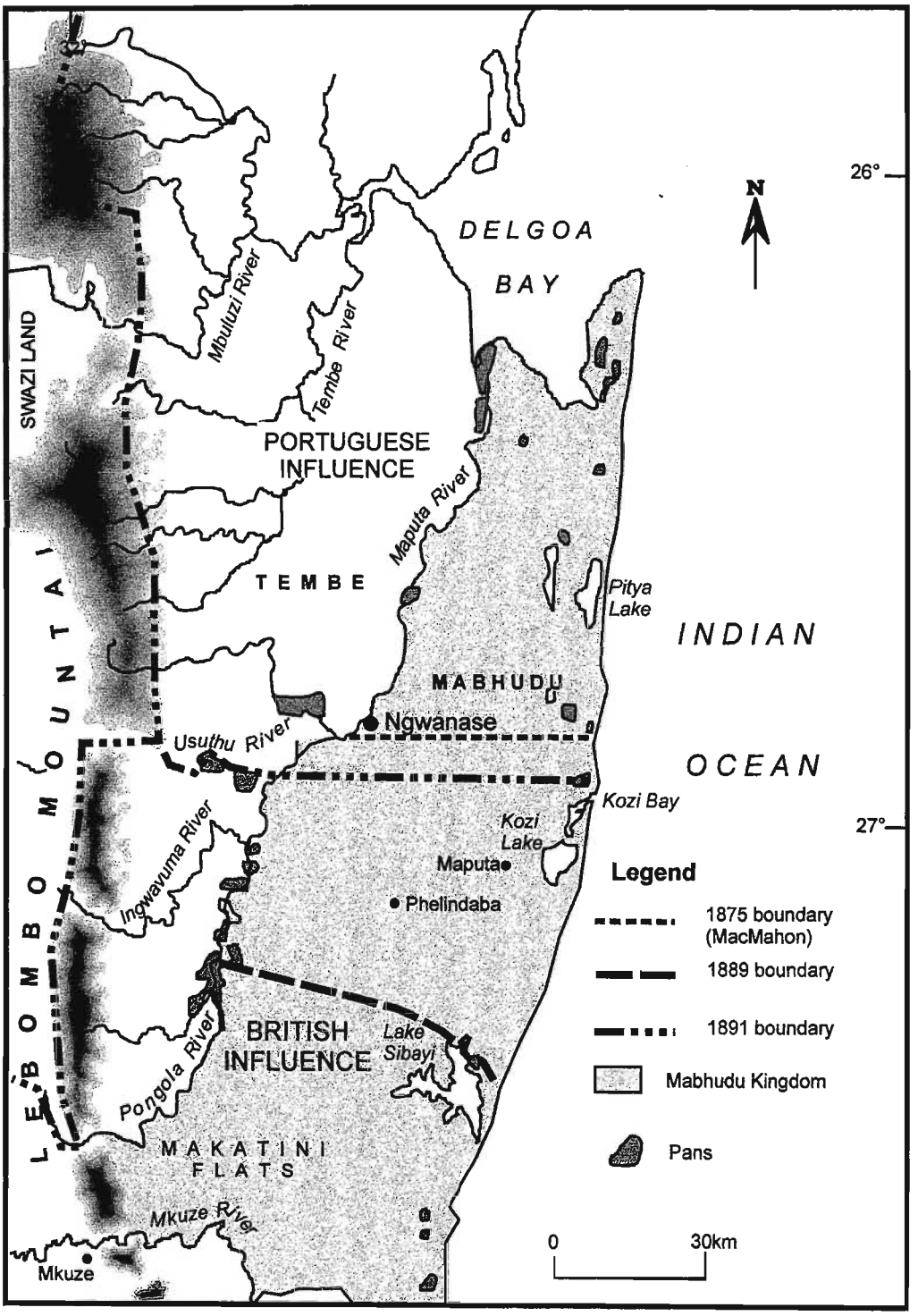
In the presence of Zambili's headmen, Saunders redefined the northern Zululand boundary, while collecting tax from incorporated chiefs to make sure that these chiefs understood that they were now the British subjects. This incident changed the map of Maputaland and Zululand. Maputaland lost almost half of its country to Zululand. The Zululand boundary was pushed more than sixty kilometres north, from the Mkhuze River to Lake Sibaya in the east and the Phongola River in the west. Map No. 2 shows that Maputaland lost huge land from Mkhuze River to Lake Sibayi. Map No. 4 is the present Maputaland after the northern and southern parts of Maputa kingdom were removed from the jurisdiction of Maputan leaders.

The extension of the northern Zulu boundary released the British government from fears of Afrikaner and German involvement in, at least, the southern regions of Maputaland, which was based on the independence of those chiefs. Zambili was uncertain how to secure Thonga authority. She requested to be released from the treaty of Amity, signed in 1887, because the British had violated it by crossing the Mkhuze River and adding part of her country to Zululand. The British told her that only the Great Queen of England could alter the treaty. In addition to that, Zambili was reminded that the Thonga nation had been tributaries of Cetshwayo who had been

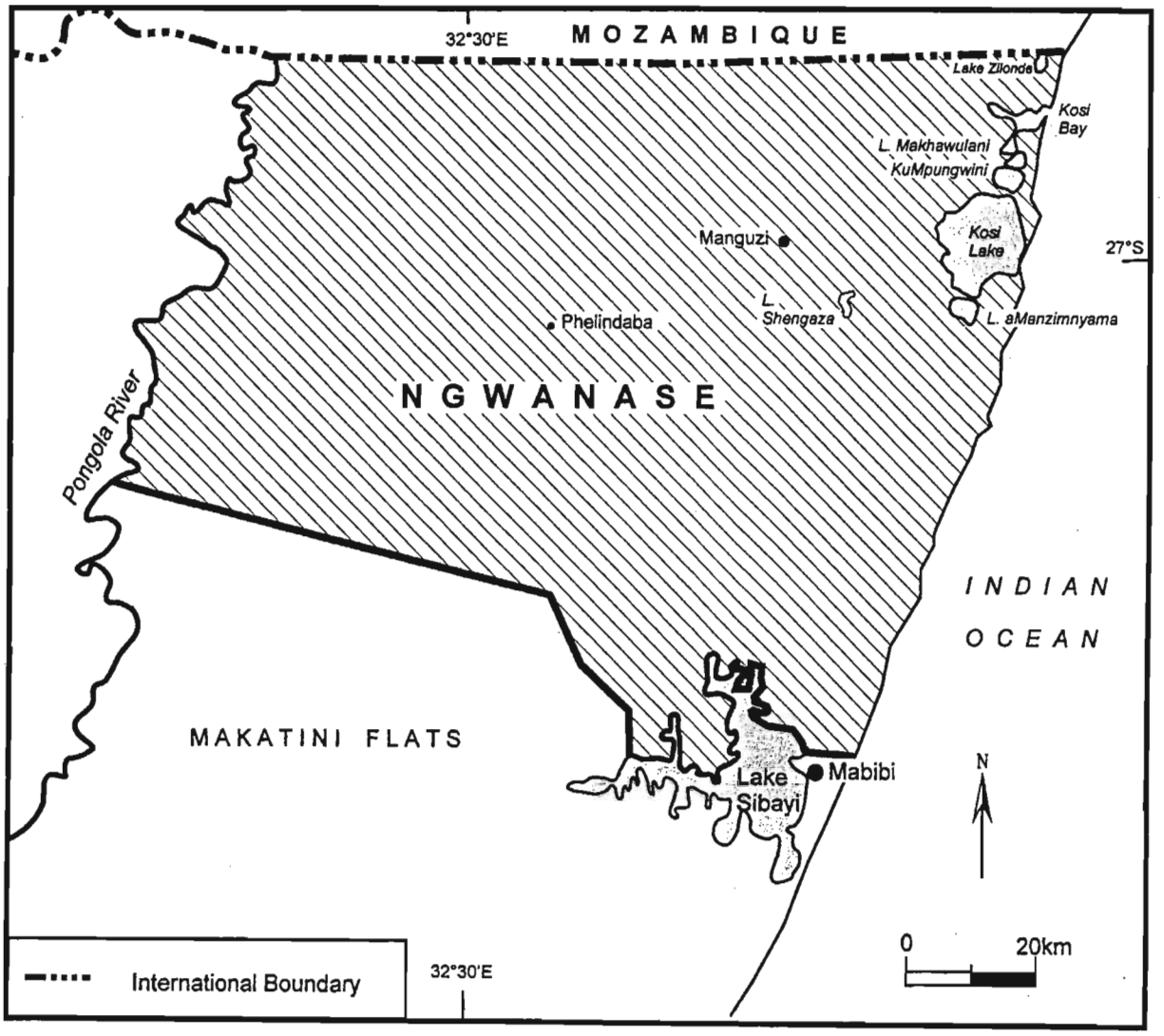
---

of Maputa Kingdom. Before 1889, the southern boundary of Maputa kingdom was Mkhuze River, which was moved by Saunders extension of northen Zululand boundaries to Lake Sibayi. These maps represents the report made by Saunders after his mission of demarcating Zulu and Tongaland boundaries in September 1889. Map 2 also shows the shifting of boundaries in northen Maputaland during the MacMahon line and the later 1891 agreement between the Portuguese and British government a boundary that became the present international boundary between Mozambique and South Africa. It should be noted that the international boundary appearing in Map 4 only represent the present, at the time of shifting these boundaries there was no international boundary.

[68] BPP, C 6200, 1890, 201-202, Mitchell to Knutford, (9 September 1889).



Map 5: Boundaries-1875,1889, 1891



Map 6: Maputaland - 1889

conquered by the Queen of England, so the Thonga nation was also a part of the British possessions. On March 1, 1890 Zambili sent envoys to the Portuguese hoping that they would annex her entire kingdom. Unfortunately her emissaries sent to the Portuguese government received a further rebuff.[69]

At this time disagreements emerged within the Maputa kingdom as to which foreign government they should pay allegiance. Some elders supported the Portuguese because they felt it was demanding less tax than the British government. This dispute motivated

[69] BPP, C.6200, 1890, 253.

Shimaka, another son of chief Noziyingile from another wife, to plot the assassination of Queen Zambili and her son Ngwanase so that he would take over the Maputa chieftainship and remain under the Portuguese government. However, Zambili was quick to act. Shimaka and other people involved in this conspiracy were assassinated.[70]

Ngwanase and the Portuguese government

In 1894 Ngwanase assumed the chieftaincy from his mother, Queen Zambili. He soon came into conflict with the Portuguese officials over tax and labour. At this time African chiefdoms experienced difficulties as colonial powers seek to extended their sovereignty over African states. There was a lot of pressure on African leaders as some chiefs were forced or bribed by European powers to fight on their side against chiefs who were resisting colonial authority.[71] In 1894 Ngwanase was requested to assist the Portuguese government in suppressing the Mahazul uprising, another Thonga chiefdom in Portuguese territory. After the Portuguese armed Ngwanase's people, the Maputa army withdrew from the war. On their way back they looted the Portuguese properties, and this incident made Ngwanase an enemy of the Portuguese government.

Like his mother's reign, Ngwanase's reign of the Maputa kingdom created several problems for him. In the southern border of Maputa kingdom, Ngwanase clashed with chiefs who were now under Zululand since the redefinition of the northern Zululand boundary in 1889. Ngwanase began to communicate with the Resident Magistrates in Zululand in regard to thefts of his property taken to Zululand. In a letter that he wrote in November 1894, he tried to be polite with the British government and used words such as, "I obey the Queen of England" which was interpreted as meaning that he was

[70] Warhurst, "Britain and The Partition of Maputo,"15.
[71] D.M. Schreuder. *The Scramble for Southern Africa 1877-1895: The Politics of Partition Reappraised.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

accepting a protectorate. As a result an officer was dispatched to inform him that his people and territory were under the protection of Britain. A formal declaration of a British Protectorate over Thongaland was made on May 30, 1895.[72]

Ngwanase became more concerned about the partition of his country and was looking for any assistance. However, having clashed with the Portuguese and British governments, he did not know what to do. Thus, he wrote a letter, through Isaac Mavilu Tembe, his secretary, to Paul Kruger, the President of the South African Republic, promising elephant tusks and requesting him to help in securing the unity of the Thonga country.[73] However, once Tongaland became a British Protectorate, there was nothing that the Republic could do. In June 1896 an Order in Council was passed empowering the Special Commissioner for Thongaland to appoint subordinate executive and judicial officers and to legislate by Proclamation when instructed to do so by Imperial Government.

On the other hand, the Portuguese were ready to invade the Maputa kingdom as a revenge against the withdrawal of the Maputan soldiers army from the Portuguese army. In 1896 rumours reached Ngwanase that the Portuguese were going to attack his kraal.[74] In the same year Ngwanase was forced to flee his country from the Portuguese territory, and he submitted himself to the British colonial government fearing revenge from the Portuguese. According to the oral accounts of the members of Makhuza, Ngwanase moved to the chiefdom of Makhuza that was established by Madingi in the early 19th century and he was no more a chief. However, the evidence of Ngwanase

[72] BPP, C. 7780, 54.
[73] Transvaal: Correspondence, N/A, TAP, SSα 13F 152(GR 361/95), Ngwanase to Paul Kruger, (9 September 1895).
[74] Perhaps Bukiwe Tembe, whose stories I have discussed in the introduction, was referring to this period when she said that Ngwanase wanted to kill Makhuza so that Ngwanase could take over the chieftaincy.

family suggests that Ngwanase had moved to new territory within the land of Maputa kingdom.

Finally, the two Tembe families that had become separated in the 19th century had to live together and soon the conflict over chieftainship emerged; yet the evidence of this conflict only exists in oral evidence. The house of Madingi remained unknown to the British government. This chapter has given the historical background of the Tembe family and how the presence of European powers finally forced the Maputa royal family under the leadership of Ngwanase to flee their country. The next chapter deals with Ngwanase and the consolidation of his power in British Maputaland. It is important to mention that while there is immense evidence from the government records on the rule of Ngwanase in this new territory, there are no records showing Ngwanase's interaction with people who were already living in the area that he had moved to in 1896. From these sources, it is not clear whether Ngwanase was accepted or struggled with local people; thus, oral accounts collected from local people for this thesis will be used to supplement the colonial records.

Chapter three

British-Natal Colonial Government and the Rise to Dominance of Ngwanase, 1896-1948

The historiography of the colonial state has often depicted the state as a strong and coercive force that subjugated the local people. However, the case of Maputaland where the British and Natal colonial presence was limited to an administrative structure, the dominance and the role of the colonial state should be questioned. Although Chief Ngwanase Tembe became a subject of the British-Natal colony, his rule of Maputaland in a colonial period suggests that he saw himself as being above the colonial government. He used his relationship with colonial government to consolidate his power and to become dominant in a region where he had just settled. The strength of traditions and the weakness of the colonial state in Maputaland provided opportunities for Ngwanase to work the system to his own advantage, which resulted in his dominance of this region. Maputaland was a Cinderella region in Natal's colonial politics, which received little attention and hence generated less correspondence.[1]

The reasons for tracing the authority of chief Ngwanase in this region are twofold. Firstly, in order to understand why the Tembe and Ngubane families fight over resources in Maputaland, as is happening at the present, it is necessary to start by tracing the authority of the Maputa royal family. Secondly, an examination of other sources of information that question the dominance of the Maputa royal family in

[1] The involvement of the British colonial government in Maputaland was for strategic reasons; there was no intention of developing this region. The relationship between the Maputa kingdom and the British government started in 1887 when Charles Saunders visited the Thonga Queen. In the years after 1887, Britain became even more interested in consolidating its power in south-eastern Africa to out-play other European countries. When Sir Garnet Wolseley devised a new settlement after the Anglo-Zulu War dividing Zululand into thirteen territories, the northern part of Maputaland was adjudged Portuguese under the MacMahon award, while south of 26°30 was independent, only in treaty relations with Britain. Once the British colonial government was sure that there was no competition in this region, the area was left under the leadership of a few officials who could not run it without the assistance of traditional leadership. See, Schreuder, *The Scramble for Southern Africa 1877-1895*; Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, 1875-1891*; Garson, "The Swaziland Question and a Road to Sea."

Maputaland will contribute to our understanding of the extent of Ngwanase's authority. The oral evidence from the members of the Makhuza Tembe branch and the Ngubane people suggest that the ancestors of the two above families originally ruled the area that was ruled by Ngwanase from 1896. However, as the previous chapters show, the evidence of the Makhuza and Ngubane in Maputaland was not documented. Studies conducted in Maputaland often ignored the evidence of this event.[2] In the colonial documents, however, Ngwanase appears to have been the only ruler of Maputaland region.

Previous chapters have given the historical background of the Tembe kingdom and shown how the presence of imperial powers complicated the structure of Maputa Kingdom in the late nineteenth century.[3] These events forced Ngwanase to flee his capital and submit himself to the British colonial government already controlling the southern part of Maputaland since this area was declared a British Protectorate in 1895. In this region Ngwanase became a paramount chief, and even after his death, his descendants have remained in power to this day.

Historians today are faced with the challenge of examining the strategies that were used by Ngwanase in consolidating his power. It is important to review the traditional systems of political control that allowed Ngwanase to have a strong influence on the people who lived in Maputaland. When Ngwanase migrated to this region in 1896, Makhuza was by then ruling as the third generation counting from the founder of this chiefdom, Madingi Tembe in the early nineteenth century.[4]

---

[2] The limitation of oral history is that in most cases the story is told as folktales and interviewees usually put themselves in the story that makes it appear a simple story rather than historical evidence. Noverino Canonici in his book, *The Zulu Folktale Tradition* observed that in the telling of oral traditions, people invent or add some information so that when the story is told the audience admires it. However the core of the story does not change. It becomes the duty of a researcher to double check with different respondents. See N. Canonici, *The Zulu Folktale Tradition*. Zulu Language and Literature. (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1993), 40-49.

[3] Chapter two of this thesis gives details on how Maputaland was affected during the Scramble for Africa that led to the division of this country among the Portuguese and British colonial powers.

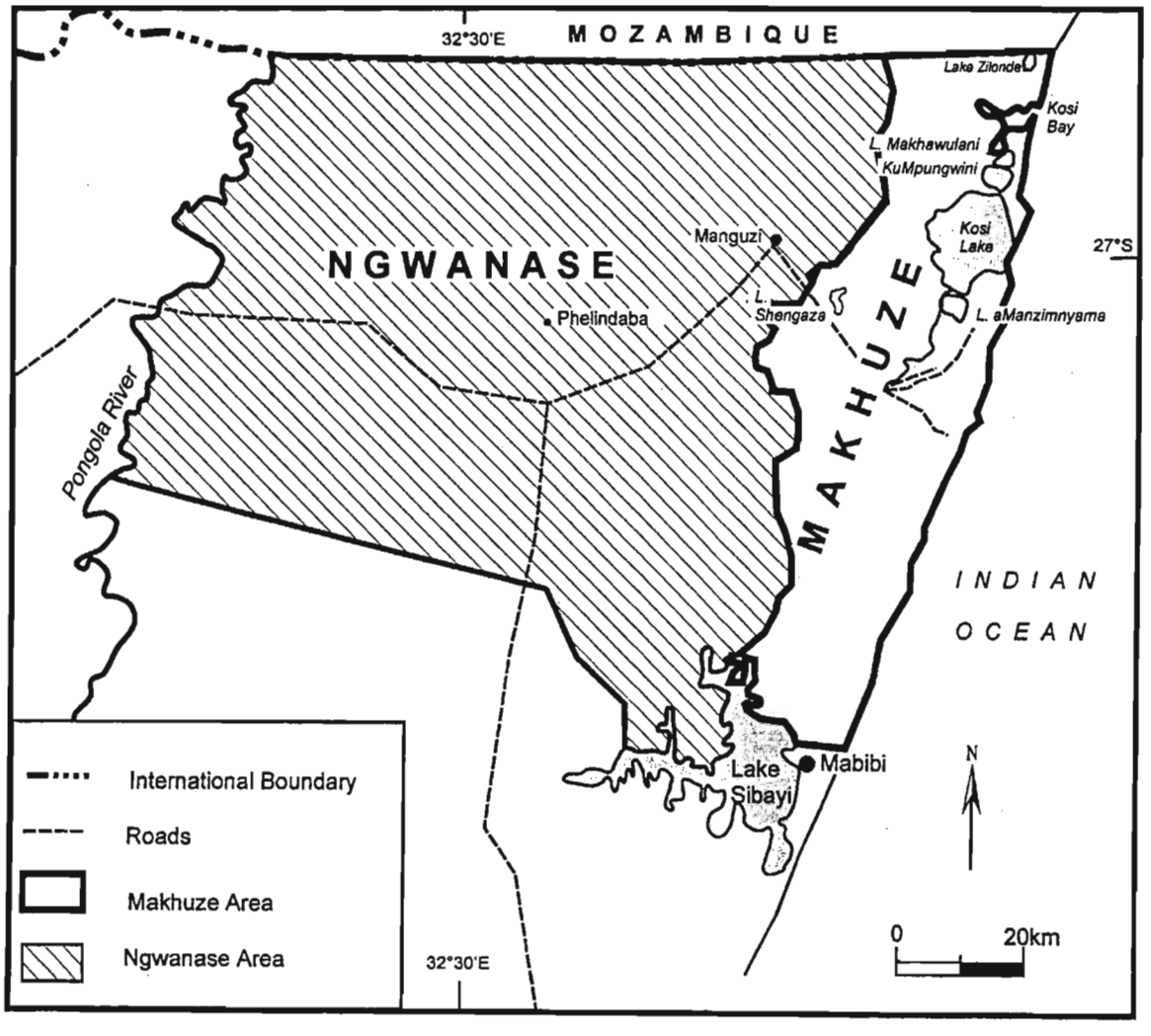
[4] Chapter two of this thesis gives details of the fragmentation of the Tembe family in the early nineteenth century, and the formation of the sub-Maputan chiefdom under the leadership of Madingi Tembe.

"Dhlaya shibongo": the role of marriage in chieftainship

When Ngwanase arrived in British Maputaland in 1896, a problem arose as to who was supposed to be a paramount chief, Ngwanase or Makhuza. After several meetings in which the problem was debated, it was eventually decided that Ngwanase should become the paramount chief because he was from the senior house of the Maputa royal family. It should be recalled that Ngwanase was a descendant of the Maputa royal family that had once ruled from Delagoa Bay to the Mkhuze River during the reign of king Mabhudu Tembe. In this view the area that was ruled by Madingi and later by Makhuza Tembe was within the jurisdiction of the Maputa royal family.

Although Makhuza believed that he was ruling his grandfather's (Madingi) independent chiefdom, which had nothing to do with the royal family, he accepted the decision of Ngwanase being the paramount chief. According to the Tembe customs, Ngwanase was entitled to occupy a senior position because his mother, Zambili was a Swazi Princess, a daughter of King Mswati.[5] In the Thonga tradition, the son of the daughter of a king usually occupies a higher position among other wives of the chief or king. Thus, Makhuza whose mother did not come from a royal family was forced to hand over the chieftaincy to Ngwanase as the way of recognizing that seniority. The system allows the role of marriage to differentiate power in a wider political context. The two Tembe families reached an agreement and Ngwanase became a paramount chief, ruling the western part of Maputa kingdom; Makhuza was left to rule the coastal Maputaland in the area between Kosi Bay and Lake Sibaya. It can be argued that this decision still gave Makhuza powers similar to Ngwanase and in that way did not resolve the conflict; instead it allowed two chiefs in one area. It became a short-term solution causing more trouble at a later stage as the two families are still fighting over this issue.

[5] Many people in Maputaland can still recall that Zambili was a daughter of King Mswati. Her name Zambili means 'two girls.' The Tembe people gave her this name after marrying Noziyingili Tembe, the father of Ngwanase. Two girls mean that she was the second daughter of King Mswati to marry the Thonga chief. The first one died after marriage, then her sister replaced her.



Map 7: Phelindaba Agreement - 1896

In this arrangement Makhuza was left with the powers to rule his ward and to appoint his own headmen without any interference from the paramount chief (Ngwanase), however Makhuza was not recognized as a chief by the colonial government and he did not receive a salary. This means that although Ngwanase became a "paramount chief" he did not have authority over the ward of Makhuza. The two "cousins" ruled parallel to each other with Ngwanase in a higher position than Makhuza. After reaching this amicable settlement, Makhuza helped Ngwanase establish his new royal homestead in an area called Mfihlweni, renaming it after his old royal homestead.[6] During interviews

[6]Junod, *The life of a South African Tribe*, 406. Interview with MaGumede, Mahlambani River in

for this research, it was clear that the construction of Ngwanase's homestead by the followers of Makhuza is cited by the descendants of Makhuza family as generosity of Makhuza to his "cousin." The same incident has been interpreted by the members of Ngwanase as demonstration that Makhuza was a subject of Ngwanase he was therefore respecting and serving his king.

Once Ngwanase was settled, he desired to extend his territory. Unlike other chiefs who chose violence to extend their authority, Ngwanase manipulated Thonga traditional systems of marriage arrangements to extend his authority over the people originally ruled by Makhuza. Generally, it was common in Thonga traditions as well as in other African customs for the daughters of kings or chiefs to marry into another royal family if not a wealthy family.[7] This was possible because parents could arrange for such marriages to occur. Ngwanase used this tradition to arrange for the marriage of his two sisters to Makhuza. The Thonga custom allows people of the same clan name to marry, an uncommon custom amongst the Zulu people. Junod, who has documented Thonga customs, observed that when people of the same clan or relatives married, a cow was slaughtered, and this tradition was called *dhlaya shibongo* meaning 'destroying the relationship.'[8] This allowed Makhuza to marry Ngwanase's sisters, even though the two chiefs were considered "cousins." Makhuza began to give more land to Ngwanase when he requested it, because their relationship was more than that of a "cousin" but was now a brother-in-law.[9] Yet the members of the royal family now claim that Makhuza was supposed to give land to Ngwanase because Makhuza was just a

---

Maputaland, (5 November 1997). Her husband who was living under Makhuza ward travelled to Mfihlweni, Ngwanase's royal homestead, to help with building the homestead. MaGumede had carried food to her husband during the construction of Ngwanase's new palace.

[7] A. Clerc, "The Marriage Laws of the Ronga Tribe (Specially the Clans of the Maputo District, South of the Espirito Santo, Portuguese East Africa)," *Bantu Studies* XII (2), (1938), 75-104; Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kinship," 625-627; Junod, *The Life of a South Africa Tribe*, 350-354; and for a discussion of the connection between marriage and power in other parts of Southern Africa *see* A. Kuper, "Zulu Kinship Terminology over a Century," *Journal of Anthropological Research* XXXV (3),(1979), 373-383.

[8] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 243; Similar views were expressed during the research of this thesis, for instance, Interview with Albert Tembe at Star of the Sea, Maputaland, (7 November 1997). He maintained that many families were married with this custom. Also interview with Walter Tembe at Thengani, in Maputaland, (10 November 1999).

[9] Interview with Walter Tembe at Thengani, Maputaland, (10 November 1999).

headman who happened to rule Maputaland on behalf of the Maputa royal when the Maputa king was residing on the Portuguese territory.[10]

As more people moved from the Portuguese territory to follow Ngwanase in the south, he began to beg for more land from Makhuza. Whilst Ngwanase ruled the west part of Maputaland, some of his brothers and sons such as Mahlungula, Joji, Mshudu and Nyamazana were settled in Makhuza's territory. This was a very important strategy for Ngwanase to have his relatives in Makhuza's ward, for the brothers and sons of a chief automatically become headmen on behalf of the chief. This means that the land and people that were originally ruled by Makhuza would now fall under the authority of Ngwanase. Because African boundaries are based on paying allegiance, it meant that once a headman changed his loyalty, the boundaries also changed; thus people who were under the headmen related to the royal family automatically became the followers of chief Ngwanase even though they were initially under the leadership of Makhuza.

Although Makhuza spread his sons in the coastal Maputaland as his headmen, some headmen were members of other clans not related to the Makhuza clan. For example, there were members of the clans such as the Ntuli, Mdletshe, Khumalo and Ngubane who were allowed to rule their clans under the leadership of Makhuza. Through the custom of marriage arrangements, Ngwanase was able to extend his authority over the areas ruled by these headmen even if those headmen were in the Makhuza district.[11] For example, Ngwanase arranged for his sister to marry Mabole Mdletshe, a headman under Makhuza's authority living in the Lake Sibaya area. Ngwanase knew that by having his sister married to Mdletshe, he was establishing a good relationship with the neighbouring clan. More importantly, he understood that once his sister married Mdletshe, the marriage custom would work to his advantage. This custom says that the son born to a woman who comes from the royal family automatically becomes an heir.

[10] Interview with MaMkhwanazi Tembe at Thandizwe, Maputaland, (5 November 1997).
[11] Interview with Walter Tembe at Thengani, Maputaland, (10 November 1999).

This means that the son born to Ngwanase's sister would become Mdletshe's successor. Once his sister's son or his nephew became a headman, he would report to his uncle Ngwanase instead of Makhuza. This would mean that the area that originally fell under Makhuza's authority would in future fall under chief Ngwanase.[12] Ngwanase used this strategy in various parts of Maputaland, as Hennchen Prozesky, a missionary working in Maputaland, observed that an ordinary man at Mloli area became a headman because he was married to Ngwanase's sister.[13] It is important to note that it was possible for these arrangements to work because the status of a man married to the sister of a king or chief automatically changes, thus, an ordinary man can assume a position as headman, an attractive position if one considers the benefits of power and tributes.

Where marriages could not work, Ngwanase used other methods to seize Makhuza's land. An example of Ngwanase encroaching into Makhuza's land is the story of Magali.[14] Magali was a son of Makhuza who was a headman in a district north of Kosi Bay. After the death of Magali, his wife Mpakla succeeded him because his sons were not yet of age to take over as headman. Although the date of this event is not known, the evidence from this narrative suggests that it was in the period when Ngwanase was beginning to consolidate his power in Maputaland. According to this narrative, Ngwanase and his advisors became aware that a small part of Makhuza's ward was under the 'headman-ship' of a woman after a man died. However, Ngwanase could not just appoint his relative in Magali's place because that would have caused him a conflict with Makhuza. Ngwanase realized that the only way he could get control of

[12]Interview with Walter Tembe at Thengani in Maputaland, (10 November 1999). Walter argued that since Ngwanase's sister got a son with the Mdletshe headman, the son succeeded his father Mdletshe. Thus, the Mdletshe clan began to pay allegiance to the house of Ngwanase despite the fact that Makhuza Tembe gave the Mdletshe clan a position of headman.

[13] E. M. Hurcombe, "The Lady of The Helmet." (1940), unpublished manuscripts, housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban. These manuscripts contained missionary activities performed by Hennchen Prozesky in Maputaland in 1925. She wrote that she met chief Ngwanase and observed how he distributed his power in Maputaland.

[14] Masuku Tembe, the living member of Magali family, told the evidence of this event. The members of Makhuza as proof that the house of Ngwanase stole Makhuza's chieftainship recorded the story. Makhuzas gave a copy of this document to me during the research of this thesis. The document is titled, "Umlando Ngendlu kaMqingampondo," which means the history of the house of Mqingampondo, another name of Magali.

that district would be to send his young son, Mazambane, to become a member of Magali's family so that this son would later take over as headman if the opportunity arose. Ngwanase sent Mazambane while he was a boy to live with Mpakla. Mpakla agreed unaware, of Ngwanase's ulterior motives.[15] The problem arose after the death of Mpakla. Mpakla's sons were attracted to labour migration and none of them showed interest to succeed in their father's position.

Thus, Ngwanase seized the opportunity to intervene by proposing that Mazambane be appointed as a headman of that district for a short time. This proposal was accepted because Mazambane had already gained experience in administration as he worked with Mpakla. Mazambane was therefore appointed as headman of Magali's district. Instead of reporting to Makhuza, Mazambane reported to Ngwanase. Thus, a land that originally belonged to Makhuza fell under Ngwanase. This story epitomizes the methods used by Ngwanase to intrude in the land of Makhuza. The area is still as *kwa*Mazambane and this would make it difficult for Makhuza's descendants to recall that Mazambane area was once a part of land under their ancestor's authority even if they want to make a claim.

Other methods used by Ngwanase involved building small capitals in the areas ruled by Makhuza. Ngwanase was not the first chief to use these strategies; the Thonga kings who ruled before Ngwanase also used them. Junod wrote that in Thonga culture, chiefs generally place their wives in various provinces of their chiefdom as a way of governing the area. Chiefs would pay visits and stay for days in these secondary capitals, and thereby keep in touch with their subjects all over their territories.[16]

[15] In Thonga culture it was a common habit for a woman who had just got married to receive a child from another relative, especially at that time when she has not yet had children. The child could help her either in the kitchen if it is a girl or looking after the cattle if a boy. A married woman could treat such a child as hers and could live with her up until the child is grown up and ready to get married. If it happens that she does not get a child in her marriage that child become hers. Sometimes this tradition takes place in families where a grandmother is living alone, perhaps her children are grown up and married or out of the homestead as migrant workers.

[16] Junod, *The life of a South African Tribe*, 409-410. The same was true in other areas of Zululand. Magamenkosi Mkhwanazi interviewed in Mtubatuba, (22 June 2000). He emphasized that the brothers

However, Junod also observed that another effective way for Thonga chiefs to control their territories were to place their sons or close relatives in different territories. These sons or relatives would become headmen or sub-chiefs, and the chiefs could claim authority over those regions. The Magali's story is an example of Ngwanase's tricks to consolidate his power by placing his relatives in different districts. In some cases this occurred by arrangement with Makhuza, yet there were times where Ngwanase would take Makhuza's land without consulting Makhuza as in the story of Magali.[17]

Gradually, Ngwanase became a recognized chief in Maputaland, and his authority grew across areas originally ruled by Makhuza. Today it is difficult for historians to trace the Makhuzas'claim. A song from the pupils of Threlfall School in 1925 suggests that Ngwanase was a great king in Maputaland. The first verse goes:

Ses' fikile Ngwanas' Ngwanas' Ngwanase
Ses' fikile ngwanas', Mkhulu wetu!
Sit' bayete! Umkulu wetu!
Sesi lapha Ngwana! Umkulu wetu!
Amehlo ayajabula, jabula, jabula!
Amehlo ayajabula, ukubona wena!

This can be closely translated as saying:

We have arrived Ngwanas' Ngwanas, Ngwanas
We have arrived Ngwanas! Our Great Father
We say bayete! Our Great Father!
Here we are Ngwanas'! Our Great Father!
Our eyes are glad, are glad
Our eyes are glad to behold you

Prozesky visited chief Ngwanase in 1925 at Mfihlweni, bringing the pupils from Threlfall Mission School. After arriving at the Tembe royal homestead they chanted

---

and sons of chief Mkhwanazi of Mtubatuba are spread all over the Mtubatuba region to rule on behalf of the Mkhwanazi royal family.

[17] In his paper, "From Lake St Lucia to Delagoa Bay: African trade route and European buffer zone: The Ingwavuma dispute in historical perspective," a paper written for the conference on Research in Progress in South Africa, (March, 1983). Graham Dominy mistakenly assumed that in all cases Ngwanase placed his relatives by arrangements with local lineage heads. However, this was not always the case.

this song. The song may not be viewed as strong evidence to support Ngwanase's dominance in Maputaland, but one may argue that its words suggest that Ngwanase was recognized all over Maputaland.

Some people believe that Makhuza was forced to hand over the chieftainship to Ngwanase because he would have been killed if he had not surrendered. An example of this narrative is Bukiwe's story about Ngwanase's attempt to assassinate Makhuza in the family feast told in the introduction of this thesis. Given that Makhuza knew the danger he was approaching, it is possible that he decided not to risk his life but to hand over power to Ngwanase. The combination of traditional systems such as marriage arrangements, family relationships and other strategies helped Ngwanase to become dominant in Maputaland. However, the oral evidence from the members of Makhuza also suggests that the presence of the British colonial government in Maputaland further strengthened the status of the house of Ngwanase. An opportunity is therefore given to examine the role of the state in Ngwanase's dominance.

British "indirect" rule in Maputaland

Although the British defeated Zulu kingdom in 1879, it was after 1897 that the colonial control was extended weakly to Zululand.[18] In May 1887, Zululand became the British colony under the administration of the Governor of Natal, who also administered Zululand territory through a Resident Commissioner at Eshowe. The Resident Commissioner supervised Resident Magistrates who were administrating the six districts into which Zululand was divided. Magistrates reported to the Resident Commissioner at Eshowe. Under the magistrates were hereditary chiefs, those in office

[18] John Laband and Paul Thompson, " The Reduction of Zululand, 1878-1904," in A. Duminy, and Bill Guest (eds.), *Natal and Zululand: From Earliest Times to 1910.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1989).

by right of descent and administrative chiefs, created by colonial governments for administrative purposes rather than based on tradition.[19] A chief functioned as customary authority under a magistrate. At this time the colonial state presence in Zululand was only felt by tax collections and the limited nature of colonial state was even worse in far northern Zululand.

In 1893, Natal Colony was given a status of a responsible government. Long before Natal Colony became a responsible government, there was a growing agitation to control Zululand among farmers who saw the coastal belt as suitable for sugar cultivation. They were hoping that by getting access to that land they could make profits. This was a drive to the settlers' demands that Natal Colony be granted responsible government as the Cape Colony. However, the disturbances following division among the Zulu kingdom proved that Zululand was not a safe place to white settlers at that time. The new Resident Commissioner, Sir Marshall Clarke was forced to transform the government's policies in administrating Zululand. For instance, Clarke felt that traditional leadership should be strengthened if peace was to be restored in Zululand.[20] In this way the government protected the powers of chiefs.[21] This was the period when Chief Ngwanase arrived into the British territory.

In 1893, the British colonial administrative policies had changed following the simultaneous retirement of Melmoth Osborn as the Resident Commissioner in Zululand, Sir Charles Mitchell as the Governor of Natal, and the death of Theophilus

---

[19] M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 41-48.
[20] Ruth Edgecombe, "Sir Marshall Clarke and the Abortive Attempt to 'Basutolandise' Zululand, 1893-7." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History.* Vol.1, (1978), 43-53.
[21] Benedict Carton, *Blood From Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000), 59.

Shepstone. Marshal Clarke was appointed as Resident Commissioner in Zululand and Walter Hely Hutchinson as the Governor of Natal and Governor of Zululand.[22] Division and disturbances in Zulu kingdom forced the new Resident Commissioner to change the government's approach in handling the "native" administration. Clarke did not like the Shepstone native administrative system. He believed that Shepstone's approach was encouraging fragmentation of chiefdoms because it eliminated hereditary chiefs and replaced them with administrative chiefs.[23] Clarke also thought that Sheptone's system was sparking opposition among hereditary chiefs that was hindering the development of "native" institutions. He also saw the system as creating an excessive number of chiefs and thereby causing land disputes and faction fights. Furthermore, he criticized the system for being expensive as the government spent a lot of money paying salaries to a number of chiefs.[24]

As a result of the above reasons, Clarke sought to maintain the Zulu traditions, law and the tribal structures. This was different from Shepstone's policy that was focusing on gradual elimination of hereditary chiefs who would then be substituted by administrative chiefs. The newly appointed Resident Commissioner, Clarke thought that his approach would provide some uniformity in the administration of native law. It was within this context that King Dinuzulu was released from St. Helena in 1898, a strong traditional leadership such as that of Zulu king was needed to heal Zulu divisions and help British and Natal colonial government consolidate its administration of Zululand.[25] Chief Ngwanase who had just arrived in British territory found an

[22] The new Governor assumed his office on 19 May 1893 and Clarke in August 1893.
[23] *Annals of Natal* (London, 1938) cited by Ruth Edgecombe, "Sir Marshall Clarke and the Abortive Attempt to 'Basutolandise' Zululand."
[24] Ruth Edgecombe, "Sir Marshall Clarke and the Abortive Attempt to 'Basutolandise' Zululand".
[25] B. Carton, *Blood from Your Children*, 63; John, Laband, "The Reduction of Zululand," 219; Edgecombe, "Sir Marshall Clarke and the Abortive Attempt to 'Basutolandise' Zululand", 43-53.

opportunity within the context of Clarke's policies to consolidate his power in Maputaland.

Although Maputaland was declared a British Protectorate in 1895, the British-Natal colonial government was looking for an opportunity to incorporate Maputaland under Natal.[26] Indeed, a few days before the British announced the incorporation of Zululand to Natal, Maputaland (Tongaland) was fully annexed by Britain albeit that this country had never formed part of Zulu kingdom.[27] The kingdom of Maputa lost its status by becoming chiefdom under the Zulu kingdom, yet it took more than seventy years for Zulu kingdom to control Maputaland. Chapter four and five give details on this point.

Ngwanase's submission of the Maputa country to the British government in 1896 was accepted because it was along the interests of the British to seal off the Republican government and Germans from getting access to the sea through Kosi Bay. Even though Maputaland had already became the British Protectorate, a complete annexation without war was seen as a benefit to the government. Magistracies, Ubombo, Ingwavuma and Maputaland were established to administer the northern Zululand. However, the British government faced serious problems in administering this region; there were no roads in Maputaland, and the country had too many streams and swamps that were the ideal living quarters of mosquitoes, which carry malaria. Horses and oxen was the only transport that could be used; yet even these animals were vulnerable to animal diseases such as rinderpest.[28]

---

[26]Pietermaritzburg Archives (PAR), (Minute Papers) Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), R1266/ 1544/1897, Saunders to Foxon, (22 May 1897).

[27] P. Harries, "History, Ethnicity and Ingwavuma Land Deal: the Zulu Northern Frontier in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Natal and Zululand History*, Vol. 6, (1983), 17-21.

[28]Blue Book, C.6200, 1890,16; Charles Saunders described the difficulty of travelling in Maputaland when he visited Tembe royal family to ratify the treaty with Queen Zambili. A Zulu man who

Many white officials were not prepared to risk their lives in Maputaland; Ngwanase became an answer to the question of how the territory was to be administered.[29] At the time when the colonial government was looking at the means to impose its authority on Zululand, Ngwanase came adding a large parcel of land to the British territory. The colonial government did not need to spend money because Ngwanase brought land without resistance. Ngwanase must have been viewed as the chief who was going to represent the colonial presence in the region that was proving to be difficult to administer.[30] Ngwanase's importance to the colonial government cannot be underestimated, especially if it is considered that Ngwanase was going to collect taxes for the government, and he was also going to play an important role preventing the encroachment of the Portuguese government in British territory where the presence of state was very light following the limited number of British colonial officers. Ngwanase must have come at the right time and ready to do the government work. Yet as we shall see, Ngwanase's recognition by the British colonial government was also beneficial to him, as it gave him a dominant position in a region he had just arrived without any serious threat from the leaders who were already residing in that area.

Attempts to employ white officers to work in Maputaland were unsuccessful following the threat of malaria and such officials would have required an additional allowance in

---

accompanied him on this trip died from malarial infection. The material that was to be used in construction was to be transported via the Portuguese territory along the Maputa River to reach Maputaland.

[29] Mr Hulley, the magistrate of Ingwavuma complained about conditions in Maputaland after his first visit. He described the area as having many streams and pans. He had no doubt that they were running a risk of contracting malaria fever by travelling in Maputaland.

[30] Even if Ngwanase did not submit himself the British government could still do what they wanted about his country as they had already done in 1875 and repeated in 1889 by extending the northern boundaries of Zululand. Maputaland was made a protectorate in 1895, but peaceful means was the first choice because they wanted to look like they were nice people who negotiated.

their salaries.[31] This would have been a high expenditure for the government in a country that was only needed for strategic reasons. It seems as if Clarke acknowledged the importance of the presence of Chief Ngwanase in a letter that he wrote to the Acting Magistrate at Ubombo, Dr Stephens, warning him, "not to harass the unfortunate chief" with unnecessary orders.[32] When there were rumours that the Portuguese collected taxes from Maputaland, Clarke sent fourteen policemen to protect chief Ngwanase.[33] Although it was Ngwanase who negotiated to be put under the British colonial rule, it appears that the British colonial officials realized the potential of Ngwanase's position in maintaining peace and stability in a newly annexed territory where the government presence was not strong enough. It was a benefit to the British to get a Maputaland under their authority without the government incurring the expense accompanying their rule.[34]

The war between the Republic government and the British made it further difficult for the British to administrate Maputaland. A temporary magistracy that was established in Maputaland in 1897 was abolished in 1899 during the re-adjustment of the boundaries north of Mkhuze River. The Natal colonial officers decided to abolish all magistracies that were not easily accessible and keep only the reachable ones that would to be useful to facilitate efficient administration. Due to the difficulties of travelling in Maputaland, this temporary magistracy was abolished. The Ingwavuma magistracy then became responsible for the administration of Maputaland. However, Ingwavuma was eighty miles away from Maputaland, and it became difficult for the magistrate in Ingwavuma

[31] PAR, SNA, 1/1/467/R.642/1910 Report on Maputaland by Hulley, Ingwavuma Magistrate.
[32] Warhurst, "Britain and the Partition of Maputo," 26.
[33] PAR, SNA, 84/50/1896, Hutchinson (Governor, Natal) to the Resident Commissioner, Zululand, (11 June 1896).
[34] King Dinuzulu was released from the prison because Clarke realized the King's potential in stabilizing Zululand. Chief Ngwanase is another example of how local leadership was used by colonial government.

to communicate with Manguzi Police Camp, which was the only sign of a colonial presence in this region. Mr. Hulley, the Magistrate of Ingwavuma, suggested the re-establishment of the Manguzi magistracy as he failed to be in full contact with the people in Maputaland. He also complained that the people who were arrested at the Manguzi police station stayed in custody too long before being brought to Ingwavuma for trial.[35]

In 1910, the Rev. C. E. Dent of the Wesleyan mission wrote a letter to the District Native Commissioner at Eshowe complaining about the difficulty of getting the Christian girls to travel to Ingwavuma to secure marriage certificates. He said they were forced to enter a sinful marriage. Rev. Den requested that the Manguzi police station be delegated with powers of granting marriage certificates.[36] This meant that the two police officers who were responsible for this police station had to perform their administrative tasks and in addition issue passes to local people. It was impossible for two police officers to do all this work in large area such as Maputaland without the assistance of local traditional authorities, especially because local people would only decide to take passes for labour migration. Otherwise there was no need for them to take passes. However, under the local leadership many people would be forced to take passes. White traders, such as shop owners were hired to work issuing passes.[37]

---

[35] PAR, SNA, 407/1908/2107-2296, Rev. C.E. Dent (Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission in Maputaland to District Native Commissioner, Eshowe, (22 June 1910).
[36]PAR, SNA, 407/1908/2107-2296, Rev. C.E. Dent (Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission in Maputaland to District Native Commissioner, Eshowe, (22 June 1910).
[37]PAR, Chief Native Commissioner (C.N.C)., 457/1206/1913, Chief Native Commissioner, Natal to District Commissioner, Zululand, 3 January, 1916. Mr B.C. Harrison who was given the right to trade in Maputaland owned a shop. From 1914 there was a shortage of staff, as a result he was assigned with duties of issuing passes until 1916 when Mr C. Bowles was appointed as a pass officer.

At this time the idea of co-opting traditional authorities was known and tested in other areas including Zululand. The system was pioneered by the renowned British "diplomatic agent to the native tribes," Theophilus Shepstone. In Maputaland it was Ngwanase who was co-opted to play the supportive role in line with other chiefs. Ngwanase was to assist in the implementation of government policies, including the collection of government revenue and was to report to the district magistrate. He retained jurisdiction over civil cases and some minor criminal cases. However, Ngwanase performed these duties only if they suited him. Once the government recognized him, he moved from Phelindaba, a place that would be accessible to government officials and re-established his enclosure at Mfihlweni, north of Phelindaba. There is no evidence that he was running away from the colonial officers, but there is a strong evidence that Ngwanase saw himself as being above the magistrate and he did not follow colonial laws. He believed that he was supposed to deal with all cases by himself including the cases that chiefs were not allowed to try; thus, cases that were reported to the magistrate at Ingwavuma were cases of appeal against Ngwanase's decisions, yet he would punish his followers for appealing against him.[38] It is hard to understand why Ngwanase decided to move to eMfihlweni, a place where a car could not reach. By moving northwards, Ngwanase was running a risk of being attacked by the Portuguese who were still looking for him even after he escaped to British territory.[39] This may suggest that Ngwanase's decision to establish his homestead in the forest was a strategy to stay away from the government officials so he could govern his followers without being disturbed by white government.

---

[38] PAR, 1/ING (Ingwavuma Criminal Record Books 1/2/1/1-1/2/1/13).

[39]PAR, SNA, 84/50/96, Confidential Minute No. 46, Walter Hely-Hutchinson (Governor, Natal) to the Resident Commissioner, Zululand, (11 June 1896). Chief Mpobobo, a brother of chief Ngwanase was appointed by the Portuguese after Ngwanase fled in Portuguese territory. Mpobobo was seen in British Maputaland and it was believed that he was sent by the Portuguese to hunt Ngwanase. Clarke ordered that Ngwanase be protected.

"Two jaws with which to chew"

One of the biggest problems for the Magistrate at Ingwavuma working in Maputaland was that Ngwanase's royal homestead was inaccessible from Manguzi where government officials held meetings in Maputaland. According to oral evidence, Ngwanase left his son Nyamazana in Manguzi so that he could receive messages from the government and send them to the royal homestead at Mfihlweni.[40] Government officials were supposed to send messengers to inform the chief if a magistrate was to visit or meet a chief. The Magistrate at Ingwavuma would send a letter in advance so that the chief living at Mfihlweni could prepare himself, otherwise they could not find him. When Ngwanase was called to attend meetings with the magistrate or other government officials, he had independence to evaluate and decide whether such a meeting was worth attending or not. Whenever he decided not to attend, he sent his representatives who reported that the he was ill. Ngwanase would not always send his messengers; sometimes he could disappear. This must have been a frustrating situation, a magistrate travelling a distance of sixteen miles to meet the chief only to find that the chief had not come. Letters between the Magistrates at Ingwavuma to a Chief Native Commissioner (C.N.C) shows that they have problems in controlling Chief Ngwanase.[41] Despite repeated warnings, nothing was done to punish chief Ngwanase.

Ngwanase understood that he was not just employed, but that the government depended on him in administering Maputaland. Unlike other chiefs in Zululand, he actually

[40] Interview with Teka Tembe (son of Nyamazana Tembe) in Manguzi, November 2000. Teka argued that Ngwanase wanted to stay away from the Europeans, but he appointed his son Nyamazana to take messages.

[41] Ulundi Archives (UAR), Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/1922, W. Boast (Magistrate, Ingwavuma) to Linnington, 20 February 1928. The magistrate complained that Ngwanase was not attending the meetings and he hardly visited the magistrate.

negotiated his terms of service to the colonial government. From 1897 Ngwanase was paid 100 pounds per year, which was a higher salary when compared with other chiefs earning only 6 to 40 pounds per year.[42] Despite his higher salary, Ngwanase wanted more. In 1912, Ngwanase told Shepstone, the Acting Chief Native Commissioner that that he was in a state of distress because he had requested an increase of 100 pounds in his salary, but the government had not granted him. He indicated that his salary was not sufficient for his large family and for payment of a government tax.[43] Ngwanase was attempting to make the government take responsibility for his polygamy as he had more than sixty wives.[44] He also warned that in the following year he was going to pay less tax if he was not getting an increase in his salary.[45] This was more of a demand rather than a request as he implied that if the government was not prepared to give him an increase he was going to stop collecting tax or perhaps keep the tax for himself. This shows clearly that Ngwanase was more than negotiating; he was beginning to determine the terms of his salary. Although he was demanding a higher salary, he was far behind in collecting taxes from his subjects.[46] Perhaps he collected it but kept more for himself.[47]

Colonial authorities were divided on the issue of Ngwanase's salary. Some thought that Ngwanase should receive an increase, and some felt that he was already getting

---

[42] D. Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial, 1845-1910.* (Cape Town, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), and John Lambert, "From Independence to Rebellion: African Society in Crisis, *c.* 1880-1910," in A. Duminy and Bill Guest, (eds.), *Natal and Zululand*, 379.

[43] PAR, C.N.C. 79/1021/1912, Interview between Shepstone (Acting Native Commissioner) with Chief Ngwanase at Ingwavuma, (13 May 1912).

[44] Evidence of Majuba KaSibubula, February 1902, in *James Stuart Archives*, Vol. II, 57.

[45] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/1922, Boast to Wheelwright, (3 September 1925).

[46] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 3226/1922, Wheelwright to Allison, (28 October 1925).

[47] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Maputaland, (5 February 2000). As a son of a headman, he observed that his father collected money for government, but kept some for himself before he submitted it. This must have been a trend with many traditional leaders, who were wealthier than their subjects.

more than other chiefs. Those who lived in Natal and Zululand were sympathetic to Ngwanase's request. However, the officials who had nothing to do with Zululand and Natal, such as the Secretary of Native Affairs in Pretoria, was against the idea of increasing Ngwanase's salary. G.A. Molly, the Secretary for Native Affairs wrote a letter to the Chief Native Commissioner in which he stated that:

> The department is not prepared to accede to chief Ngwanase's request for an increased allowance. His present subsidy of 100 pounds per annum is fairly substantial and he is already paid more than other chiefs. It is considered that the present time is inappropriate for increasing it.[48]

On the other hand, the Natal government was considering an increase in Ngwanase's salary as early as 1912. Wheelwright, the Chief Native Commissioner in Natal, wrote to the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pretoria that he considered Ngwanase's salary to be inadequate. Wheelwright proposed that Ngwanase be given an increase up to 200 pounds per annum because he was responsible for bringing a large 'slice' of territory under the British rule in 1897.[49] However, Ngwanase did not actually bring his territory to the British government because Maputaland had already been declared a protectorate in 1895, and the British colonial authorities did not negotiate the annexation of Maputaland in 1897. Perhaps Ngwanase's arrival in 1896 ensured the peaceful integration of his territory with the British colonial government. Wheelwright's words can be seen as a motivational statement, aimed at justifying the increase of the Thonga chief. Wheelwright also thought that an increase would act as an

[48] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 2261/22, C.N.C. to G.A. Molly (Secretary for Native Affairs) 20 December 1922; C.N.C., 3226/22, Allison to Wheelwright, (16 November 1925).
[49] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/1922, Boast to Wheelwright, (3 September 1925); UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/1922 Wheelwright to Boast, (13 October 1925).

incentive to Ngwanase who would assist the government in collecting more tax Maputaland was in arrears.[50]

The division among colonial officials on the issue of Ngwanase's increment is another interesting issue. There were reasons for Natal officials sympathizing with Ngwanase. Before 1910 the imperialistic interest dominated British colonial policy in this region. At this time, the presence of the British government was about the prevention of German and Afrikaner influence and interest on the Southeast coast.[51] In the post-1910 period, the British imperial interest became secondary. The Union of South Africa had its own interest. One of the major themes, which historians have tended to emphasize in this period, is the 1913 Natives Land Act. However, since Maputaland was not seen as a place for white settlement, this region only became a labour recruitment reserve.

Labour historians argued that after 1910, mining industry dictated the British colonial policy.[52] Prior to the Union government, Ngwanase's role was to collect taxes and help in the administration of Maputaland. After 1910, Ngwanase remained important because of his major role in mobilizing labour for the mines and for farmers, especially after the land in Zululand was opened to white settlers. Harries argued that the alliance between chiefs and employers allowed the chiefs to repatriate labour and at the same time prevent the permanent emigration of their followers. In this system the chief would not only benefit from the money paid by recruiters, but also through taxing the

[50] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/22, Wheelwright to Chief Native Commissioner, (28 October 1925).

[51] In the last three decades of nineteenth century, successive British administrations tried to find a policy that would prevent rivals from encroaching on territories dominated by British trade and capital, such as those in the South African interior. L. Thompson, *A History of South Africa.* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 114.

[52] C. W. de Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic.* (London: Claredon Press, 1941); D. Hobart Houghton, *The South African Economy.* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1964), and Francis Wilson, *Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911-1969.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

returning migrants.[53] Many old people in Maputaland still recall that chief Ngwanase used to demand two Rands (R2) from each man returning from migrant labour.[54] Locally, Chief Ngwanase was a mediator between the migrant's family and the employers. Families went through the chief if a member of a family disappeared or decided to stay permanently in the city. Through the connection between the government, employers and a chief a person would be returned to his family. In 1912, Chief Ngwanase approached a magistrate at Ingwavuma to return Mangcwabeni Tembe who had not visited home after he started working in Germiston.[55]

After the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 was passed which introduced the pass system to tie family labour to the reserve, pass offices were opened all over Maputaland. In 1918, the magistrate of Ingwavuma, Baxter wrote to the C.N.C. requesting the establishment of a pass office at Ndumu:

> Mr von Wissell of Ndumu informs me that many natives living in that part of district go to the coasty sugar farms to work. There are also many Portuguese East Africa natives living on the border who also prefer work on the coast sugar farms. In ordinary course these natives are required to come up to the court for identification and passes, which as you are of aware takes them a good deal out of their way. It occurred to me that a pass office might be conveniently be established at the Police Camp, Ndumu as in the case of Maputa.[56]

Although Maputaland had already been used as a labour reserve since the 1880s, evidence suggests that after 1911 there was a high demand for labour from Maputaland. The Chief Native Commissioner, in Zululand received many letters requesting labour, not only for mines but also for farmers in northern Thukela River. According to the

[53]Harries, "Migrants and Marriage," 11.
[54] Interview with Solomon Tembe in Manguzi, Maputaland, (5 February 2000).
[55] PAR, C.N.C. 2235/1912, Ingwavuma Magistrate to C.N.C. Zululand, 1913.
[56] PAR, C.N.C. 333/2455/18, Baxter to C.N.C., Natal to Department of Native Affairs, Pietermaritzburg, (14 August 1918).

letters from the Chief Native Commissioner, a numbers of workers were moved by ship from Maputaland through Delagoa Bay, and in 1916, the farmers in KwaMbonambi area needed labour.[57] Labour recruiting became an attractive job for many whites in Maputaland. Another group of labour recruiting agents became so rich in 1919 they bought Wissell's stores at Ndumu.[58] To many white people living in Maputaland, labour recruiting became an additional job. When Braatvedt started his work at Ingwavuma as a Native Commissioner in the 1930s, he noted that all white men, from shop owners to government officials living in Maputaland, were labour recruiters.[59]

Ngwanase was becoming increasingly important to the Natal government for his supply of labour, thus it was important for Wheelwright to try as soon as possible to meet Ngwanase's needs. In a letter that he wrote to the Secretary of Native Affairs in Pretoria recommending the increase of Ngwanase's salary, he ended by calling this request an urgent matter. The letter is so strongly worded that it is worth quoting it at length.

> I trust therefore that the department will now be able to authorise an increase of stipend to 200 pounds per year as recommended by me. I propose visiting Zululand this month and expect to be at Ingwavuma on the 1st proximo and will see chief Ngwanase a day or so later. The chief invariably brings up this question whenever he sees me and I shall be glad therefore if the matter may be treated as urgent and a telegraphic reply sent in order that I may be able to make a definite communication to him at the forthcoming interview.[60]

---

[57] PAR, C.N.C., 239/811/1916; C.N.C.,129/1142. Labour Miscellaneous: KwaMbonambi Planters Association enquires Native Labour from Tongaland (c1916, no specific date details). PAR, SNA, 109/830, Reuen Beningfield applied for permission to introduce 200 labourers from Tongaland. (Miscellaneous papers with no specific details).

[58] PAR, C.N.C., 376/3045, Transfer of leases of Ndumu and Tanga sites from Wissell and Finetti to Ndumu Cooperative Labour Association Limited (c1919-1921); SNA, I/1/325/2220, C.N. Bradshaw applying for a permission to establish a branch store at Manguzi, (1905); C.N.C., I/1/457/526 1915, B.C. Harrison, applying for a store site at Phelandaba in Ingwavuma District.

[59] Braatvedt, H.P. *Roaming Zululand with a Native Commissioner*. (Shuter & Shuter, 1949), 111.

[60] PAR, SNA, 2261/1922, Wheelwright to Allison, 30 August 1922.

Clearly Ngwanase's request was handled in an exceptional way. No other chiefs received similar attention. The exceptional manner in which Ngwanase was viewed indicates how much leverage he had in dealing with colonial authorities. Any challenges to Ngwanase by subordinate chiefs like Makhuza had to be carefully broached in light of the special relationship between Ngwanase and the colonial authorities.

In a situation such as obtained in Maputaland, it is not surprising that the government found itself hapless whenever Ngwanase disobeyed the law. In terms of the colonial law, Ngwanase was guilty on many occasions, but no one could punish him, as he was becoming so special to the government. The magistrate of Ingwavuma complained that Ngwanase disrespected the government by not attending the meetings. He never visited the Magistrate in Ingwavuma to make reports like other chiefs, but no steps were ever taken against him.[61] The government knew about Ngwanase's corruption. In contrast, many chiefs who were not following the government law in Zululand were deposed.

According to the government's law, chief did not have power to remove people from the wards without prior arrangement or without an order of the supreme chief, including the deposition of headmen from their positions.[62] However, Ngwanase continued to break the law; he never stopped removing people from their wards without any arrangements with government officials. In 1924 Ngwanase ordered that Mebelendlala Mathenjwa be removed from his region. Also in 1926 he ordered the removal of Mhlumbuluza Tembe. He accused them of undermining his authority by

[61] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/1922, Boast to Linnington, (21 April 1928); Linnington to Boast, (20 February 1928).
[62] John Lambert, "From Independence to Rebellion: African Society in Crisis, *c.* 1880-1910," in A. Duminy and Bill Guest, (eds.) *Natal and Zululand*, (1989), 378-380.

reporting cases to the government's courts.[63] This can be seen as a symbol of resistance against the colonial government. Not only did Ngwanase depose headmen from their positions, but he also complained to the Chief Native Commissioner that he was against appeals made by his followers to the high court. Ngwanase told the Commissioner that his people were not supposed to appeal his decision because he held his position not only by virtue of his birth, but also by virtue of appointment by the government.[64] That Ngwanase could raise these issues direct to the C.N.C. shows how much confidence and independence he had from the colonial authorities.

Wheelwright's frustrations and failure to punish Ngwanase was demonstrated by his words in a letter to the Magistrate of Ingwavuma, where he complained that he was tired of Ngwanase's misconduct. Thus he wrote:

> Knowing so well Ngwanase's history, as I do, and knowing also that the man's physical and mental condition has been undermined by fever and *ubusulu* and by his general mode of living. I have naturally taken these factors into consideration in relation to his conduct in regard to these administrative matters and in regard to the punishment to be meted out to him for what he has done..., I will not take such drastic action against him on this occasion as his conduct really merits; and have decided that in these circumstances a stern reprimand must suffice as punishment.[65]

The letter shows that even if the evidence was there to show that Ngwanase was guilty, the government failed to fine or punish him. It is interesting to see that it is the colonial officials who recorded that Ngwanase did not want to come under the administration. Yet there was nothing they could do. They needed the man. It was proving difficult for

---

[63] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/1922, Wheelwright to Linnington, 18 August 1928. Boast to Linnington, (7 February 1928).
[64]PAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3102/1921, Notes of Proceedings at Manguzi Police Camp, (31 July 1928).
[65] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3226/1922, Wheelwright to Ingwavuma magistrate, (18 May 1928). Ubusulu is a palm-wine, obtained from palm trees by cutting a stem, common in northern Zululand.

the colonial authorities to bring Ngwanase under their control. Wheelwright did not punish chief Ngwanase; instead he chose to say that Ngwanase was mentally disturbed, yet it was Wheelright who was writing letters to the SNA in Pretoria to motivate Ngwanase's increment in his stipend.

Although many chiefs were not satisfied by the colonial rule, they could not challenge it openly, because chiefs were afraid that the government might depose them or stop their stipends. Yet Ngwanase could challenge the colonial laws to the Chief Native Commissioner. In his meeting, with the C.N.C., Ngwanase protested against dog taxes, stating that his people would not have money to pay for both hut and dog taxes.[66] Moreover, he complained about the appeals that were made by his people against the decisions he had reached in his court. It seems that Ngwanase was protesting against the magistrate's interference in matters regarding his people.

Despite all Ngwanase's rebellious behaviour, which was against British law, the government continued to do him favours that other chiefs were not entitled to. From 1910 to 1919 Ngwanase sent in applications requesting numerous favours from the government. In 1910, he was granted permission to possess a firearm, a concession the colonial government was reluctant to grant to Africans especially after the Anglo-Zulu war and the Bambatha Rebellion. He was also granted permission to shoot animals that were causing damage to his fields. Although, this could only happen on condition that he brought the animal skins to the magistrate whenever he paid taxes, there is no evidence that skins were ever collected from or that Ngwanase had submitted the skins

[66] PAR, C.N.C., 3102/1921, Notes of Proceedings at Manguzi Police Camp, (31 July 1928).

to the magistrate.[67] The Game Conservator in Zululand collected animal skins for the government museums.

Ngwanase also applied for the loan of three bulls, which he needed for improving the breed of his stock. These bulls would be returned after successful breeding had taken place. Colonial officials were impressed by his ideas, which they saw as an indication of improvement and development towards the commercial value of Maputaland. The bulls would to be transported from Ixopo.[68] At that the time transportation was difficult, and Ngwanase must have been very special to the officials that they would burden themselves with this task. Wheelwright justified these special favours:

> I should mention that prior to the annexation of Maputaland in 1895, Ngwanase was an independent chief, exercising absolute authority over this area and that Maputaland came to be incorporated with Natal, not by conquest, but at the request of the chief who wished to come under the protection of the British government. In his former independent state he was, of course, subject to no restriction. Having regard to this, and the circumstances under which his territory became part of Zululand, it would I consider, be a gracious act on the part of the administrator to allow a permit as asked by the chief.[69]

Furthermore, Ngwanase was aware of the weaknesses of the colonial set-up in Maputaland, and he even understood the rivalry between the Portuguese and the British governments. As a result he was able to manipulate the situation to his benefit. Whenever he made a request to the British government, he began by stating that he had received an invitation from the Portuguese government to return to their territory with his people and country.[70] It might not have put any pressure on the British government,

---

[67] PAR, C.N.C., 209/1915/852, Provincial Secretary to Chief Native Commissioner, (9 July 1915).
[68] PAR, C.N.C., 209/1915/848, Gibson (District Native Commissioner, Zululand) to Chief Native Commissioner, (30 July 1915); C.N.C., 209/1915/852, Wheelwright to Allison, (19 July 1915).
[69] PAR, C.N.C., 1676/1917, Chief Native Commissioner to Provincial secretary, (22 May 1917).
[70] PAR, SNA, 2296/12/49; PAR, C.N.C., 3102/1921, Notes of Proceedings in Manguzi Police Camp, (31 July 1928); PAR, SNA, 84/50/1896, Resident Commissioner, Zululand to Hutchinson (Governor, Natal),

but it may have implied that Ngwanase understood his position between the two colonial powers. When Ngwanase requested that five stores be established in his area, he mentioned that this would be to the government's advantage because it would prevent his people from acquiring firearms and liquor from the Portuguese. This was a thoughtful statement, if one recalls that firearms and liquor were imported from the Portuguese. The sale of firearms by the Portuguese agents was uncontrollable in this area. Prior to the Anglo-Zulu War, the British had warned the Portuguese not to sell firearms to African people; however, it was difficult to contain the Portuguese because they made their money from selling these commodities.[71] Thus Ngwanase manipulated such opportunities by justifying his requirements in line with the colonial interests. There is no doubt that Wheelwright became aware of Ngwanase's manipulations. While Wheelwright was giving everything that chief Ngwanase requested, he warned Ngwanase not to think that the government was paying him tribute by meeting all his demands.[72] However, in practice no one could tell the difference between paying tribute and meeting the demands of chief Ngwanase.

The arguments presented here do not claim that the colonial powers did not dictate to the African polities. The colonial states had the power to appoint and depose chiefs. However, in areas such as in Maputaland where the British colonial state was weak, its power was limited. Their presence was only known by one police camp containing two policemen. These policemen could not perform all their administrative duties, and hence, they had to depend on local authority to assist them. In that context, Ngwanase saw his opportunity to manipulate the system to his own advantage. The colonial state

---

(11 June 1896).

[71] J. Guy, "A note on fire arms in the Zulu Kingdom with special reference to Anglo-Zulu War, 1879." *JAH 12*, (1971),557-568.

[72]UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 3102/1921, Notes of proceedings, Manguzi Police Camp, (31 July 1922).

was compelled to not only be gentle with Ngwanase but also meet all his demands. In this situation, Ngwanase was capable of demonstrating courage and strength to negotiate his salary. Therefore Ngwanase's domination was not by accident; it was a historical process and the product of the inequalities and weakness of the colonial state of that time. Nothing could have been done by the members of Makhuza or Ngubane to regain control over Maputaland; Ngwanase's power could not be challenged. After Ngwanase's death, his dominance remained so strong that his family continued to rule Maputaland to this day.

"When the lion roars, no one can speak"

In December 1928, Ngwanase died. For a short time Njobokanuka Sihlangu, a chief headman became regent, before Mhlupheki became successor to his father.[73] There was a dispute within the Tembe royal family as many people felt that Nyamazana, the oldest son of Ngwanase, should have been the successor.[74] Oral evidence shows that while Ngwanase was still alive he treated Nyamazana as the one who was going to succeed him. Ngwanase involved Nyamazana in chieftaincy duties in several ways. He built Nyamazana's homestead at Manguzi area, which was close to the police station so that he could be a mediator between the chief and the government authorities. Many people were shocked to find that close to his death, Ngwanase nominated Mhlupheki as his successor. Despite confusion to the Tembe community, the governor general confirmed Mhlupheki's appointment as a chief of Maputaland in May 1929.[75]

---

[73] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 61/53, Allison (Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria) to T.W.C. Norton (Chief Native Commissioner, Natal), (7 January 1929); C.N.C., 2/73/69 Norton to Cammack (Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma) (15 January 1929).

[74] Interview with Walter Tembe, Manguzi, (10 November 1999); Nkaphani Ngubane, Shengeza, (12 July 1999).

[75] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 2/73/69, Cammack to Lugg, (7 March 1929); C.N.C., 2/73/69 T.W.C. Norton (Chief Native Commissioner, Natal) to J.S. Allison, (18 March 1929); C.N.C, 2/73/69 Affidavit by Norton, (18 May 1929); C.N.C., 2/73/69, Norton to Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria, (10 August 1929).

Conflict and terror dominated Mhlupheki's reign as he sought to eliminate those who opposed him. The Tembe chiefs ruled the country by placing their brothers and sons as headmen in different districts, and this strategy seemed to have worked for chief Ngwanase. However during the reign of Mhlupheki, this approach could not work because most of his brothers, who also took up the role of headman, were against his appointment.[76] It seems as if Mhlupheki devised a policy of deposing his rivals and replacing them with his own supporters in a new "cabinet." In the implementation of these ideas, he found that he had made enemies not only with his brothers but also with the colonial officials who wanted to use him in administering Maputaland.

In 1930 Mhlupheki deposed Njobokanuka Sihlangu who had been his father's principal headman and appointed Ndaba Tembe as his chief headman. The Native Affairs officials, who expected Mhlupheki to report all matters related to the appointment of his council, refused to recognize the new appointee. Although chiefs were given powers to nominate their councils, they did not have full control because persons designated by the chief and his councillors had to be approved by the Resident Magistrate. Mhlupheki was ordered to re-appoint Njobokanuka as chief headman who re-occupied a chief headman position until his death.[77]

After the death Njobakanuka Chief Mhlupheki appointed his uncle Mahlungulu Tembe. This appointment was not approved because Mhlupheki did not consult the Resident Magistrate of Ingwavuma. Braatvedt who was then a Native Commissioner of

[76] Interview with Walter Tembe at Thengani, Maputaland, (10 November 1999).
[77] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, (2 September 1929); Linnington (Native Commissioner: Ingwavuma) to Lugg, (2 September 1930); Norton to Linnington, (12 September 1930).

Ingwavuma wrote a letter to Lugg, a Chief Commissioner of Zululand, informing him that chief Mhlupheki had appointed Mahlungulu as his principal headman. Braatvedt was also objecting to the appointment of Mahlungulu as the chief did not inform him.[78] Despite Braatvedt's disapproval of Mahlungulu's appointment, Mahlungulu continued to be a chief headman for another year. The fact that it took a year for the government to take action against Chief Mhlupheki is another indication of the state's weakness arising from the shortage of government officials to implement law in Maputaland.

Braatvedt's disapproval of Mahlungulu's appointment was linked to his conviction that Mahlungulu was a troublemaker and responsible for instability in Maputaland. Braatvedt believed that Mahlungulu was encouraging Mhlupheki to resist government laws, such as fining people who appealed the chief's ruling in the high court.[79] At some point Mahlungulu had indicated to Braatvedt that Mhlupheki's judgment was above that of the Native Commissioner. Braadvedt also alleged that Mahlungulu had once attempted to shoot Packendorf, the magistrate's secretary. In this situation the local people prevented Mahlungulu from firing at Packendorf and thus saved him.[80] In addition, Mahlungulu was seen as a rebel because at one time he had told one of the local men not to be afraid of the white men as the people of Maputaland were going to shoot them all one day. He said all these words in the presence of the magistrate and spoke loudly so that magistrate could hear him. Such statements could have threatened the white community who were few at that time in Maputaland. When Mhlupheki refused to depose Mahlungulu as a chief headman as the government ordered him, it

[78] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, (28 June 1933).
[79] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, (18 September 1933).
[80] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, (18 September 1933).

was thought that Mahlungulu was influencing the chief. As a result, Braatvedt felt that Mahlungulu was to be removed as soon as possible from the Tembe council.[81]

Given the weakness of the colonial state in Maputaland, the Tembe chiefs had always tried to create their own space in exercising their traditional powers even if it meant opposing the colonial regime. They resented being used by government, which they felt was subjugating their traditional powers to that of government's agents. During colonial rule the government prescribed the duties and defined the roles of the chiefs. Thus the chief's role was limited by imposed proclamation that was aimed at the maintenance of order, prevention of crime, collection of government revenues, allotment of land and mobilization of labour.[82] In this case chiefs were reduced to the position of "stipendiaries."

But the situation in Maputaland was different; the reign of Ngwanase and Mhlupheki, suggest that these chiefs resisted informing the government on changes they were making in their councils. Despite repeated warnings from the magistrate that Mhlupheki should neither appoint nor depose any person in his "cabinet" without government's approval, Mhlupheki deposed his brother, Nyamazana as headman. He divided his land amongst his favourite cousins, George, Charlie Tembe and Magensuka Shange. When Mhlupheki was summoned by the magistrate to explanation the changes he made in Maputaland, the chief blamed Nyamazana for not attending meetings, which he thought was a sign of disrespecting a chief.[83] Nyamazana was fined two cows

[81] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, 31 August 1933; Braatvedt to Lugg, (18 September 1933).
[82] J.M. Mohapelo, "Africans and their chiefs. Should Africans be ruled by their chiefs or by elected leaders?" *Pro and Con Pamphlet.* (Cape Town: The African Bookman, 1945), 1-15
[83] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Periodical Court Hearing at Manguzi in the presence of Braatvedt. (Undated)

by the magistrate and these cows were given to Mhlupheki as a peace offering. Mhlupheki was not punished for breaking the law but the land was returned to Nyamazana.[84]

Ironically, the magistrate was aware that Nyamazana was innocent, but because he wanted to appease Chief Mhlupheki he was forced to condemn Nyamazana. In a confidential letter to Lugg, he expressed his true feelings about Nyamazana. He told Lugg that Nyamazana was a loyal, respectful person who assisted the police and government authorities.[85] He also stressed the importance of being tactful when dealing with the Tembe chiefs. Braatvedt also highlighted that it was crucial to maintain the chief's dignity and not to cause a rift amongst the Tembe nation. Therefore the condemnation of Nyamazana was not by mistake; this showed a failure on the government's part to punish the Tembe chiefs resulting from the weakness of the state in Maputaland.[86] It is clear again that the government would not accept any challenge against the royal family.

It was not surprising that Mhlupheki could not be convicted for the serious offences that he committed such as murder, children abuse and adultery. At one point it took the local people to request the government to take action about Mhlupheki who was

[84] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, (30 June 1933).
[85] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, (13 March 1933); 57/105 Braatvedt to Lugg, (12 October 1933).
[86] Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London & England: Harvard University Press, 1998),168-169. She maintains that in the 1930s the Native Affairs tended to support the power of chiefs to upset the power of Zulu king which they saw as a threat to stability in Zululand; UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Lugg to Braatvedt. When this case was heard for the first time, Mhlupheki refused to accept the peace offering. Lugg proposed that if he refused it for the second time the government was going to lay charges against Nyamazana, under Section 27 of Government Notice No. 2252 dated 21 December 1928, despite his innocence; UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Braatvedt to Lugg, (13 March 1933). The treatment of Mhlupheki-Nyamazana's case was influenced by the need not to divide the Tembe nation. Braatvedt planned the strategy. He was going to approach the case before he could listen to the evidence from both sides. As a result, it was already decided before the case that Nyamazana was going to be punished.

becoming more abusive and corrupt in the community of Maputaland. A report by a policeman summarized the atrocities that were committed by chief Mhlupheki:

> Mhlupheki ordered his young men to seize Mhlumbuluza Tembe, went away with him and dump him where water is deep at Pongolo River. This spot in Pongolo River where Mhlumbuluza was dumped is infested with crocodiles. Mhlumbuluza sank down and when the crocodiles came to the surface he had plunged to the other side of the river to Manai and was safe. Mhlupheki fetched him again and gave him something to drink out of a cup and after drinking Mhlumbuluza died.
>
> Mhlupheki also murdered a girl Miss Masonto Tembe, daughter to Phohlo Tembe. This girl miraculously recovered. Mhlupheki sent Sigidhli Makhanya to poison Nyamazana Tembe, by giving him something to drink out of a cup, Mhlupheki thanked Sigidhli for his work by placing him in charge of a piece of land or ward. Mhlupheki again murdered a girl, Miss Maconganyani, daughter of Dhluthu Ndhlanzi. An *inyanga* was sent to murder this girl while she was pregnant. The name of this *inyanga* is Siliva Mkhumbuzi. In thanking Siliva, Mhlupheki deprived the following of their wards: Phohlo, Zamazama and Makasi and place of Siliva in charge of these wards.
> I cannot understand how Mhlupheki became a chief as the heir was Nyamazana.
>
> I, and many others wish the government to send a detective to Maputa and at the same time do not disclose my name to Mhlupheki as one who has given this information. [87]

This was not the first time that the government had received information about Mhlupheki's misconduct. The records of the Chief Native Commissioner show that the death of Nyamazana was reported. According to Ndhlondhlondhlo, a messenger who had been sent by Mhlupheki to report Nyamazana's death to the magistrate also brought a message from Mhlupheki stating that a post-mortem examination of Nyamazana's body should not be conducted.[88] There is no evidence as to whether Mhlupheki's instructions were carried through, but this proves the point that Mhlupheki, like his

[87] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Confidential Report by Native Constables Amon Makhanya and Makandeni Tembe to the magistrate, Ingwavuma, (undated)
[88] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Ingwavuma Native Commissioner to Chief Native Commissioner, Natal, (22 August 1946).

predecessor Ngwanase, saw himself as being above the law. There is even no evidence that any steps were taken after receiving Makandeni's letter, because a chief was to be protected. The fact was that the magistrate knew that Chief Mhlupheki assassinated Nyamazana. In this situation there was no room for other people like Makhuza's lineage to challenge the Tembe royal family.

Although the magistrate would sometimes bring Mhlupheki to the court and find him guilty, the sentence was easy. The magistrate could not put Mhlupheki in prison because he was suppose control his "tribe" and collect the government taxes and it was clear to the magistrate that without the presence of a chief they could not administrate Maputaland because the British colonial administrative structures were weak in this region. On 10 May 1937, Mhlupheki was found guilty on three charges, namely, inciting to commit abortion, culpable homicide and abduction.[89] On these cases he was released on bail of 50 pounds. There is no evidence that he was later brought before the law or sentenced for these charges. The only punishment was to withhold the presentation of the King's Coronation Medal that he was going to receive at that time.[90] Even that decision was not final, since according to the Acting Native Commissioner, the presentation of the medal was going to be withheld over until the charges were finally disposed of. It is surprising again that it was the colonial officials who wrote that no disciplinary action was taken against chief Mhlupheki for the above offences. This leaves scope for varying opinions about the power of the colonial state in Maputaland. Generally speaking, the 1930s represented a mature stage of colonialism in South Africa. At this time colonialism was at its peak, and only declined after

[89] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Acting Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma to Chief Native Commissioner, Zululand, (11 May 1937).
[90] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 2/21/4. Acting Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma to Lugg, (11 May 1937).

World War II. If the colonial government was still failing to control the Tembe chiefs at this time, it can be argued that the state had failed to consolidate its power in Maputaland.

Regardless of the repeated warnings given to chief Mhlupheki about the altering of the boundaries and deposition of headmen, he continued to ignore the colonial state. In 1946, Mhlupheki took two large portions of land belonging to Nkumende Tembe, son of Nyamazana, and gave it to Moses Makhanya as a headman of this territory.[91] When he was summoned to court explain his actions, Mhlupheki refused to comply. Instead he sent his messengers to tell J. Fernwick that unless transport was arranged for him he was unable to come, because he was unwell and the temperature was too hot.[92] There is no reason why this statement cannot be seen as a form of resistance towards the government. The District Surgeon, P. A. Strasheim, who paid him a visit on that day to see if it was true that he was ill, found him healthy.[93] He was fined 10 pounds for dishonesty, a fine that would not have been a problem for Mhlupheki because he seemed to have a lot of money.[94] In September that year the dispute between Mhlupheki and Nkumende was resolved. As usual the innocent person was the one who got punished. Mhlupheki was not punished but was given another warning. Nkumende was reinstated in his rights and the appointment of Moses Makhanya was

---

[91] AUR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, L.H. Conyngham to Lugg, (25 April 1947).

[92] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, Statements by Amon Makhanya and Sgt. J.J. Reynolds sworn in the presence of Fernwick (Assistant Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma), (23 December 1945). On this day Mhlupheki told the court that he sent Makandeni Tembe because he could not get a car and the weather was hot for him to travel; C.N.C. 2/1/4/1, J. Fernwick to Acting Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma), (27 December 1945).

[93] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105/2/1/4/1, Report made by (sgd) J. Fenrwick to the Acting Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma, (23 December 1945).

[94] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105 T. Young (Native Commissioner, Ingwavuma) to Chief Native Commissioner, (5 July 1946). On this day Mhlupheki made a requisition to T. Young, a Native Commissioner at Ingwavuma for the purchase of a vehicle that he would use to travel to the magistracy when required. The purchase of a vehicle may suggest that he saw himself as being in the same position with government officials who were using vehicles.

cancelled. Nkumende was forced to apologize to Mhlupheki by paying two cattle as a peace offering.[95]

This chapter has demonstrated that if a broader perspective of resistance of some African leaders is included in the scholarly view of the colonial state, historical interpretations could change. In a number of examples this chapter has attempted to show that in Maputaland there was a competition for power between the colonial government and the Tembe royal family. This challenges the historiography that often portrays the colonial state as having a complete dominance over Africans. It also suggests that in some areas the power of the colonial state was limited. Chief Ngwanase and Mhlupheki Tembe seem to have understood the system of "indirect rule" and worked it to their own advantage. They knew that the government employed them, and that if they were to get a salary, they needed to acknowledge the hegemony of colonial government, but they were careful that such dominance did not undermine their positions as chiefs. They collected taxes for the government, but when the government overrode their decision they could resist the government policies. This means that the Tembe chiefs were not threatened by the power of the colonial state, thus they could tell the government that their authority in Maputaland was above that of the government. They could ignore all colonial laws that were seeking to undermine their positions. All people who appealed against their decisions were removed from their wards and some were even murdered. For instance, Mhlupheki had no right to make changes in his council without consulting with the government and was compelled to attend meetings and to provide feedback regarding activities in his territory. However, Mhlupheki would only meet magistrates if he wanted to negotiate

[95] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105 L.H. Conyngham (Acting Native Commissioner) to Lugg, (25 April 1947).

issues that would benefit him. The irony is that Ngwanase's power in southern Maputaland was elevated by the British colonial system he was not popular to the people of this region. Thus, leaders such as Makhuza Tembe, who had been ruling this region before Ngwanase arrive was demoted to a position of headman thereby making it impossible for Makhuza to challenge Ngwanase's power.

Ngwanase, more especially knew how to work white rule to his own advantage without getting into serious trouble. He understood that fighting was not a good choice. The Thonga chiefs never fought a war with foreign governments; perhaps, they have learnt from the Zulu kingdom that physical fighting with whites was not a good idea. Perhaps Majuba KaSibubula was right when he told James Stuart that Ngwanase did not fight the Portuguese because Europeans help one another.[96] The tone of letters written by Tembe chiefs to the British colonial governments, make it clear that they were weak, as Ngwanase wrote in a letter that he "obeys the British government" when he was looking for British protection. Once Ngwanase was accepted he told the government officials that his power in Maputaland was above the governments. Politeness was a strategy of the Thonga chiefs to find their way through the colonial government. Even Wheelwright referred to Ngwanase as an unfortunate chief because Ngwanase had sent a message that he is weak, thus had to run away from the harsh Portuguese government.

However, it would be naive to see the colonial system as the only source of Ngwanase's power that led to his dominance in Maputaland. Ngwanase also manipulated the traditional customs to become dominant in this region. Through marriage arrangements, family ties with Makhuza, and his strategic approach in

[96] Evidence of Majuba KaSibubula, February 1902, Durban, in *James Stuart Archives*, Vol. II, 57.

confiscating Makhuza's land, Ngwanase was able to undermine Makhuza's authority and thereby take over the chieftaincy. It is therefore not debatable that Ngwanase's power was derived from within the traditional and from the external supports of the colonial system. He worked these two carefully to strengthen his position in Maputaland. To what extent Ngwanase's descendants were going to remain unchallenged in Maputaland is the issue that the next chapters attempt to examine.

Chapter four

The Resistance of Makhuza and the Bantu administration, 1948-1971.

The establishment of Tribal Authorities

The period between 1910 and the1940s was an era of confrontation and protest between the state and black people in South Africa.[1] The birth of SANNC in 1912 (later known as the ANC), urban revolts led by members of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa from 1918, and the 1946 mineworker's strike, are a examples of black people's resistance. When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the problems in controlling the majority of black people were already established for the white minority government of South Africa. The Board of Trade and Industries warned that:

> Racial and class differences will create a homogenous proletariat which will eventually lose all its earlier ties with rural community groupings which previously had influence and meaning in their lives. The detribalisation of large numbers of Natives... rootless masses concentrated in large industrial centres, is a matter, which no government can sit back and watch. Unless these masses of detribalised Natives are effectively and carefully controlled, they will become more of a burden than a constructive factor in industry.[2]

Racism forced many black South Africans to unite. In his book, *Citizen and Subject,* Mamdani writes that, "Racism compounded rather than eased the problem of rule in a colonial context, for its thrust was not to divide and rule, but to unite and rule."[3] To stabilize the resistance of black people, the apartheid government sought to split the black majority into compartmentalized minorities through the mobilization of "tribalism." Based on documents issued by the Sauer and Fagan commissions, which

---

[1] For discussion of this period in the whole of Africa, see Bill Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); P. Bonner, P. Delius and P. Posel, (eds.) *Apartheid's genesis: 1935-1962.* (Braamfontein: Ravan Press, c1993).

[2] Report of Board of Trade and Industries, cited from Deborah Posel, *TheMaking of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise.* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1991), 38.

[3] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 90.

preceded the 1948 elections, the Nationalist government of South Africa implemented a comprehensive program for the restoration of fully autonomous tribal authorities that claimed to restore, to borrow Mamdani's words "the natural native democracy."[4] These tribal authorities superseded the districts as the basic units of administration. They were allegedly revived from the boundaries of pre-colonial African polities that constituted the different tribal units.

Tribal differences became central to the implementation of homeland structures in rural areas. In 1950 the Minister of Native Affairs described the aim of the Nationalist government in clear racial terms. He stated that the state wanted to:

> Restore tribal life as far as possible by seeing to it that the chiefs and the whole tribal government adapt themselves to the exigencies of our times and thereby automatically regain the position of authority which they forfeited to a large extent through their backwardness...the natives of this country do not all belong to the same tribe or race. They have different languages and customs. We are of the opinion that the solidarity of the tribes should be preserved and that they should develop along the lines of their own national character and tradition. For that purpose we want to rehabilitate the deserving tribal chiefs as far as possible and we would like to see their authority maintained over the members of their tribes. Suitable steps will be taken in this direction.[5]

The Nationalist government passed the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, which promoted powers of the chiefs by expanding their tax basis. There was a hierarchy of local state apparatus from chiefs to headman empowered with even authority to be the only decision-makers in their regional authority. Like many other rural societies in South Africa, Maputaland was affected by these new state policies. It is important to recall that Ngwanase Tembe had paid tribute to the Zulu kings, a tradition that can be traced

[4] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 95.
[5] P. Harries, "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity among the Tsonga-speakers of South Africa." In L. Vail, (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.* (London: Currey, 1989), 103.

in Shaka's reign,[6] and that Maputaland had become part of Zululand in 1897. Notwithstanding this situation, there was not much Zulu control in Maputaland, otherwise, Maputa remained the country of Thonga people and the issue of Maputaland being part of Zululand was only impressive on paper. It was the apartheid government that finally ended the autonomy of the Maputan chiefs in the 1970s by the establishing the Bantustans that gave power to the KwaZulu government to impose its authority over Maputaland.

Meanwhile, Mzimba Tembe, the youngest son of Ngwanase, succeeded chief Mhlupheki in 1953. When chief Mzimba became chief of Maputaland, the Nationalist Party government was beginning to consolidate its power in South Africa. It was during the reign of chief Mzimba that the government re-proclaimed the house of Ngwanase as the "tribal" leader (chief) of Maputaland. The Tembe Tribal Authority was proclaimed in 1958 and was officially opened in 1963 at eMfihlweni, the Maputan royal palace.[7] Similar to other rural areas of South Africa, the Tembe tribal office was established as a local government structure to assist the government in administering the Maputa people under the Ingwavuma district.[8] At this time the Tembe tribal office was only a small courtroom erected by poles and palm under thatch at Mfihlweni. During heavy rains in 1966, this courtroom collapsed. A new tribal office was later constructed in Manguzi, a more central area in Maputaland than Mfihlweni and this office has remained in the same area until today.

---

[6] PAR, C.N.C., 379/3265/19, W.T. Matravers, a captain of "C" Squadron: 3rd Regiment S.A. Mounted Riflemen to Baxter, (17 October 1919). Contains a list of chiefs in northern Zululand collecting money to give king Solomon.

[7] Notes from the speech given by Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi in the opening of the Tembe tribal authority at Manguzi, (14 November 1980).

[8] Manguzi has been the area where infrastructural development has happened faster than other places of Maputaland. From the colonial period all the administrative institutions such as the police station, labour recruiting office and magistrate were established in Manguzi. Today this place has become a small village of Maputaland.

The establishment of the Tembe tribal office under the control of the house of Ngwanase required every single tribal structure, including headmen in Maputaland, to attend meetings and court hearings in this new office. The tribal office became a place where all the matters of Maputaland were discussed. This was different from the period before 1948 where headmen could deal with issues of people in their wards. As chapter three has shown, under the Natal colonial government the house of Makhuza had some kind of independence that denied the interference of the royal family in the internal affairs of Makhuza. In the new government system, the power and authority of the "tribe" was centralized in one office, under one leader (chief) who then reported to the magistrate at Ingwavuma. The system was neat; there was a white minority on top supervising the majority through their traditional structures ranging from (at least in KwaZulu) their king, chiefs, headman and "tribal" police. Yet, it should be mentioned that there was an irony in the shifting of power in Maputaland. While the tribal structures might have increased the power of the Maputa royal family in Maputland, it reduced the status of Maputa kingdom to chiefdom under the KwaZulu Bantustan. In the year 1937 and possible even after, the Maputa Royal family was still receiving a King's Coronation Medal from the government, medal that was only given to kings.[9] However, under the apartheid regime, the Maputa family became a chiefdom of Zulu kingdom despite the fact that Maputa family was one of the most powerful kingdoms in southea-stern Africa, especially during the reign of its founder, Mabhudu Tembe.

In other areas, the transition from colonial indirect rule to the new apartheid rule caused tensions among South African rural communities, and grudges from frictions of that

[9] UAR, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C., 2/21/4. Acting Native Commissioner Ingwavuma to Lugg, (11 may 1937).

time still exist today. Problems emerged because some chiefs had accepted changes of the tribal system without consulting people they were leading. In other areas, the government moved fast to support compliant leaders and thereby ignored customary procedures and traditional agreements among local leaders.[10] In Maputaland, the members of the Makhuza house are still complaining about the introduction of the tribal authorities. They claim not to have been consulted when the new structure was formed. They argue that the house of Ngwanase knew about their partnership with Makhuza in ruling Maputaland; therefore, they believed that the house of Ngwanase should have invited the house of Makhuza as co-rulers when the new government introduced this new system.[11] Members of the Makhuza family feel that they were robbed of their authority as they were left out of the new structure, missing an opportunity that would give them a separate tribal authority.[12]

The introduction of Bantu Authorities magnified and politicised long-standing rivalries over chieftainship among African rural leaders. In Maputaland, the house of Makhuza could no longer hold meetings or try cases of the Makhuza ward as they had done under the British colonial rule. With the new tribal structures, the house of Ngwanase emerged with more power to rule Maputa than they previously had. Thus, the members of the Makhuza family believe that the royal family has violated the Makhuza-Ngwanase agreement of 1896 that had allowed the Makhuza family to control the

[10] In his study of Native administration in Transkei, Evans noted that Mata Zima was supported by government and silenced chief Dalinyebo who was seen as being anti-apartheid policies. For detailed discussion, see I. Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native administration in South Africa.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 252-256.

[11] The leader of the Makhuza house, Mvutshana became ill just few years before the National Party took over the government. When the government established tribal authorities, Mvutshana's illness was serious, such that he became mentally disturbed. No one from the house of Makhuza was aware of the changes that were taking place in the government and in Maputaland. The house of Makhuza feel that the Tembe of Ngwanase used the opportunity of Mvutshana's sickness to present themselves as the only representatives in Maputaland, even though they knew that the coastal Maputaland was under the leadership of the Makhuza family.

[12] Interview with Walter Tembe, Thengani, Maputaland, (10 July 1999).

internal affairs of Makhuza ward. It is possible to argue that the house of Ngwanase would have enjoyed the introduction of tribal structures because the new system was silencing their rivals by proclaiming the house of Ngwanase as the only rulers of Maputaland. Unlike the British colonial rulers who gave certain powers to the house of Makhuza to deal with its internal affairs such as appointment of councillors with no interference from the house Ngwanase, the new tribal system required one chief in each "tribe" to exercise overall control. Chief Mzimba Tembe took advantage of his new powers to appoint Hlabezimhlophe Tembe as a headman in Makhuza's ward. Walter Tembe, a member of Makhuza said that this event made the members of Makhuza to be suspicious of the Nationalist government and its new governing style.

Another possible explanation to the conflicts among local leaders during the establishment of tribal authorities could be linked to benefits attached to chiefly position. A historian, Ivan Evans study, *Bureaucracy and Race* shows that from 1950 onward the department of Native Affairs became sympathetic to the material needs of chiefs including increase in chiefs' stipends.[13] At this time the Chief Native Commissioner proposed the development of standardized "tribal accounts" to better tribal administration, better [judicial] courts and better finances.[14] If chiefs enjoyed their position by collecting tributes, earning benefits from fining people and their stipends prior the apartheid regime, the government of the Nationalist Party further increased benefits to traditional leaders by establishing a budget which, in Rodseth's words, made chiefs to feel that the glory was their own.[15] The apartheid policies clearly had another impact on chiefly positions, they became attractive and a bait to the

[13] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native administration in South Africa*, 269
[14] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native administration in South Africa*, 269
[15] Comments taken from the "Conference of Chief Native Commissioners," 3 March 1950, cited in Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native administration in South Africa*, 296.

families whose ancestors were once rulers and got demoted or lost chiefly position such as Makhuza Tembe. To what extent chiefly benefits could have influence the conflict between the Tembe royal family and the members of Makhuza is an issue that will be addressed later. Yet, it could be mentioned that chiefs Ngwanase and Mhlupheki could make a lot of money from his followers. In 1932, a Native Commissioner at Ingwavuma wrote to the Chief Native Commissioner that he "had every reason to believe that chief Mhlupheki Tembe was looking upon his subjects as means whereby to amass wealth and live luxury."[16] In 1946, Mhlupheki requested T. Young, a Native Commissioner at Ingwavuma, to get him a bus that he would be prepared to purchase on a cash basis.[17]

Walter Tembe questions the status of Makhuza family

In 1956 the leader of the Makhuza house, Mvutshana Tembe died and his half-brother Walter Tembe became a successor. Walter was not the heir to the leadership of the Makhuza house, yet he became a regent "headman" in the house of Makhuza because Ncelaphi Isaac Tembe, the heir, was too young to rule.[18] Walter became the first member of the Makhuza family to challenge the government and the Maputa royal family about the diminishing status of the Makhuza house in Maputaland.[19] As a new

[16] UAR, C.N.C., 2/73/69, 507/1915, Braatvedt to C.N.C.,(28 May 1932).
[17]UAR, C.N.C, 507/69, T. Young to CNC, (5 July 1946).
[18] I chose to call the house of Makhuza as headman because ever since Ngwanase came to live in the south part of Maputaland, Makhuza was not recognised by the British colonial government. Even the members of Makhuza do not claim that this family was a chief after Ngwanase, yet they believe that they had autonomous power to control their internal affairs.
[19] The evidence of the two Tembe houses fighting for chieftainship does not appear in any written document. However, in 1971, the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner told the people of Maputaland that magistrate Saunders had resolved this conflict during the colonial period. It is possible that the chief commissioner got this information from Mr Woërner who might have gotten the story from the people of this area during his mission of collecting the history of the two Tembe families following Walter's claim. In April 1967, Mr Woërner submitted a report to the Bantu commissioner that contained the name of Charles Foxon 'Mqondo'. There was no person known by that name. When I was conducting my interviews with the Tembe people I noted that Foxon was nicknamed 'Umqondo' and Charles was a different person. It could have been the oral tradition that could have confused these two names and Mr Woëner who did not know Charles Saunders or Foxon would probably have thought that it was one person. When I was doing interviews with the Tembe people they did not remember the name of Charles

leader in the Makhuza ward, Walter believed that the government should have established a separate tribal authority for the house of Makhuza. He criticized the Nationalist government for allowing the house of Ngwanase to dominate an area that was ruled by two Tembe leaders. In 1967 Walter approached lawyers from Johannesburg, H. Heinman, M.A. S. Dorp & Barker, to question the government about the status of the Makhuza family in Maputaland. The copy of the original document of Walter's claim does not appear in any governmental records, yet the evidence of this claim appeared in a letter from Walter's lawyers to the government in 1967. In this letter Walter's claim was summarized as follows:

> We have been consulted by the Johannesburg members of the Executive of the Makhuza tribe regarding the status of induna [headman] Mlingo Walter Tembe, reference No.265369. According to his reference book he was appointed induna of the Makhuza tribe in Maputaland for the Makhuza ward. He is the son of the late induna Makhuza Tembe and is in charge of ten wards, each of which has an induna. The question arises as to whether the status is erroneously described, and it is suggested that the correct title which should be given to Mlingo Walter Tembe is kosana [nkosana], because he is the son of induna Makhuza Tembe and has the responsibility for ten wards, each falling under the overall jurisdiction of Chief Mzimba Tembe to whom Mlingo Walter Tembe is responsible. We would be grateful if you could go into the matter and let us have views on his status in due course.[20]

The use of the words "Makhuza tribe" in Walter's claim was more than just a catch phrase. It implied that he saw the house of Makhuza as separate "tribe" that required its own tribal office in Maputaland. In a private discussion with Zylstra, the Bantu Commissioner, Walter said that when he gave instructions to people in Makhuza ward, some people asked him who he was to give them instructions. He also mentioned that his family was always regarded as the chief authority of Makhuza ward. Yet, since the

---

Saunders. However, Mqondo was remembered as the person who had been involved in the conflict between the two families. See UAR, N1/1/3/18/4, Mr Woëner's report on the history of the Tembe people, April 1967.

[20] UAR, N.1/1/3/18/4, H. Heinman, M.A.S. Dorp & Barker lawyers from Johannesburg to the Bantu affairs Commissioner at Ingwavuma, 1967; and UAR, N.1/1/3/11, Zylstra to Mr. Maarsdorp, (21 March 1967).

Nationalist government took over in South Africa, the status of the Makhuza family has been lowered to that of a headman.[21] Walter was trying to attract the Bantu Commissioner into the debate of the two Tembe families' conflict over the authority in Maputaland. Walter wanted the commissioner to consider giving him the position of a chief in Makhuza ward. However, it could be argued that Walter was beginning to write a new history, by telling the Bantu Commissioner that before 1948 the Makhuza family was regarded as chief of Makhuza ward. The ward of Makhuza was partially independent prior 1948, but did not have a chiefly position as it was under the chieftainship of the house of Ngwanase.

The word *inkosana* in Walter's claim is another interesting concept. Walter decided to file his complaint by questioning his status as headman. He requested to be addressed as *inkosana*. It would be possible that Walter thought that a debate between the two Tembe families could result in a Makhuza separate tribal authority, since it was a Nationalists government plan to restore traditional tribal structures. In this way the government could support his claim because his claim was within the government's plan. However, the Nationalist government had their own agenda, hence it refused to recognize the Makhuza family as a Tembe unit separate from the house of Ngwanase.

In order to understand Walter's use of the word *inkosana*, the word needs to be defined in traditional terms. Oral evidence suggests that a headman is a man who has been appointed by a chief as a political representative for the ruling family. A headman can be assigned with duties of administering a ward on behalf of the chief; usually, such a man has no close relationship to the royal family. *Inkosana*, on the other hand, can be

[21] UAR, C 108, N1/1/3/1/11, Mr. Zylstra, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Ingwavuma to Mr. Coertze, Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner (CBAC), Natal, (10 January 1968).

any relative of the royal family, usually a son or a brother of a chief appointed to rule a ward on behalf of the chief. A related term for such person in Zululand is *umntwana*. What distinguishes *inkosana* from a headman is his relationship to the royal family. Both *inkosana,* as well as the headman, perform similar duties and they sit in a chief's tribal council or *ibandla*. However, it is regarded as an insult to call the *inkosana* as a headman, which is distinguished by a Zulu word '*umfokazane.*'[22] In terms of the above definition, Makhuza family was insulted by being referred to as headmen because the house of Ngwanase did not appoint them. Instead, Makhuza respected the Tembe traditions that allowed the senior family to be paramount over other families, which gave Ngwanase a higher position in 1896. This point is explored in chapter three.

The literal meaning of the word *inkosana* can be another point of departure as the word means a "small chief."[23] It is not clear whether Walter, who was responsible for the Makhuza ward with many headmen under his leadership, saw himself as a chief and therefore required the government to recognize Makhuza as another Tembe unit that deserved its own tribal authority.[24] It was clear though in Walter's mind that once he accepted his position to be a headman, the house of Ngwanase would treat the house of Makhuza as an ordinary family (headman). Thus, the royal family would interfere in the internal affairs of the Makhuza's ward as chief Mzimba had already demonstrated by appointing his cousin, Hlabezimhlophe Tembe a headman in Makhuza ward.

---

[22] Interview with Magamenkosi Mkhwanazi of Mtubatuba, in June 2000 at St. Lucia. Mr. Mkhwanazi is an *inkosana* at Kwashikishela and Khula Village in Mtubatuba. In his definition of traditional leadership in Zululand, he said that a chief could spread his sons all over his area to rule on behalf of him. These sons rule independently from their father, but can meet on issues regarding the chief's territory. The headmen are usually not related to the royal family and can be appointed only if the chief does not have enough sons to be placed in his area.

[23] Generally when you suffix the word "ana" in a Zulu language noun, the noun becomes a diminutive.

[24] UAR, C 108, N1/1/3/1/11, Mr Zylstra, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Ingwavuma to Mr Coertze, Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner (CBAC), Natal, 10 January 1968. According to the magistrate of Ingwavuma, Walter met him privately on the 23 December 1967 and requested a higher position than that of being induna as people did not respect him when he was giving instructions. His complaint was that people ignored his instructions because they saw him as an ordinary induna.

The silencing of the Makhuza claim

Walter's claim for the Makhuza family came at the wrong time when black South Africans were posing a great threat to the government by resisting apartheid policies in urban areas. The government was impatient with those who resisted the system, especially to people such as Walter who were using lawyers to challenge the state. Thus, the government rejected the right of Walter's lawyers to intervene in the conflict of the two Tembe families. It was said that lawyers were not allowed to intercede in the administration of "natives," stressing that the government officials were to have direct contact with "natives"; in that way Walter should have reported his case to the Ingwavuma magistrate. To further justify the government's position, the standpoint of the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903 to 1905 was re-emphasized. This commission had recommended that attorneys should not be allowed to intervene in matters of the Native Administration. The involvement of attorneys was seen as a threat, and therefore heavily criticized. In the words of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, "if the government allowed attorneys to be involved with administration of black people in rural areas, the government officials would lose the control of the natives in the same manner that was already happening in urban settings."[25]

Thus, Walter Tembe's case was debated in the Pietermaritzburg court in the absence of Walter and his lawyers. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Ingwavuma was advised that in the future he should refuse to deal with administrative matters through attorneys or in the presence of attorneys. It was also emphasized that this was to the benefit of black people who needed to be protected from the exploitation of being charged fees

[25] UAR, N1/15/1(X), Memorandum: Intervention of attorneys in administrative matters of Bantu administration, (16 April 1963).

for securing administrative action by attorneys. In this way, the black people were seen as children that needed to be protected from the lawyers who were making money by demanding unnecessary fees from black South Africans.[26] The chief Bantu commissioner warned:

> They (natives) are given the best advice by officials who have special knowledge of administrative procedures that are not always known to lawyers, and they are dissuaded from taking steps that cannot lead to success and will involve only the unnecessary expenditure of money.[27]

Ironically, even after making this statement, the government investigated the history of the conflict between the two Tembe families after being approached by Walter's lawyers. The government's ethnologist, Mr. Woërner, was commissioned to deal with the Tembe case. After conducting interviews in Maputaland, Woëner found that the house of Makhuza had reasons to question its position because the Makhuza family was the first to occupy Maputaland under the leadership of Madingi Tembe long before the house of Ngwanase arrived. He also noted that the conflict of the two families was reappearing for the second time, as the British colonial government had resolved it in 1896. These findings challenged the government that was not prepared to create the second tribal office in a small area such as Maputaland. The Bantu Affairs commissioner complained about the issue of Ngwanase and Makhuza:

> dit word vir my al duideliker dat indien ons na die volkekunde samestelling van 60 jaar gelede wil terugkeer, dan gaan ons die goedgesindheid en samewerking van 80% van die Tembestam in Maputaland verbeur in ruil vir die moontlike goedgesindheid van 20% van die Tembe-Madingi seksie. Hierdie stelling word gegrond alleen op my kennis van die mense soos ek hul die afgelope 5 jaar leer ken het en wil ek derhalwe aanbeveel dat Mnr. Woërner die Kaptein en genoemde raadslede besoek en verder navorsing doen voordat ons enigsins optree.[28]

---

[26] Mamdani reminds us that the idea of seeing Africans as children was an old idea from colonial rule. He cites General Jan Smuts' speech that presented black people of South Africa as child-like human beings in his Rhodes Memorial Lectures in 1929. See Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, chapter one,

[27] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, chapter one.

[28] UAR, C.108, N 1/1/3/3(18) 4, Zylstra to Coertze, (10 January 1968).

These words, which are in Afrikaans language mean that the government would have a problem if they tried to uncover the ethnographic composition of the Tembe people. The government would lose the goodwill and the co-operation of 80% of the Maputaland population of Ngwanase for the 20% of the population of the Tembe of Madingi [Makhuza] section. This may suggest that there were some contradictions within the policies of the apartheid government. For instance, the Nationalist leaders were of the view that traditional ethnic structures should be restored, yet it shows that in Maputaland, those structures could only be restored if they did not contradict the agenda of the government.

After this issue was debated between government officials in Pietermaritzburg, a Chief Bantu Commissioner of Natal, Coertze, was delegated to visit Maputaland. In April of 1971, he held a meeting with the Tembe people to discuss the tension between the two Tembe families. In his speech, he acknowledged that there were two Tembe families who were ruling Maputaland. He mentioned that he knew that when the house of Ngwanase came to Maputaland there was a conflict between the two Tembe houses, and that the friction was resolved in 1896 by Magistrate Charles Saunders from *E*showe. Saunders was quoted as having warned the two houses not to continue fighting. The two houses agreed that they were going to live peacefully because they were cousins. As previously stated in chapter three of this thesis, Makhuza's house was given power to appoint its own headman; however, Makhuza was going to remain under the leadership of the senior house of Ngwanase. The Chief Bantu Affairs commissioner failed to resolve the Tembe conflict; instead, he adopted the colonial government's decision of 1896. Thus, he emphasized that the house of Makhuza

should remain independent of the Ngwanase family, a decision that shows that the Nationalist government failed to resolve the Tembe conflict by repeating the British colonial government's decision that left both Tembe families ruling Maputaland. This is a reason why there is still a debate about the chieftainship in Maputaland, as this case has kept on reappearing since the house of Ngwanase moved to Maputaland in 1896.

While the government was trying to resolve the Tembe conflict, it became clear that, if peace was to be restored between the two Tembe families, an issue of Hlabezimhlophe who was appointed by chief Mzimba a headman in Makhuza ward was to be redressed. To address this issue, Woërner, was appointed for the second time to gather information from the local people. The evidence suggests that Woërner only interviewed the members of the royal family and did not consult the house of Makhuza. Thus, the results of the investigation turned out to support the house of Ngwanase. In a letter Zylstra summarized the problem:

> Die geval van Hlabezimhlophe is ook behandel en die raadslede beweer dat daar op twee geleenthede gepoog is om 'n indoena vir die betrokke wyk aan te stel uit hul eie mense maar in ieder geval was daar ontevredenheid. Dit was toe aan die Kaptein oorgelaat om iemand van buite aan te stel en daarop het hy Hlabezimhlophe aangestel. Sedertdien het daardie twis ook end gekry[29]

In short, Zylstra said that chief Mzimba tried to appoint a headman at two different times from the people of the Makhuza ward; however, the people of this region were not satisfied by any of his appointees. The chief was compelled to appoint an outsider, and there were no troubles after the appointment of Hlabezimhlophe. The government ruled that Hlabezimhlophe would remain a headman, at the same time warning chief

[29]AUR, N1/1/3 (18) 4, Ingwavuma Bantu Affairs Commissioner to Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Pietermaritsburg, (10 January 1968).

Mzimba that in future he should not intervene in Makhuza's internal affairs.[30] Knowing that the success of the apartheid policies in rural areas were dependent on chiefs, the government had to be "extremely patient and tolerant with the chiefs and headmen." Thus, Mzimba's position as a chief had to be protected against Walter Tembe. Evidence from other parts of rural South Africa shows that the Nationalist government could fuse or split communities in order to protect and accommodate a cooperative leader.[31]

From the government perspective, the tension between the two Tembe families was resolved, yet Walter and the members of Makhuza were not satisfied with the government rulings. The solution was imposed and not discussed with both parties. The government was not prepared to hear the case anymore. Once the government declared that the Tembe issue was over, no one could raise it again. The government had no patience with people who were resisting its policies following the pressure of growing political consciousness among Africans in the early 70's that preceded the black power movements.[32] To keep the house of Ngwanase in chieftainship, the government had to silence the claim of Makhuza family.

The relationship between Walter and the Tembe royal family remained bitter. Walter was fined twenty cattle by the Tembe Tribal court for challenging the authority of the Tembe royal family in Maputaland and addressing himself as a chief of Maputaland in

---

[30] When the Chief Commissioner visited Maputaland to resolve the conflict between two Tembe houses, he warned that the house of Makhuza should be left independently to appoint its own council. The issue of Hlabezimhlophe was not discussed, and the Makhuza house did not say anything although they were not satisfied.

[31] Evans showed how the apartheid government supported chief Matanzima against chief Dalinyebo in Transkei. Evans, Bureaucracy *and Race*, 253-4.

[32] Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa. The evolution of an Ideology.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Mbeki, Govan. *South Africa: The Peasant Revolts.* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1964).

his interview with media.[33] In this way Walter did not only lose the case in the government court, but also in the traditional court. While Walter paid the fine; this case was far from being over as subsequent chapters demonstrate. Seven years after, Walter stepped down from the leadership of Makhuza ward, as Isaac Ncelaphi Tembe, the heir, was old enough and ready to lead the Makhuza ward. There is no evidence that Ncelaphi challenged the house of Ngwanase in the first five years of taking over from Walter's position, yet some people in Maputaland continued to discuss the authority of Makhuza family privately.[34]

In short, the establishment of the Bantu Administration under the Nationalist government fuelled the Tembe aged-old conflict. Whereas the British and Natal colonial governments did not recognise the leadership of Makhuza family, this family enjoyed autonomy in the coastal Maputaland. This family retained the authority of the chief in its own domain and continued to collect tributes, hearing cases independently from the royal family and appointing its own headmen. The advent of apartheid policies centralised power under the leadership of the royal family through the establishment of the tribal authority. This meant that Makhuza could no longer deal with the matters of that ward, as the tribal office under the house of Ngwanase became the only office to deal with such matters in Maputaland. Ambitions to power and possible benefits to chieftainship led Walter Tembe to question the Nationalist government on the status the Makhuza family under the new system. The government failed to resolve the Tembe issues; instead silenced Walter Tembe and denied him rights to hire lawyers against the government. It is possible that the government would have taken drastic steps against Walter if he had decided to pursue his case after the government declared it over.

---

[33] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Manguzi, (11 July 1999).
[34] It is at this time that I got the story from Bukiwe Tembe as mentioned at the beginning of this thesis.

The government decision to leave Makhuza as an independent ward made it possible for this claim to reappear in future. Indeed, the subsequent attempt to fuse Ingwavuma with Swaziland by the South African government in early 1980s and the introduction of conservation parks in Maputaland became the catalysts to the fight over land and chieftaincy in this region. The next two chapters demonstrate how the Ingwavuma issue, the KwaZulu "homeland" and conservation policies created scope to re-debate the question of Makhuza family's position in Maputaland.

Chapter five

The consolidation of KwaZulu "homeland" authority in northern Zululand

Maputaland and the Ingwavuma Land "Deal"

Between the years 1959 and 1970 the South African government set up the homelands for each main African "ethnic group," as defined in the Promotion of Black Self Government Act of 1959. This Act provided the basis for the creation of ethnically defined homelands that served as areas for Black South Africans to exercise their political rights. As a result of this act, South Africa was divided into various tiny homeland "states" under the leadership of the prime or chief ministers. In Natal and Zululand, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi initially rejected "independence" of KwaZulu homeland. At the same time, he established the Inkatha Liberation Movement (Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe), which became synonymous with opposition to the homeland structures.[1]

In the beginning of this organization, many people from urban and rural areas supported Inkatha Liberation Movement because it was believed that this organization was against the policies of the apartheid government. Inkatha was perceived as an organization that was going to support the Black community and other organizations fighting for equal rights, such as the African National Congress (ANC). Tessendorf and Boult's "Inkatha Yenkululeko YeSizwe" wrote that the ANC gave its approval to Gatsha Buthelezi to launch Inkatha as the internal wing of the ANC at the ANC's Morogoro Conference in 1969 because the ANC was banned at that time. Thus,

[1] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*: *Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 272-284.

Buthelezi used the colours of the ANC as an emblem of Inkatha.[2] However, the links between Buthelezi and the ANC became estranged as Buthelezi began to be involved in homeland politics. In 1979 delegations from both the ANC and Inkatha met in London to discuss mutual issues. The meeting ended with a disagreement revolving around Inkatha's participation in homeland structures. The disagreement became apparent after the two organizations criticized each other, with Buthelezi attacking the communist influence within the ANC, while the ANC criticized Buthelezi for being a traitor.[3] The conflict between these movements became obvious after the members of Inkatha attacked the students at the University of Zululand, crushed the KwaMashu School boycott in 1980 and ended the unrest in Inanda in 1985.[4] As a result of these events, many supporters of the ANC, especially the youth, began to see Buthelezi and Inkatha as part and parcel of the apartheid government, and Inkatha lost the support of many people who were against the policies of the apartheid regime.

After Buthelezi realized that his organization was losing support from urban youth, started to use homeland structures and Zulu identity to recruit and strengthen the membership of his organization. At this time, Buthelezi wanted to ensure that Inkatha became in Du Toit's words a "secret tribal emblem to symbolize the solidarity and

---

[2]Harold Tessendorf & Brenda Boult, "Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe: An analysis." A Research Paper C2, (University of Port Elizabeth, 1991), 65. For the support of Inkatha amongst the urban working class, see Ari Sitas, "Inanda, August 1985-Where Wealth and Power and Blood reign worship Gods". *South African Labour Bulletin.* Vol.11/4(1986), 92; and L. Schlemmer, "Squatter Communities: Safety Valves in the Rural-urban Nexus," in Giliomee, H. and Schlemmer, L. (eds). *Up Against the Fences-Poverty, Passes and Privileges in South Africa.* (Cape Town: David Philip),184. In this article, Schlemmer noted that the inhabitants of squatter settlements in Durban had a better perception of Inkatha than those living in townships.

[3] Tessendorf and Boult, " Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe,"66.

[4] For a detailed analysis of violence between Inkatha and urban youth in KwaZulu Natal, see Mike Morris, and Doug Hindson, "South Africa: Political Violence, Reform and Reconstruction," *Review of African Political Economy,* no. 53, (1992), 43-47; Anthony Minaar, "Undisputed Kings: Warlordism in Natal," in Anthony Minaar, (ed.), *Patterns of Violence: Case Studies of Conflict in Natal",* (Pretoria: Human Sciencies Research Council, 1992); Paulus Zulu, "Durban Hostels and Political Violence: Case Studies in KwaMashu and Umlazi," *Transformation,* No. 21, (1993), 22.

loyalty of all Zulus."[5] The need to control all regions under the KwaZulu government by Buthelezi coincided with an attempt by the South African government to place the Ingwavuma district (northern Zululand), including the Tembe area, under Swaziland. The KwaZulu, Swaziland and Nationalist government debated this issue from 1979 to 1982. This event affected the people of Maputaland because their leader, chief Mzimba, was heavily involved. Buthelezi opposed the Nationalists' proposal of ceding Ingwavuma to Swaziland and accused all chiefs in Ingwavuma who became involved in this matter. In Maputaland, Buthelezi accused chief Mzimba of selling the Zululand to foreign people. In the end this event complicated the relationship of the Tembe chief with his followers.

This chapter demonstrates how chief Mzimba Tembe, a chief in Maputaland, lost popularity and support from his followers during the debate of the Ingwavuma and Swaziland. Although this event did not have a direct link with the conflict between the members of Makhuza and the royal family, it provided evidence showing that many other people, despite Makhuza family, did not support the leadership of the present Maputa Royal family. The debate over Ingwavuma demonstrated that besides the descendants of Makhuza and that of Ngubane, there were other people who felt that the house of Ngwanase was not a legitimate ruler of Maputaland. The debate and protests around the issue provide further evidence that questioned the leadership of the Maputa royal family and provided to believe that the house of Makhuza may had historical grounds to challenge the royal family.

[5] B. Du Toit, "South Africa: Consciousness, Identification and Resistance." *The Journal of Modern African studies.* Vol. 21. No. 3, (1983), 378.

In chapters two and three, it has been shown that from 1895 Maputaland was integrated into British-Natal colonial Native Administration structures and two years after that it was incorporated into Zululand and was administered under the Ingwavuma Magistracy as part of Zululand. Maputaland continued with its special status and a succession of Tembe (Thonga) chiefs, notwithstanding that the language and other Thonga traditions came under intense Zulu influence.[6] An *undlunkulu*, the chief wife of the late chief Mzimba Tembe, MaMkhwanazi, is a daughter of chief Mkhwanazi in Mtubatuba with strong orientation towards Zulu language and traditions. When she came to live in Maputaland, she was surprised that people of that region were using natural fruits, such as marula, for a harvesting ceremony, a ceremony that is performed with crops in Zululand. "I began to wonder what these people were going to cook for me for dinner one day," she said.[7] This is an old tale but also a stereotype among Zulu people, that says Thonga people used to eat human beings. This stereotype has lived to the present in mild forms.

Evidence for the continuing Thonga culture in Maputaland is provided by Dennis Claude's recent study, "The Hidden Architecture in Maputaland," which suggests that the hut-building style in Maputaland cannot be found in any part of Zululand or Natal. Dennis believes that the style can be associated with Henri Junod's description of the Thonga style in the nineteenth century.[8] Although the Tembe rulers were paying tributaries to the Zulu kings, politically, Maputaland was independent from the Zulu

[6] David, Webster, " Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala. Ethnicity and Gender. KwaZulu Border Community." Andrew Spiegel and Patrick McAllister, (eds.) *Tradition and Transition in Southern Africa*. African Studies, 50th Anniversary, Vol. 1&2, (Johannesburg, 1991), 248-150.
[7] Interview with MaMkhwanazi Tembe, Thandizwe Tembe Royal Palace, (5 November 1997).
[8] Dennis Claude, "The Hidden Architecture of Maputaland," *South African Journal of Arts and Architectural History*. Vol. 4, (1994), 45-53.

kingdom. The tribute did not necessary involve subordination.[9] The records of the Chief Native Commissioner suggest that chief Ngwanase was collecting money from his followers to pay tribute in Zululand during the reign of King, Solomon Zulu.[10] This means that under the British and later under the Union government, Maputaland enjoyed its status as an independent chiefdom, albeit that it was administered as part of Zululand.

When the Nationalist Party introduced its apartheid policies, Maputaland lost its independence completely as a kingdom, when compared to the reign of Zambili and Ngwanase.[11] Under the government of the Nationalist the KwaZulu government extended and imposed its control over Maputaland. Although the people of Maputaland region have spoken Zulu language the local dialects and other Thonga traditions from pre-colonial times were strong, yet the influence of the Zulu authority under the new KwaZulu "homeland" in the middle 1970 began to overpower not only customs and culture of Maputans, but also the status of Maputa royal family.[12] Once KwaZulu was granted self-governing status by the apartheid government, Zulu nationalism was imposed over the Maputaland region with mass, sometimes enforced, recruitment into Inkatha, National Cultural Liberation Movement under the leadership

---

[9] Evidence of Mahungane and Nkomuza, 20 November, 1900, in *James Stuart Archives*, Vol. II, 142-143.

[10] PAR, C.N.C. 379/3265/19, W. T. Matravers, a captain of "C" Squadron: 3rd Regiment S.A. Mounted Riflemen to Baxter, (17 October 1919). Baxter sent a copy of this letter to the C.N.C. in Pietermaritzburg, (24 October 1919). In this letter there is a list of northern chiefs collecting money for King Solomon KaDinuzulu from their subjects. Chief Ngwanase is on the list.

[11] Although Maputa may have lost the status of being a kingdom during British colonial rule by incorporating it into Zululand, practically Maputa could still claim its independence, and thus, a kingdom. During the Nationalist government, the control of the KwaZulu over Maputa was formalized, as Buthelezi was concerned about Maputaland being incorporated into Swaziland.

[12] During the annexation of Zululand to Natal, Maputaland was incorporated into Zululand, and it was therefore annexed as part of Zululand. The details of this incorporation appear in chapter two. It has been stated that C.R. Saunders, the British official who became the most closely involved with the region east of the Ubombo, facilitated the process. See Graham Dominy, "From Lake St. Lucia to Delagoa Bay," Schreuder, D. M. The Scramble for Africa 1877-1895; Warhurst, "Britain and the partition of Maputo"

of Gatsha Buthelezi.[13] School curriculums, which emphasized Zulu nation, under, "Ubuntu Botho", were forced on all schools in Zululand including Maputaland.[14] The coherence of Thonga society had crumbled such that today many people in Maputaland speak isiZulu as their preferred language.

In 1982 Gatsha Buthelezi began to intervene in Maputan internal affairs by opposing the South African government's attempt to incorporate the Ingwavuma district under Swaziland, an incident that was known as the Ingwavuma Land "Deal."[15] The event is well documented in an abundance of articles, journals and newspapers.[16] Various reasons for the government's decision are provided in these documents and hence the discussion will rather focus on the ways in which the event complicated the internal politics in Maputaland.[17] Many of the questions that concern this study in the Ingwavuma Land "Deal" were either ignored or treated from the perspective of only one side. For instance, the media focused on the debate between the KwaZulu government, the South African government and Swaziland. There has been little attempt to interview local people and leaders of Ingwavuma districts. If they had, the chiefs would not have disclosed their true feelings to the newspaper reporters for the fear that such information would be published, and this be running a risk of accounting their words to the KwaZulu government. The extent to which the Ingwavuma Land "Deal" was understood by the Maputan chief is of great interest to this discussion. Oral

[13] Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala. Ethnicity and Gender," 248.
[14]Bongani Mkhize, "How Did Debates Around Zuluness and the Teaching of Zulu History Shape the Teaching of Zulu History in KwaZulu Secondary School, 1980-1994? M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, (1999). Chapter three, "Ubuntu-botho Controversy in KwaZulu Schools," 83-108.
[15] It was generally accepted that the National government wanted to incorporate Ingwavuma to Swaziland so that they could get Swaziland to create a barrier to the ANC infiltration from Mozambique, thus it was called a "deal."
[16] South African newspapers, *Daily News*, *Sunday Tribune* and the *Natal Witness*.
[17] *Daily News* followed the debates of this event from its beginning till September 1982 when the Bloemfontein appeal court supported Buthelezi's claim that Ingwavuma was part of Zululand; and Buthelezi's speech on 31 July 1982 at Nongoma summarizes debates between Swaziland, the Tembe chief, the KwaZulu government and the Nationalist government.

sources suggests that the "Ingwavuma Land Deal," was seen by chief Mzimba and his councilors as a way of emancipating the Tembe country from the KwaZulu government. It was also seen as a route to the economic development and creation of job opportunities for the Tembe people. This evidence was obtained from Solomon Tembe, a member of the Tembe Tribal Councillors, who witnessed the initial negotiations between the Tembe chief and the King of Swaziland, Sobhuza II.[18] The details of discussion between these two leaders is summarized:

In 1978 King Sobhuza II invited Chief Mzimba to the Umhlanga ritual ceremony, which takes place annually in Swaziland. During the ceremony the Tembe chief was advised by Sobhuza to challenge the KwaZulu government and demand independence of the Tembe country. The Swazi King reminded Mzimba that history showed that Maputaland was an autonomous power and emphasized that Maputaland had never been under or part of Zululand. Sobhuza also told Mzimba that Maputaland was going to remain a poor country if it continued to be under the KwaZulu government. He proposed that the Tembe people and the Swazi people should form an alliance because the two had a long-standing relationship that dated back to their ancestors. Of course, Mzimba Tembe knew that his grandmother Zambili was a Swazi princess. He also knew that his father's name, Ngwanase, was derived from the relationship with *abakwaNgwane* because he was a son of the Swazi princess. Sobhuza mobilized this history that provided evidence of the relationship between the Tembe and Swazi royal families.[19] Sobhuza also told chief Mzimba that if Maputaland and Swaziland formed

[18] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Manguzi, Maputaland, (11 July 1999). At the time of the Ingwavuma Land "Deal," Solomon Tembe was a working with chief Mzimba Tembe as a Chief Headman in Maputaland.
[19] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Maputaland, (11 July 1999).

an alliance they could work together to establish a harbour in Kosi Bay, which was under the authority of the Tembe dynasty.

In this alliance both countries were going to benefit. Swaziland was going to have access to the ocean, while the Tembe people would benefit through employment opportunities from the harbour. In addition to that, the Tembe chief was going to benefit by taxing all imported and exported products through the harbour. The Tembe chief and his councilors welcomed the idea, as Maputaland was not only poverty stricken, but also neglected by the government.[20] The KwaZulu government, which had begun to administer Maputaland at this time, had done nothing to improve or even to give hope to residents that the situation in this area would ever change. Other researchers documented poverty in Maputaland.[21]

Sobhuza continued to complain to the Tembe chief about the high levels of illiteracy within the Tembe country, including the chief himself. According to the Swazi king, this meant that the Tembe chief would never understand his rights and would continuously be exploited by the KwaZulu government. Sobhuza also promised that the Swazi government was prepared to pay the expenses of training and educating the sons of the Tembe headmen, councillors, and Tembe royal family to prepare Maputaland for self-government in the same manner as the Swazi country. Following these discussions, many headmen and the Tembe chief sent their sons to study in Swaziland.[22] However, the information about the talks between the Tembe chief and

[20] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Maputaland, (11 July 1999).
[21] For the poverty in Maputaland region, see Vijay Makanjee, "Maputaland the Neglected Territory." *Indicator South Africa*, Vol. 6, (1989); Overcoming apartheid's legacy in Maputaland (Northern Natal), Durban: CORD, University of Natal, (1989, 1991), and D. Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala."
[22] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Maputaland, (11 July 1999); and Khehla Ngubane, Maputaland, (11 July 1999). Khehla was a secretary of the Tembe Tribal Authority at the time of this event.

Sobhuza were not disclosed to the public of Maputaland. This was a mistake on the part of the Tembe Tribal Authority as the residents of Maputaland heard the story from Inkatha rallies and the KwaZulu government's perspective that was against the proposal.

Inkatha and the mobilization of Zulu ethnicity in Maputaland

When rumours of negotiations between the Tembe royal family and the Swazi government spread after the Swazi delegation's visit to KwaZulu, both the KwaZulu government and many people from Maputaland criticized chief Mzimba. The rumours reported that Chief Mzimba Tembe had sold Maputaland, the land of KwaZulu, to the Swazi people. This event happened at a time when Buthelezi was consolidating the authority of KwaZulu government in all areas falling under KwaZulu. In fact, in the early 1980s the anti-apartheid expectations of the Inkatha movements were undermined as it became increasingly difficult to separate the Inkatha movement from apartheid state-created structures. In that way Buthelezi was not expecting any opposition to the KwaZulu government, thus he was not prepared to tolerate the Ingwavuma-Swazi proposal. Buthelezi realized that he needed to act fast to suppress the proposal of shifting boundaries in northern Zululand. As Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Buthelezi had control over a large budget from the government that he could use to mobilize support for KwaZulu and for *Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe*. To win the support of the Tembe people, Buthelezi urgently sought to develop some areas of Maputaland.

Within the two years after the Ingwavuma and Swazi issue had begun, Buthelezi had extended Manguzi hospital, renovated schools and built a new Tembe tribal office with a community hall. In this short period, more than R1 500 000 was spend in

Maputaland, attention that had never before been received by this area.[23] At the opening of the Tembe Tribal Authority in November 1980, Buthelezi grabbed the opportunity to criticize the Swazi proposal and further mobilized the Maputan people to resist the proposal as the KwaZulu government was beginning to build infrastructure in Maputa. He started his speech by mobilizing history as he told the masses at the gathering that the Zulu kings and the Tembe kings were always at good terms:

> It must by now be clear to anyone listening to me that we are not prepared under any circumstances to voluntarily relinquish any responsibility we have for any of our people, in any part of KwaZulu. What would King Mpande think of me as his descendant, if I allowed the ties that he established and forged through blood with the Tembe Royal family to be lost in the mud of international political opportunism, and in pursuance of land-grabbing designs.[24]

He stated that the KwaZulu government was committed to the development of all black people who lived in KwaZulu including the people of Maputa. In one of his statements, he pointed to the new tribal office and said, "We had no hesitation in granting funds to assist the Tembe tribe to have this modern tribal centre erected."[25] Of course, he new that the new structure of the tribal authority became a sign that the KwaZulu government was beginning to uplift the standard of Maputaland, which also gave hope to the local people that further development was to take place through the KwaZulu government. While Buthelezi was delivering his speech, some people begun to grumble at the back showing signs of opposing Swaziland's proposal. A man shouted

---

[23] In his speech at the opening of Manguzi hospital and the Tembe tribal office, Buthelezi boasted over the money he spent in Maputaland within two years.

[24] Speech by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, the then Chief Minister and President of Inkatha Yenkululeko YeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement), in Opening the Tembe Tribal Authority Offices at Manguzi, (14 Friday 1980). He told the people of Maputaland that their relationship between the Zulu royal family could not be destroyed because it started during the reigns of King Mpande and King Makasana of the Tembe people.

[25] The Tembe tribal authority was proclaimed by the government in 18 April 1958, however a judge officially opened it in 1963. Previously a small courtroom of poles and palm under thatch at eMfihlweni had been used. In 1966 the courtroom collapsed after heavy rain; as a result this office (tribal) was moved to Manguzi where it is today. The new building that was opened in 1980 cost R48 216. TEBA contributed R5 000 and the KwaZulu government paid the rest of the sum.

at the back, "*asiyi lapho akahambe yedwa,*" "we are not leaving our country, let him [chief Tembe] go alone." After Buthelezi's speech, many people who attended the meeting doubted the benefits of the Kosi Bay harbour, which people heard from the rumours was proposed by their chief. Other people were surprised because the issue of Ingwavuma Land Deal was never addressed publicly in Maputaland, until the time when Buthelezi was opening the new Tembe tribal authority. Caught by Gatsha Buthelezi's speech, many people thought that the Maputan chief did not know what he was doing, and some people believed that the Swazi people were robbing him.

Buthelezi warned that the people of Maputaland would be forced to work in mines like the people of Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Mozambique. He also warned that the people of Maputaland would forfeit benefits and services, such as old-age pensions and the building of public schools and hospitals received from the KwaZulu government, if they decided to fall under the Swazi government. This is an example of apartheid government's indirect rule to broaden the social base by incorporating into government alliance new social forces such as the "native middle class" [in Mamdani's terms].[26] In order to force the rural residents under the control of indirect rule Bantustan authorities, a huge budget was given to the prime ministers who will then distribute rewards for compliance in their "homeland". When Buthelezi threatened to withdraw the KwaZulu services in Maputaland, he was using economic power of controlling this budget received from the Nationalist government. In his article "Inkatha: the paradox of South African politics," Kane-Berman showed how Inkatha was successful in capturing the imagination and support of KwaZulu's rural poor areas which were economically inactive. Kane-Berman wrote that the rural

[26] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 103.

support of Inkatha was strongest among those who lived below the poverty line as those people could be easily tied into a system by benefits, which trickled down to them.[27] Gerhard Mare was referring to the same idea when he wrote that the KwaZulu administration could provide material and career benefits to the members of Inkatha. Thus, Buthelezi could use these services to attract and maintain support as he had assumed responsibilities for pensions, roads, transport, township management and the education system, and this was successful in Maputaland.[28]

These threats became a serious issue to the people of Maputaland especially because the old-age pension had been an important source of income for many families. Many families raised their children and paid school fees through the old age-pension.[29] A survey done in 1987 showed that unemployment in Kosi Bay was 52% for men and 89% among women. Even the migrants were not bringing sufficient income. The highest paid workers were earning less than R400 per month. Many people were engaged in casual labour and worked for one or two months at R1 per day in Barberton and sugarcane plantations at Empangeni.[30] Thus, the pension was a vital resource of income in this area and it supplemented the migrant labour income. As neighbours of Mozambique, the people of Maputaland understood the consequences of relocating their country. Since the independence of Mozambique in 1975 they had watched the

[27] J. Kane-Bernman, "Inkatha: the paradox of South African politics," *Optima,* Vol. 30, No. 2, (1982), 147; J. Saul, *The State and Revolution in East Africa.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 309.
[28] G. Mare, "Mixed, capitalist and free: the aims of the Natal option" in Moss G. and Obery I. (eds). *South African Review.* Vol. 4. (Johannesburg: Ravan Press), 64; P. M. Zulu, "The Rural Crises: Authority Structures and their Role in Development," in Giliomee, H. and Schlemmer, L. (eds). *Up Against the Fences,* 243. Zulu showed how the traditional form of chieftainship have been integrated into the homeland political system, where the conservative elements of homelands has been combined with traditional local conservative tendencies to provide the legitimacy necessary to underpin the chief's authority which included the control of social benefits such as pensions.
[29] David Webster, who studied this area argues that 80 percent of the families of this region depend on pensions for their survival. See also Felgate, *The Tembe Thonga.* The interviews that I did during the local government elections in Maputaland suggest that there were many old people at polling stations, who believed that if they did not vote, they were not going to receive an old age pension. Maputaland, (5 December 2000).
[30] Webster, "Tembe-Thonga Kinship," 615 –617.

Mozambican refugees and migrants crossing the South African border to escape violence and starvation.[31] Buthelezi crushed the idea of independence of Maputaland from KwaZulu. Whether the people of Maputaland were going to oppose the idea of incorporating their country into Swaziland it is not clear, yet it was clear that after Buthelezi gave his speech in Tembe Tribal Authority many people began to criticize chief Mzimba Tembe.

Attitudes against the Tembe Royal family were further demonstrated at the special meeting in which the chief was summoned to explain the Swazi issue to the public. During the meeting, the chief was forced to leave as people were angry with him and some were threatening to throw stones. "I have no food at home," an elderly man told the chief in the meeting, "but, I cannot come to you for help because you are starving like *umfokazane*, you have four cows. There are no industries in this country," he continued, "where do you think our people will get work; what independence are you talking about? We might send you back to Mozambique where your family came from, and leave us with our country."[32] The chief was reminded that when his father arrived in Maputaland there was peace under the leadership of chief Makhuza Tembe. Some people threatened to call on chief Mzimba to surrender the chieftainship to the legitimate house of Makhuza.[33] At the end of the meeting, many people were laughing

---

[31] Since 1975 up to now, the number of Mozambicans in Maputaland has been increasing. Today their number is equal to the number of the existing people of Maputaland. They are perceived as outsiders, the name 'Shangaans' is more associated with them. They are employed by local people as farm labourers and domestic workers. Considering poverty in Maputaland one can imagine that some of them work for food. However, many males are not looking for salaries, but they work so that they can acquire the South African identity document that would allow them to be employed in the mines. The pressure is on females who are not taken to marriage by members of Maputaland society as everyone is afraid that local people would laugh at him that he is married to the 'Shangaan,' a person perceived as being inferior. Every day South African police officials are hunting them. Therefore, no one in Maputaland wanted to be in a similar condition as Mozambicans.

[32] Simayela Mthembu, Meeting at Tembe Tribal Authority, Maputaland, 1983.

[33] These words suggest that the Tembe royal family was not fully recognised by the people of Maputaland. It also suggests that the Tembe royal family was ruling the people who had grudges

and mocking the chief whom they claimed could not pronounce some Zulu words properly. For instance, instead of using "c" or "x", he used "q" in the words "*bangiqindezela ngebhaqa.*" He should have stated that, "*bangicindezela ngebhaxa.*"[34] Many people thought that the language of the chief was demonstrating that he was a Thonga speaker; an identity that many people in Maputaland felt was inferior.

After the Ingwavuma land issue, Buthelezi realized that he needed to strengthen the KwaZulu authority in Maputaland. The Inkatha movement became a tool to mobilize support in this region. Walter Tembe, an old enemy of Mzimba, became an active member of Inkatha, and he was appointed as a speaker for the organization in Maputaland. During the crisis of the Ingwavuma Land Deal, Chief Mzimba told the *Sunday Tribune* that the KwaZulu police took him to a meeting convened by his rival Walter Tembe who has lost a succession dispute against him since 1971. Mzimba claimed that that he was publicly insulted and attacked. After this meeting, chief Mzimba described Inkatha as "an organization that was engaged in a campaign of intimidation in Tongaland."[35] In another incident, the chief was told by a high official of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government to show his compliance to KwaZulu by recruiting members of Inkatha in Maputaland. The chief could not resist these demands for he feared that chief Buthelezi had all powers to overthrow any chief in KwaZulu.

Another incident took place during the King Shaka rally in 1984. Buthelezi threatened to deprive chief Mzimba of the chieftainship and said:

---

regarding the chieftaincy in Maputaland. Some people even threatened to kill him in that meeting. This meeting took place in Tembe Tribal Authority in 1983.

[34] Chief Tembe who was trying to apologise saying that he was forced to accept the Swazi offer said these words. However, he did not finish his words as people were becoming angrier.

[35] Interview during the press conference between Chief Mzimba Tembe and Dominique Gilbert, *Sunday Tribune,* (1 December 1985).

> Chief Tembe must be reminded of the responsibilities of a chief. I tell him bluntly, he cannot retain his position if he opposes the people, if he opposes KwaZulu and is treacherous to the sacred trust I hold as Chief Minister and as President of Inkatha.[36]

Even though chief Mzimba was present, Buthelezi told the Zulu masses who attended this event that chief Tembe was not only resenting the Zulu government but he was boycotting the King Shaka's rally. Mzimba was forced to apologize to Buthelezi. In his apology statement, he stated that the independence of Maputaland was never his idea but that of the Swaziland authorities with the aid of the South African National Intelligence Service (NIS).[37]

In short, the importance of the Ingwavuma Land Deal to this study is two fold: First, it reveals that although the Tembe royal family ruled Maputaland for more than hundred years, some people still believed that the Tembe dynasty was not the legitimate ruler of that country; some people even reminded Mzimba that Makhuza was the original leader in Maputaland. This also reveals that the Royal family was not only opposed by the Makhuza family or Ngubane famil, but there were other people who had similar beliefs in Maputaland. When Buthelezi threatened to withdraw KwaZulu support from the Tembe people, many people thought Mzimba was a not a good leader. It is important to note that it was not only Walter Tembe or the Ngubane people who to say in public that chief Tembe was not a legitimate ruler, but also other members of Maputaland community. Why these communities have supported Ngwanase in the beginning is a question that cannot be answered in this thesis, yet it can be argued generally, that from the period of the British colonial government Ngwanase made it hard for local people to question the royal family. Now that the apartheid had shifted the power giving

[36] *Daily News*, (5 November 1984).
[37] Interview during the Press conference between Chief Mzimba Tembe and Dominique Gilbert, *Sunday Tribune*, (1 December 1985).

administrative authority to the KwaZulu, the royal family does not have the same authority as before the establishment of homeland structures.

Secondly, the Ingwavuma Land "Deal" created a situation whereby Mzimba ruled Maputaland through fear of the KwaZulu government, and therefore, Mzimba could not challenge policies imposed by the KwaZulu government that was threatening to depose him. After the Ingwavuma debates, chief Tembe became extremely loyal to Buthelezi. In the following years the KwaZulu government tightened its control over Maputaland through the nature reserve policies, a situation that further mobilized the people of Maputaland against the royal family and the chief became even more unpopular than in the Swazi issue because these policies involved removal of people from their land. To the members of the Makhuza family, the "popular" dissatisfactions triggered the old rivalry of the two Tembe families. For other people the politics of the belly (bread and butter) was at stake. One can argue that the people of Maputaland are more concern about what a chief that provides rather than the chief's legiticimacy. Whether it is Makhuza or Ngwanase, the important issue is what the chief delivers. Thus, Ngwanase may have won the support of local people who were under Makhuza's leadership in the nineteenth century when he arrived in Maputaland with support of British colonial government to which people were looking for development. The next chapter examines how the policies of nature conservation became an issue, through which Makhuza family fought for its independence from the Tembe royal family.

Chapter Six

Nature Conservation, Tourism and the widening conflict over the Tembe Chieftaincy

As previously discussed, in the early 1980s the Tembe royal family became unpopular with some people in Maputaland following the Ingwavuma Land Deal. This chapter attempts to shed some light on the impact of the nature conservation established in Kosi Bay area of Maputaland by the KwaZulu government in the 1980s. The chapter traces how the establishment of nature reserve parks in Maputaland deepened the traditional fault lines, not only between the Tembe Royal family and members of Makhuza family, but also with all coastal communities who were affected by these newly created nature conservation programmes. Since conservation has a long history in Zululand, it is appropriate to take a look at the historical background of state intervention in Maputaland.

Colonial government and Conservation in northern Zululand

Beverly Ellis has written a detailed history of game preservation in Natal and Zululand in her Honours thesis in the mid-1970s. She discusses the legislation of the British colonial and the South African governments on nature preservation from the 1840s to 1947. She ended with the formation of the Natal Parks Board by the Natal Administration in 1947.[1] The details of British colonial legislation will not be discussed in this chapter. This chapter mainly focuses on conservation in Maputaland. The history of nature conservation in Maputaland is traced to the end of the nineteenth century when Maputaland was ruled by the British colonial government. By the late

[1] Beverly Ellis, "Game Conservation in Zululand 1824-1947," Honours Thesis, University of Natal Pietermaritzburg, (1975).

1890s the British colonial government began to earmark specific areas for nature conservation in northern Zululand. St. Lucia, Umfolozi, Mkhuze and Ndumu were among the oldest game sanctuaries in Zululand.[2] The Ndumu, situated about six miles east of the old site of Ingwavuma magistracy and five miles south of the boundary between South Africa and Mozambique, was the first game reserve in the far northern Zululand. This game reserve was established in 1907 as a small police station with the purpose of controlling hunting in that region.[3] The purpose for the establishment of the Ndumu Game Reserve contrasted with that of the other game reserves in Zululand such as Umfolozi Game Reserve whose aim was to prevent animal diseases being transferred to domestic animals such as cattle.[4] As explained before, as Maputaland was an area neglected by the colonial government after 1897, the presence of the colonial state was weak.[5] There were no settlers in Maputaland; even the big game hunters had to avoid this area that was known for its malaria. Thus, Ndumu was not formally proclaimed a game reserve until 1924. Up to the 1940s many tourists did not even know that the Ndumu Game Reserve existed. Its location in the extreme north of Zululand with limited road infrastructure and the infestation with diseases contributed to its not being known. Of all the reserves in Zululand, the Ndumu was the least visited. Besides the Ndumu Game Reserve, other parts of Maputaland remained a hunting ground to

---

[2] Ellis, "Game Conservation in Zululand," 20-24.

[3] PAR, Principal Veterinary Surgeon (P.V.S.), 40/1542/1904, Principal Veterinary Surgeon, Pietermaritzburg to the magistrate Ingwavuma. (1909 no further details).

[4] After the World War 1 the Natal Colonial government sold large tracts of land in Zululand to white settlers. For more details on land given to white settlers in Zululand, see, A. J. Christopher, "A Note on the Opening of Zululand to European Settlement," *Historia*, Vol. 16, (September 1971); A. J. Christopher, *The Crown lands of British South Africa, 1853-1914*. (Kingston, Ont., Canada: Limestone Press, 1984). Many settlers used lands for cattle farming. The tsetse flies that carried nagana disease soon spread to the farmer's cattle. The cattle owners blamed the wild animals for spreading the disease. These farmers waged war on wild animals. They started to shoot them in numbers as a way of preventing the disease. Some of the game reserves in Zululand were thus formed as a way to prevent wild animals from mixing with cattle. Later on, the Natal Society for the Preservation of Wild Life was formed as an organisation to stir up the public against the slaughter of wild animals.

[5] Chapter two of this thesis discussed how Maputaland was left undeveloped and neglected after it was annexed to Natal as part of Zululand.

individual hunters and traders. Sources show that there were many wild animals in this area such as elephants, hippos, rhinoceros, impala and inyala.[6] Wild elephants continued to live in this region up to the 1980s when the KwaZulu government established the Tembe Elephant Park. Details of this park will be discussed later in the chapter.

By the late 1940s, the South African government became interested in Maputaland. In 1947 the Natal Provincial Administration moved swiftly to create the Natal Parks Board (NPB) that became a government body responsible for managing nature conservation in Natal and Zululand. This board was established among other things, to control illegal poaching of game and the nest hunting of sea turtles, to prevent the destruction of indigenous forest as well as other activities that were seen as damaging natural resources. Many offices of the NPB were established along the coastal regions of Natal and Zululand, including an office in the Tembe area of Kosi Bay.

In 1950 the NPB proclaimed a small forest as the Malangeni Forest Reserve in coastal Maputaland to protect grasslands and swamps from local people who were clearing them for subsistence farming. This reserve was situated about five miles south of Kosi Bay in an area controlled by Makhuza's descendants.[7] Local people remember that when the NPB was introduced, they were told that it was going to teach people about nature conservation and provide employment. Yet, after conservation was established

[6] PAR, Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO) 1841/6138, Tongaland Rubber Syndicate Company requesting permission to hunt rhinoceros to Chief Secretary's office in Pretoria, 1907; CSO 1836/4712 Gqumbu Tembe to Chief Native Commissioner, 1914; CNC 83/1362 Chief Ngwanase Tembe to District Native Commissioner, Zululand, 1912; and, CSO 1871/2305 P.J. Harvey to Chief Secretary's Office, 1909; see also Miller Papers, Reminiscences.... 1895 to 1920, Von Wissell give accounts of individual hunters who visited Maputaland from the period of the late 1890s to 1920; and, Braatvedt, *Roaming Zululand with a Native Commissioner*. (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1949), 98- 99.

[7] Nick Steele, "Conservation in Maputaland: The Facts." A report on KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, in *AFRA* (August 1990).

in this area the NPB began to put several restrictions against the local people. These laws forbade local people to clear forests for fields, to hunt and to harvest certain staple food from the ocean.[8] Clearing of forests for cultivation of crops is common in the coastal parts of Maputaland because most part of this area has sandy soil, and many crops do not grow well. Thus, many people clear the forests because of the humus topsoil from fallen leaves and shrubs. Apart from the forests, subsistence farming is performed along swamps and rivers, which are very few on the coastal region of Maputaland except the banks of the Kosi Lake. Groundnuts are the only crop that grows well in a sandy soil, and it is a staple food in the area. A local elder Tembe man, aged 70, recalled the introduction of nature conservation. In an interview he stated that:

> In the beginning people did not have a problem with nature conservation. They were told that Natal Parks Board had come to teach people to look after the nature. But we were confused when NPB began to prohibit people to use natural resources. Rangers were introduced and they worked with the magistrate. When you cut a pole they arrested you. People were not allowed to remove seafood such as mussels. NPB also stopped people from fishing and to cultivate the fertile areas along swamps, which are the only fertile areas, as you can see our land is sandy, nothing can grow except along the valleys. We became worried, when these areas were closed to our people because they were important for survival. There are no work opportunities in this area, you know, I cannot tell you about these things you grew up here [referring to the interviewer]. The problem was that white people could fish in the lake and in ocean, as they were not stopped. There was nothing we could do. White people took all our land, our means of living and kept it for themselves. They are playing in the ocean and lake with big *gazalina*.[9]

From the old man's word, it is clear that people of Maputaland have been suspicious of nature conservation from the time when NPB began to operate in this region. Tembe's words also summarize the problem of conservation in the whole of South Africa, where conservation has been criticized for not involving local people who are always

[8] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Manguzi, Maputaland, (5 February 2000).
[9] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Maputaland, (5 January 2000). The *gazalina* is a name used by local people for a boat because they claim that the first boat that was used by NPB to patrol was written gasoline, so the word gasoline is pronounced as gazalina.

perceived as destroyers of nature.[10] The implementation of NPB policies would require the employment of a number of rangers to patrol the ocean and Kosi Lake to ensure that local people did not destroy nature. If rangers found local people fishing or hunting illegally, they would be taken to the NPB office where they were either beaten or sent home depending on the mood of the officer on duty. Ironically, Maputaland's unique resources that attract many tourists to this day were under the control of local residents. They have been taking care of these sources without being policed. People of this region learned to live with nature, unlike other areas in Natal and Zululand where the natural environment was destroyed as sugar cane farming was taking place. Even though the 1902 to 1903 Zululand Commission declared part of Maputaland to be the Crown Land, there was no white agricultural farming following the infertility of land and the presence of malaria in this region.

Although NPB enforced several laws that forbade people's utilization of natural resources, local people could start new habits of utilizing people natural resources. For instance, instead of fishing during the day local begun to use gillnetting. In this method of fishing, a fisherman sets his nets at night when the rangers are asleep. Fish is collected early in the morning before sunrise and before rangers could start their shift. By the time rangers start to patrol, the fish would be in the market ready to be sold. There is also the fish-kraal method, which was allowed by NPB. It is therefore not easy for rangers to arrest people found carrying fish, as the fish caught in nets and fish-kraals is the same. Once the net-fishers have pulled the fish out of water no one can question how they caught them. Although gillnetting became illegal since NPB worked in

[10] Many studies of nature conservation show that everytime when the state established nature conservation local people were not taken into consideration; they are seen as destroying the nature. Thus, the establishment of nature conservation has involved the removal of local people. In the creation of all game reserves in South Africa, local residents have experienced movement from their land.

Maputaland, it has continued until today because they catch more fish with it than kraal fishing. The problem with night fishing is that many fishermen risk their lives because hippos come out of the lake to graze at night. In 1979 a famous local fisherman, Makhohlomba was killed by a hippo while fishing. It should be made clear that from the fishermen's point of view, hippos were not seen as a problem. They were confident that they could avoid these water animals. In order to continue fishing, the death of this famous fisherman was explained in terms of witchcraft rather than death from a natural hippo. These beliefs have encouraged other fisherman to risk their lives by fishing at night because fishing has become the means of living for the other members of the society. A fisherman can make between R300 to R400 a day in a good season. The market is available to sell fresh fish to local people who buy it in large quantities both for consumption and for selling in Manguzi market.[11]

Hunting was even more difficult to control by the NPB because local people changed the hunting technique. Instead of using dogs to hunt, they used snares. Snares required a hunter to set a wire in the path of an animal, so that an animal can be trapped on either the neck or the foot. On the following day, a hunter would collect the dead animal, while everybody, including the rangers, would be asleep. The poacher would be the only one to know where he set his traps. Although NPB increased the number of rangers for effective control, these outlawed activities are still common today. One possible reason is that when the NPB introduced conservation in Maputaland, it did not consider the fact that natural resources were important for survival for many people in Maputaland, especially in coastal regions. Therefore, people's behaviour is being influenced by the politics of the belly.

[11] Women buy fresh fish in Kosi Lake from local fisherman at a cheaper price. They carry it to Manguzi market where they re-sell for a profit. Thus, buying and selling has become means of living for many people.

Fish-kraals in Kosi Lake. Photographed in the 1940s.[12]

During the interview for this thesis, a middle-aged man was found making a fish-kraal in Kosi Lake. When he was asked how long he had been fishing, he replied that it was his first day. He told the story that he had just come back from Johannesburg where he had worked for ten years, but was then retrenched. After six months of unemployment, he decided to come home to Maputaland. Because there are no job opportunities in Maputaland, he had decided to join those who supported their family by fishing. He claimed that he paid a cow to the owner of the area where he was building the fish-kraal.[13] Poverty and lack of employment opportunities in Maputaland will continue to force people to use natural resources either for selling or for consumption. Utilization of natural sources is something that people have been practising from pre-colonial times and colonialism did not extremely disturb this region.

[12] This photograph was copied from a Thongaland album housed at Killie Campbell Collections.
[13] Interview with Jozi Ngubane by David Mshumbu Ngubane, Nhlange in Maputaland, 7 November 1997.

Local residents harvesting mussels in Maputaland. The NPB officials put restriction on the amount to be collected. Copied in Killie Campbell Collections.

Francis Wilson is very critical of the system of labour migration for extracting labour without investing in rural areas. He has maintained that the system contributed to the underdevelopment of these regions.[14] Although labour migration can be analysed as a form of a trade in which both sides benefit, the long-term impact on the supplying regions is deleterious. Migrant workers used their earnings to buy consumables and did not have any extra cash for investment and when they were retrenched or retired they returned to their region to nothing and with nothing. This explains the situation of the Ngubane man mentioned above.

[14] Francis Wilson, "Minerals and Migrants: How the Mining Industry Shaped South Africa." *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.* (Winter, 2001), 104-106. Also Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele, *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge: Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989),198-199.

During the interviews for this thesis, Japhet Ngubane, a local resident, suggested that if nature conservation is to be successful in Maputaland, the nature conservation officials should make it a point that they provide substitutes for what they conserve.[15] "How do you take food out of man's mouth without putting another thing in his mouth?" he posed a question. "Something must replace what people use for living," he emphasized. This evidence shows how natural resources such as fishing, clearing of fields, hunting and other methods have supported the people in Maputaland, a point that was missed by nature conservers. This does not mean that Maputaland community only depended on hunting animals like in the pre-colonial period, but rather natural sources can be sold for cash.

In 1947, the same year that NPB was established, there was an attempt by the South African government to bring development in the country through tourism. During this year, Maputaland received attention from the US government that was interested in South African tourism. The National Geographic Society of the United States of America investigated the suitability of Maputaland nature reserve as a tourist resort. A team of South African scientists was hired by the National Geographic Society to undertake photo coverage of Maputaland.[16] From 1945 to 1947 the Natal Society sent three expeditions to Maputaland for the Preservation of Wild Life and Nature Resorts under the leadership of G.G. Campbell. These trips were known as the "Tongaland Expeditions." Dr Wager, who was secretary of the Natal Society, wrote a report of these expeditions, and this report appeared in the *Natal Mercury* in May 1947. G.G.

[15] Japhet Ngubane, Personal communication, (6 December 1997). He used his notes prepared for a Ph.D. on Environmental Study in Maputaland, University of Natal, Durban. (Work in progress).
[16] A. Wager, "American Interest in Tongaland Expedition Natal Mercury," (1947), 37, and *Natal Mercury*, 17 May 1947, housed at Killie Campbell as newspaper cuttings, Tongaland Expedition.

Campbell also made a report in the form of a presidential address in 1969.[17] These reports warned travellers of malaria in Maputaland. They also emphasized that only the indigenous people who had acquired a natural resistance against malaria could survive in Maputaland. Perhaps, Braatvedt, the native commissioner at Ingwavuma in the 1940s, was referring to this period when he wrote:

> A great deal has been written about Kosi Bay and Maputaland as a tourist resort, however, the valley can never be successful European settlement, owing to the intense summer heat, and the presence of malaria, which cannot be effectively controlled, owing to the vast undrainable swamps and pans, and the vagaries of rivers, due to insurmountable natural obstacles.[18]

The research failed to produce future involvement of the US government for tourism in Maputaland, and further investigations in this region were ignored thereafter. These reports also warned that local people in Maputaland were destroying nature. In his presidential address, Campbell said that "The area between the palm-belt and the seashore displays the most interesting plant community; first the humid and sub-humid subtropical coastal forest.... Sadly, the locals are seriously destroying the coastal forest. Large areas are being disturbed so as to provide fields for maize and other crops, which destruction encourages the development of shifting sand."[19] Yet, Campbell realized that local people were not always destructive to nature, "After descending the mountain, the Pongola River has to be crossed at Makane's Drift, a rather tricky business on a very primitive pont, handled fairly well by the local Bantu if they happen to be sober, which is very unusual."[20] These reports became important in inspiring some considerable interest from the South African government in preserving nature in Maputaland. For instance, the initial attempts to establish a Kosi Bay marine nature reserve in the 1980s,

---

[17] G.G. Campbell, "Presidential Address: A Review of Scientific Investigations in the Tongaland area of Northern Natal." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, 38, Part 4, November, (1969).
[18] Braatvedt, *Roaming Zululand with a Native Commissioner*, 102, 103.
[19] Campbell, "Presidential Address: Scientific Investigations, 309-310.
[20] Campbell, "Presidential Address", 309.

which will be discussed later, can be traced to the reports of these expeditions.[21] Up until the 1950s the NPB and Ndumu game reserve were the only government conservation sectors in Maputaland.

In the 1960s the Nationalist Party government looked for possibilities of starting farming in Maputaland in the Jozini area. This area is in the east of the Lubombo Mountain Range and north of Ubombo Magistrate. The Pongolapoort Dam was built for white farmers who were going to use that land for sugar cane farming. The dam was originally constructed to settle white farmers in an attempt to resolve the poor white poverty crisis in South Africa.[22] However, the economy in South Africa grew dramatically during the 1960s, and there was a movement by whites off the land to the cities, and there was no longer a need for the government to resolve white poverty through land. The dam has now become the state-run Makhatini Irrigation Scheme with 1 200 hectares of state land and an allocation of 1 400 hectares to 150 smallholder farmers. The major crops cultivated are cotton, rice and vegetables. A survey by Community Organization, Research & Development (CORD) suggests that the crops cultivated in the scheme have limited potential for re-circulating wealth within the community because its crops are not traded locally.[23]

Between the years 1961 and 1963 the Nationalist government sought to develop reserves through forestry plantations, an idea that was suggested by the government's

[21] Scientific Advisory Committee for Maputaland: A meeting held in Oceanographic Research Institute, Durban, 5 September 1980. The report is housed in the Campbell Collections, Durban, South Africa, file KCM 99/72/88/5. Immediately after the expedition, Lake Nhlange, which is a part of Kosi Lake, was proposed to become a Nature Reserve in 1950.

[22] Overcoming Apartheid's legacy in Maputaland (Northern Natal)," A paper presented by the Centre for Community Organization, Research & Development, University of Natal, Durban, at the workshop on the land question in Amsterdam (1989).

[23] "Overcoming Apartheid's land legacy in Maputaland (Northern Natal)."

Social and Economic Planning Council in the 1940s.[24] These plans were interrupted by the war.[25] Small plots of eucalyptus plantations were established all over Maputaland as samples between these years. Manzengwenya Plantation, still existing today, was established in Maputaland as an attempt at creating employment opportunities for Local people, and also as a way of controlling the influx of people to the urban areas. People were removed in this area and were given an area called eMahekeni.[26] A local woman whose husband worked in this plantation in the late 1960s said that in the beginning of Manzengwenya plantation people were given food such as beans, maize meal and sugar as a salary.[27] Mamdani explores ideas used by the apartheid government to minimize monetary cost by using cheap or unpaid labour. He wrote that a minister in charge of projects in reserves boasted that by making use of the services of the community they were carrying out works at half the cost estimated by the Tomlinson Commission.[28]

From the mid-1970s, South Africa was increasingly becoming isolated from the overseas countries because of its apartheid policies, and this resulted in decreasing numbers of international tourists in the country.[29] The South African government was forced to develop new initiatives. The merging of the tourism department with the Department of Commerce and Industry was a strategy to encourage the development and improvement of travel services by the South African government. Along this line was a need to identify other areas where the tourist industry would be extended. In the 1980s, the Scientific Advisory Council was appointed by the government to examine

[24] E. Evan, *Bureaucracy and Race*: *Native Administration in South Africa*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 175.
[25] M. Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject*: *Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. (Princeton: Princeton University, 1996), 191.
[26] Interview with Richard Qwabe, Manzengwenya, 21 May 1999.
[27] Interview with Nomacala Mthethwa, Malangeni, 5 November 1997.
[28] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 191-192.
[29] Ciraj Rasool & Leslie Witz, "South Africa: A World in One Country," *Cahiers d Etudes Africaines*, 143, XXXVI-3, (1996), 335-371.

the conservation priorities of Maputaland. The council involved academics from various universities of South Africa, officials from the Agriculture and Forestry departments of the government, and representatives from the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. It was agreed that Maputaland was one of the unspoiled wilderness areas along the South African coast and was viewed as an area that was going to support a prosperous tourist industry. Discussions on this view focused on aspects such as the establishment of national parks in Maputaland. The council warned that unique plants in Maputaland were deteriorating rapidly due to the increasing human population in that area, so it proposed that Maputaland's natural resources required urgent protection from the local people.[30] The council saw tourism and nature conservation as a way of providing employment opportunities to the people of Maputaland. Ironically, these discussions were taking place in Durban, five hundred kilometres away from Maputaland, and the local communities were not part of any of those meetings.

The advent of the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources

While the above discussions were taking place between the Nationalist government, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, then the Prime Minister of the former KwaZulu "homeland," proposed that the KwaZulu government control the nature conservation in the areas that fell under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu government. In 1981, Buthelezi told the *Natal Mercury* that "the attitude of the NPB towards the blacks and its handling of conservation were forcing him to conclude that the only solution was for KwaZulu

[30] E. J. Molls, "The vegetation of Maputaland" in *Trees in South Africa*, 29, (1978) (4), 31-59. see also G. R. Hughes, "The possible role of sea turtles in the utilization of the Tongaland coast". A report to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, (1973). In this report he called for the protection of turtles, which were killed by Thonga people by axe and nest robbing of turtles.

government to take over all game reserves in Zululand."[31] He accused the NPB of allowing white fishermen at Kosi Bay to take "the food out of the mouth of his people and robbing them of their only source of protein." After several debates between the NPB and Buthelezi, the KwaZulu government took the responsibility of nature conservation in Zululand. However, the NPB continued to work parallel with the KwaZulu Natural Resources management up to 1997 when NPB was merged with the newly created KwaZulu board as the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services.

In 1982 the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources (KBNR) was formed as a conservation body or department within the former KwaZulu government. The KNBR began to identify areas for nature conservation in Zululand. Like all other reserves in South Africa where people have been removed for nature conservation, the local people in Maputaland occupied areas that KBNR identified as suitable for reserves. The need to extend conservation by the KwaZulu government required removal of people from their lands. People were told that nature conservation would bring economic development and create job opportunities for local people. This was a positive justification for the removal of local residents. Ironically Buthelezi's KBNR approach to nature conservation became worse than NPB by not only forbidding the use of natural sources, but also removing them from the land they had used for their livelihood over the decades.

In 1983 the KBNR established the Elephant Park at Sihangwane area in Maputaland. This park was constructed twenty-five kilometres east of Ndumu game reserve and between the Pongola and Muzi Rivers. Elephants were not imported to this area as

[31] News report from *Natal Mercury*. 26 November 1981.

wild elephants had already been living in this area from the pre-colonial period. In a presidential address Campbell talked about vegetation and animals in this area. He stated that:

> Across the river (Pongola), the vegetation changes to a much denser, sub-arid, partly deciduous, partly evergreen, thickest forest, with trees 40 to 60 feet high with a fairly thick undergrowth of shorter shrubs and grasses. Not many years ago, this was full of elephants and buffalo and many other types of big game, which are only seen these days when they have been chased across the border by hunters on the Portuguese side.[32]

The KBNR and the Tembe tribal authority discussed the construction of the park. The park was named the Tembe Elephant Park. Thirty-two homesteads were removed in this area to allow this development to take place. As people were removed from their land, they were promised compensation, which included new land, a water supply and money that they could use to build new houses. It was also agreed that members of the relocated homesteads were going to have access to the natural resources inside the park. These resources included reeds from the Muzi River, which provided material for building houses, and the palm trees that supplied the main ingredients for the popular palm wine brewed and sold by the majority of people in the area. In addition, people were promised to receive 25% of the revenue produced by the park through tourism. However, local people lost vast grazing and subsistence farming land on which they previously had customary rights. This land could neither be replaced by the 25% benefit from the park nor by any form of compensation.

There were many problems after people were relocated, because promises were not fulfilled by the KBNR. Even today some people are still complaining that they received no benefits or any form of compensation as promised by KBNR. Once people were

[32]Campbell, "Presidential Address: Scientific Investigations," 309.

removed, the KBNR put restrictions on people's access to resources inside the park.[33] The park also employed people who were not members of the local community, despite the fact that KBNR made promises that job opportunities would be given to local people.[34] This situation created a negative attitude against the KBNR and the KwaZulu government, not only from the relocated families, but also from the communities of Maputaland at large. This situation warned other communities, such as Kosi Bay residents whose areas were at this time earmarked for nature conservation. The fears of removal from these communities was expressed by the *Weekly Mail*:

> KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi is feted by environmental organisations for his determination to defend natural resources in the homeland. But people affected by some of KwaZulu's plans to develop nature reserves are less impressed by their chief minister's reputation as an ardent conservationist. A thousand people living in Maputaland.... are in fear of removal from their traditional homes because of these ambitious plans to build a series of nature reserves in the area.[35]

Rumours of establishment of nature conservation parks in the Kosi Bay area were heard in the early 1980s. The parks were going to include the Kosi Lake system and all the land between the lake and the ocean. It is important to mention that this land includes 80% of Makhuza ward. Rumours said that all people who were living from that land were going to be removed. Those who resisted were going to suffer because the whole area was going to be fenced with dangerous animals inside the park. During this time, some people began to migrate permanently from Kosi Bay area to Manguzi fearing forced removals. When Kosi Bay Nature Reserve was formally proclaimed in 1987 by the KBNR, many people had already relocated as the rumours claimed that the coast

[33] *Natal Witness*, Thursday, (3 May 1990). Also, in this park there are swamp forests that are fertile and people cultivate crops for subsistence farming. There are reeds that are used for building houses.
[34] Complaints from the angry people of Sihangwane area who were waiting at the gate of the park to hear if there was any employment, February 1993.
[35] *Weekly Mail*, (28 October 1988).

was going to be fenced with animals kept inside. Although such news first came as rumours, in the people's minds and experience of the colonial and apartheid states, they knew that no one could resist the government.

It should be mentioned, however, that the migration of people from coastal Maputaland started in the early 1970s in small numbers as some people were attracted by the infrastructure in Manguzi, which serves as a town in Maputaland.[36] The area referred to here is bounded by Kosi Lake in the west and by the ocean in the east. Even four-wheel drive vehicles have to drive around Kosi Lake in order to reach this area. Residents from this area cross the Kosi Lake only when the tide is low in order to reach Manguzi shopping centre, where they make shopping. As a result, houses in this area are built with local materials such as reeds, raphia palms, grass and poles obtained from the forests. Even people who have enough money to buy bricks in order to build "modern" houses cannot do so because transporting building material to this region is impossible. Everything has to be carried on human heads.

Those who emigrated fearing removals were complaining for they were leaving the land that had supported their families. In Manguzi people rely on migrant labour income because Manguzi is densely populated with few farming areas as compared to the coast where they have a variety of natural resources, which they utilised for survival. Nevertheless, some families did not move to this day and they are living in the "island of Kosi Bay."[37] One member of this community who was not prepared to

[36] Personal interview with Jerry Mngomezulu, 3 September 2000, at Mfuthululu. Jerry was a member of staff in the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources in the 1980s. He maintained that as there were no shops, roads and other facilities in the areas around the coast, many people were attracted to Manguzi that was developing at this time. Also, personal interviews with A. Zaloumis who worked with the KwaDapha community, Botha's Hill, Durban, November 1999.

[37] The coastal area, Nkovukeni, KwaDapha and Malangeni form an island like because on the north there

emigrate said, "I will stay here up until the government brings a truck and loads all my clothes, my children and shows me the house and money that I can use to support my family."[38] However, those who did not move lived under several restrictions from the KBNR. For instance, local people who owned fields around the banks of Kosi Lake were not allowed to plough anymore.

After the introduction of Kosi Bay Reserve, the people from Maputaland felt that the KBNR was harsh and impatient. Local farmers said that they had been given no time to arrange their movement and harvest their food in the fields. They recall that after the Kosi Bay Reserve was established the government forbade cultivation within the area and those who lived within the designated areas were told to relocate. An old man who owned a banana garden in an area earmarked for conservation said that he was not given any notice. "One day in August 1988, I saw a team of armed KBNR guards in uniform with one white official arriving at my property and they proceeded to hack down my banana plantation and uproot pumpkin plants, saying that I was not allowed to cultivate in that area. When I asked them, *madoda kwenzenjani nabulala ukudla kwami* (why are you destroying my food)? No one gave an answer, instead I was told to go and talk with my chief."[39] In this case they were referring to chief Mzimba Tembe. Oral evidence suggested that if the KBNR guards caught a person working on fields inside the area now owned by KBNR they were punished by dumping them into deep water or by marching them naked in a distance of more than ten kilometres. Ironically, chief Tembe told the *Sunday Tribune* that he was not consulted about the destruction of

---

is the Kosi Bay lake system that divides this community from the Manguzi community. The coastal communities refer to Manguzi communities as "*abangaphesheya*" meaning people on the other side of the lake. The land on this island is under the former Makhuza authority.

[38] Interview with Makokozane Ngubane, Nkathwini, (3 September 2000).

[39] News report from the *Natal Witness*, (10 December 1988).

people's property and the erection of a fence for Kosi Bay reserve.[40] The Tembe chief could not resist any step taken by KwaZulu government fearing for his position, which he nearly lost as Buthelezi threatened to depose him during the Ingwavuma Land Deal. In this situation chief Mzimba was caught in the middle as his followers blamed him for allowing KBNR policies to starve them off their land, yet he could not prove that he was not part of the new conservation schemes.

Resistance to Kosi Bay Nature Reserve

The climax of this contention was the erection of an electric fence by the KBNR, who claimed that it was made to keep the hippos inside the reserve and out of people's crops. Anything inside the fence, whether it was grazing fields or gardens was owned by KBNR. Local people understood the fence as keeping people out and animals in. Even at this point the claim that a fence was to keep animals out of people's fields was questionable because the fence included a large amount of land, which was not used for farming but for grazing cattle. This electric fence surrounded Kosi Lake covering a distance of more than forty kilometres starting from Kosi Bay to KwaZibi area. People who were living in coastal Maputaland, which are mainly the Ngubanes and Tembes of Makhuza, were left inside the park.[41] Although the KBNR promised to compensate people for their fields, the experience of the already established Tembe Elephant Park did not alleviate fears of Maputaland coastal communities. The people who were relocated for the Tembe Elephant Park were still waiting for their compensation.

Nevertheless, local farmers who owned fields inside the fence accepted compensation because it was attractive. Compensation was not the same for all farmers because the

[40] *Sunday Tribune*, (11 December 1989).
[41] Interview with Khehla Ngubane, Thandizwe, Maputaland, (11 July 1999).

size of the field determined the amount received by the farmers. The highest paid farmer in the region received R150, 000. However, the land inside the park was not only used for farming purposes, but the greater part of that land was used for cattle grazing. Stockowners did not receive any compensation since KBNR took for granted that they only had to pay people who owned fields inside the fenced land. In many areas of Maputaland, the grazing area is placed aside and away from homesteads so that there is less pressure looking after the cattle. The land around homesteads is used for cultivating crops and vegetables. Once the KBNR fenced these grazing lands the stockowners were forced to graze their cattle around homesteads, which required supervision to stop them from entering the cultivated fields. This was different from the previous practice where stockowners left their cattle unsupervised in separate grazing land to collect in the afternoon or sometimes leave over a few nights in the grazing field. In addition, the conservation fence left the main cattle-dipping tank inside the park. Dispossession of land from stockowners became extremely unpopular and provoked violent resistance from people who owned cattle. Possession and control over livestock is a highly emotive issue in Maputaland, as elsewhere in Southern Africa. Historians William Beinart and Colin Bundy observed that stock ownership among black rural South Africans is not only useful for commercial purpose, but it is associated with male honour.[42] One who owns a number of cattle is known as *indoda* or *umnumzane* (a man of status), which may suggest that when KBNR took the grazing lands, it became a challenge to *abanumzane*, the heads of the community.

[42]W. Beinart, and C. Bundy, "State Intervention and Rural Resistance: The Transkei, 1900-1965," in M. Klein (ed.), *Peasants in Africa*, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981); See also James Ferguson, *The Anti-politics Machine. "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho,"* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Roads that connect coastal communities such as Mqobela, KwaDapha, Malangeni and KwaZibi with the shopping centre in Manguzi crossed inside the park. As a result the fence did not only inconvenience the people who owned farms and grazing land inside the park, but it became unpopular to other members of the communities who were crossing this area for shopping and other activities, including trading in Manguzi. The KBNR built gates at which each car stopped to state its destination and sign the paper-work. The gate system was unpopular to the people. At night the gate would be locked and the guard would be asleep. This meant that a driver would have to wake up the guard and this was time consuming. Given this analysis, no one could have been surprised that the establishment of conservation in Maputaland provoked resistance from those whose land was affected. In several meetings between KBNR and local residents, it became clear that people's main complaint was that the KBNR was making decisions without consultation with local people. David Mathenjwa, a member of the affected community, who had been farming in this region since 1947, expressed his anger:

> For us, the community, it is painful to realize that we have lost the fields and homes where we have lived for years. We are not going. We are not prepared to move. One of our main problems is that whatever is done happens without our consultation. There was never any agreement between the Bureau and us. That is why we regard their actions of putting this fence and destruction of our crops as harassment.[43]

KBNR defended itself by claiming that conservation had been discussed with the Tembe Tribal Authority. Thus, it was no mistake by KBNR to tell a farmer to go and talk to his chief when he was complaining about the destruction of his field. Since conservation affected mostly the people of Makhuza ward the anger was directed at the royal family, fuelling the old conflict between the two Tembe families. Because of the

[43] Press interview with David Mathenjwa, *Natal Mercury*, (19 June 1988).

Ingwavuma issue that was still fresh, it was possible that the communities in this region could believe that their chief was involved in conservation policies.

The disagreements about the electrical fence finally caused a rift between the KBNR and members of the affected communities. Local people destroyed the electric system; batteries and wires of the solar system were stolen.[44] Once stealing and devastation of electric system started in one area, the fence was also destroyed in other areas. In the beginning KBNR repaired the fence, but not until after a group of people used chainsaws to cut the fence-poles down in an area covering more than five kilometres. "We cut the fence on one night around Shengeza," claimed a local resident, who was complaining that they were tired of *amabhunu* (the Afrikaners) taking our land.[45] Armed members of the local community began to graze their cattle inside the park.[46] Rumours said that these people were ready to challenge anyone who tried to stop them. Today the fence has not been re-erected and the local people are now using their grazing land again. The KwaZulu government lost the money that had been given to farmers as compensation for moving out of the area that was re-occupied for the purpose of grazing cattle. A new approach will be required if the department of nature conservation would continue to work in this region.

The destruction of the fence was a significant political act. It was a declaration of defiance and a deliberate destruction of KBNR property. Borrowing from the works of James Scott and Eric Hobsbawn who contributed to peasant studies, one is led to

[44] Sonile Mathenjwa, Nkathwini, 21 May 1999.
[45] The man owned cattle and has used the land fenced by KBNR for grazing. He talks so bravely, yet he requested his name not to be written down. Interview, KwaZibi, (20 May 2000).
[46] Interview with Joshua Mathenjwa, and Jacob Mthembu, KwaZibi, Maputaland, (20 May 1999). Two men are members of the KwaZibi community. Joshua Mathenjwa claimed that he worked in Durban for three years and since then he had been farming.

believe that the success of resistance from the people of Maputaland owes much to the individual commitment among the members of this community.[47] Their revolutionary consciousness did not require external influence or vanguard party, but it stemmed from their frustration of losing land they had depended on for their entire life. There was no hierarchical formal organization or any identifiable leadership, which could have been co-opted by KBNR. KBNR never knew who was destroying the reserve fence, yet it was understood that local residents were responsible. Although the destruction of the fence was not organized, it was co-ordinated by a network of understanding. When the fence was destroyed and cables stolen in one community, the other communities were doing the same in other areas. [48] However, the relationship between KBNR and KwaZulu government with its ties to the Inkatha political organization resulted in assuming that the resistance to conservation in Maputaland was influenced by the ANC communists' ideologies. Ramphelele and Macdowell warned about these assumptions:

> The difficulty with [a proposed alternative development plan for Kosi Bay communities] is active obstruction from KBNR and KwaZulu government. Any forms of resistance or alternative planning are labelled anti-KwaZulu and anti-IFP rather than addressing the real issue of removals and other negative consequences of a conservation plan formulated without any consultation.[49]

These groups of people in Maputaland were fighting largely for personal needs rather than any political agenda. Their goals were not aimed to overthrow or transform the KBNR or the KwaZulu government but to work the system of nature preservation to

---

[47] James Scotts, *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (London: Yale University Press, 1985), 335-344.

[48] For an interesting accounts of peasants revolts, see William Beinart, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa.* (London: James Currey, 1987); Elizabeth January, *The Powers of the Weak* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1981); James Scott, "Hegemony and the Peasantry." *Politics and Society* 7 (3) (1977), 267-96.

[49] Ramphelele and Macdowell, cited in R.J. Davion, "A Contribution to Understanding Contemporary People-environment Dynamics: South African Approaches in Context." M.A. University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, (1996), 77. There is a variety of literature from other areas that deals with revolution in rural areas that has not been influenced by communist ideas, such as James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*.

their minimum disadvantage.[50] People were getting frustrated as their farming and grazing lands were being kept away from their use. In a poverty stricken area, like Maputaland, where there is no industrial development to provide employment, land is an important resource even though such land does not always solve poverty because the land was not utilized for a great commercial projects, yet people's survival is depended on it.

Divided loyalty

There were many debates between local people and KBNR after the destruction of the electric fence. These discussions were attempts to find solutions to problems that had led to the destruction of the fence. In these meetings poor consultation between local residents and KBNR appeared as the main problem. The director of KBNR, Nick Steele, however, rejected complaints of poor consultation, instead he emphasised that his board had consulted all the residents before the park was constructed. He mentioned that the reserve boundaries were marked in the presence of the tribal councillors and headmen.

Steele quoted a helicopter flight that he gave to councillors of the Tembe tribal authority.[51] This trip was used by Steele to justify KBNR's "conservation with consensus" because the tribal councillors or the "representatives" of local people had been part of the process of drawing the boundaries. However, one headman who was among the group flown said that the flight was for pleasure, as many of them had never flown before. During the interview this headman stated that, "Steele did not talk about

[50] Eric Hobsbawn, "Peasant and Politics," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 1, No.1, (1973), 7. Hobsbawn believes that usually the peasants have one goal when they resist, that is to work any dominant system to their minimum disadvantage.
[51] Steele, "Conservation in Maputaland," 8; and, *Natal Witness*, (3 May 1990).

boundaries of the reserve, he showed us how the lake looked like from above. I can remember that while we were on the helicopter Steele made a joke to me whether I could recognize my homestead while we were up there. After I failed to see it he showed me, first by pointing to Bangneck School. I do not recall him showing us the boundaries."[52]

KBNR officials were convinced that any opposition in the Maputaland area could be overcome if a chief threw his weight behind the government schemes. This has been a standard practice for colonial, apartheid and the KwaZulu governments to strike up cordial relations with chiefs and to rely on them to disseminate information and to legitimise administrative measures.[53] The system has worked in other areas, yet it created problems in Maputaland because not all the members of the community in area recognized the royalty family, especially those who are living in the Makhuza section. The use of the chief and his tribal authority as a representative body of Maputaland people during the creation of the Kosi Bay Reserve ignited the conflicts of land ownership between traditional leaders of this region. Thus, conservation has been one of the factors in mobilizing the Makhuza community to challenge the Tembe royal house over the control of coastal regions of Maputaland. Steele also believed that KBNR policies were transparent and democratically accepted because local people were allowed to form two committees prior to the establishment of the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve. The two committees were established in 1986, and they were called Swamp Forests and Compensation committees. The Swamp Forest Committee was made of

[52] A headman from Makhuza's ward interviewed in Maputaland, (7 November 1997). He was sceptical of giving this evidence, so his name will not be identified. He warned me not to get him into trouble with the tribal authority, as he said, "I will tell you because I know your parents." This shows that to a certain point being known can help in getting information because people can have trust in you, but this does not remove the disadvantage of being known.

[53] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, 207. Evans noted how using chiefs to introduce government measures in Transkei caused conflicts.

members of the Tembe tribal authority. In theory, the committee was formed to ensure the protection of the swamp forests while local residents experienced the minimum inconvenience.[54] The Compensation Committee was set up in similar manner to the Swamp Forest Committee. This committee was to ensure that the people affected by the proclamation of Kosi Bay reserve should see that they would be compensated. It was comprised of officials from the KwaZulu government's Department of Justice, a senior magistrate who was also the chairperson, KBNR and members of the tribal authority. With such composition of these committees, it is not surprising that communities of Makhuza ward became suspicious. They thought that the committees were highly politicised to favour the royal family. In that way, conservation committees created by KBNR were not representative bodies of all citizens of Maputaland and by no means could these committees be seen as reflecting the opinion of the local residents.

The biggest problem about the two committees set by the KBNR was that the communities affected by creation of the park did not elect members. Instead, the tribal authority decided the members of the committees. Even though the KBNR claimed that they played no part in the selection of the members of the committees, the fact remains that the KBNR assigned the tribal authority with duties to elect members of these committees. Thus, the Tribal office elected people from the unaffected community. This was a situation that antagonized the coastal communities who felt that they should have appointed members of those committees. The case of the Tembe tribal authority and the way KBNR handled the issue of Kosi Bay Reserve questions development inputs that are rooted through traditional leaders.

[54] Steele in news report, *Natal Witness*, (10 December 1988).

The KBNR assumed that once they had spoken with the chief, they could simply divide up and regulate land in any way it pleased them. What the KBNR did not understand is that in Maputaland, the land is legally held by the people and administered by the headmen on behalf of their subjects. A chief had absolutely no right or authority over the people's land. People only report to the headman if they decide to give the land to their relatives, and the headman would then report to the chief, not because the chief could refute that decision but for official reasons in case conflict arose over that land. The conflict between the Tembe royal family and members of Makhuza family over land control made it even more difficult for the royal family to take decisions on land under the authority of Makhuza. Once again, while the reason for destruction of the fence was the resistance against KBNR, it was easily linked into the old conflict between the two Tembe families.

The conflicts between KBNR and local people were also taking place in neighbouring communities of Maputaland, such as Ingwavuma. For example, resistance against KBNR was reported in Lake Sibaya in 1992. In this area the local residents were prohibited from cultivating crops on the banks of the lake, the only fertile area where local people had produced crops. Similar debates were still going on in Ndumu from 1998 up to 2000, including the recent land issues at Mbangwini near Phongola River. People were to move from this area because of the ambitious plan to merge Ndumu and Tembe Elephant Park. After 1994 there have been many land claims against nature preservers following the post-apartheid land reform programme, which will be discussed later. Traditional leaders under Ingwavuma district became aware that they were suspected of betraying their people. Many chiefs in Ingwavuma were accused by

their subjects of allowing conservation programmes to dispossess them of the land. In May 1990, twelve chiefs, including chief Tembe of Maputaland, publicly denounced KwaZulu's conservation policies and threatened secession from the KwaZulu Tribal Authority system.[55] The chiefs were trying to show their followers that they were not happy about the policies of nature conservation implemented by the KwaZulu government. However, the protest of chiefs was not successful because these chiefs were accused of being the allies of the African National Congress, a rival of the Inkatha Freedom Party. As shown in the previous chapter no chief would be prepared to challenge Buthelezi and the IFP. In one example, a development project that was received by a community in the Ingwavuma district from the KwaZulu government was cancelled when the government officials learnt that a chief in the area was a member of African National Congress. To further stir the conflict between the chief and his followers, an official from the KwaZulu government announced the cancellation of the project in a meeting with the communities under that chief.[56] Once again, this demonstrates how the KwaZulu government used the power of distributing resources for its political interests, a system that was also used by the apartheid government.

The dispossession of land from the Makhuza community was twisted by the politics of the Makhuza and Tembe royal family. This conflict was not unknown to KBNR officials. Nick Steele's article, "Conservation in Maputaland: The Facts," summed up this conflict when he wrote that:

> Although the game fence and removals had been the subject of some conflict, the main fact is that the community [of Maputaland] is divided in its loyalty and that this loyalty has become more polarized. Thus it can be said that the KBNR stuck its head into a hive of bees when, in 1983, it started in earnest to advance the cause of

[55] *Natal Witness*, (3 May 1990).
[56] Interview with a chief, whose name will be not mentioned for security reasons, Richards Bay, June 2000.

> conservation in the region. It soon became evident that the KBNR had to operate in a climate of mistrust and acrimony not of its making.[57]

Although Steele was aware of the divided loyalty in Maputaland, he did not pay attention to this issue. His primary concern was the KwaZulu government's ambitious plan to build a series of nature reserves in Maputaland. He underestimated the leadership of the Makhuza family and the power of local residents when he established Kosi Bay Nature Reserve. Further, the KwaZulu government, which uses the tribal system as a rural representative authority convinced Steele to turn a blind eye on the fact that Makhuza resented the authority of the royal family.

Conducting research for his Masters degree after the conflict between KBNR and the Maputan people, Raul Davion observed that there were divisions of loyalty among the people of Maputaland.[58] Although Davion was not specific, he maintains that in some parts of Maputaland, the Tembe chief was not respected and does not have authority. After the Tembe tribal authority agreed that as a researcher, Davion could gather information from anyone in Maputaland, he was surprised that one headman in the coastal Maputaland told him that he was not bound by the decision of the Tembe chief. That headman also told Davion that an agreement with tribal authority did not allow him to conduct research in the headman's area, because the tribal authority had no authority in his area. Davion was forced to renegotiate with a headman to conduct the research.[59] This demonstrates that other communities in Maputaland do not respect the

[57] Steele, "Conservation in Maputaland," 7-8.
[58] Raul Davion, "A Contribution to Understanding Contemporary People-Environment Dynamics: South African Approaches in Context." M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, (1996).
[59] Davion, who was not familiar with local politics, was not aware that the headman was trying to tell him that the headman was resenting the Tembe tribal authority.

Tembe royal family as a legitimate authority, especially in the area under the house of Makhuza.

The appointment of a liaison officer by the Tembe Tribal Authority is another example that shows how resistance to conservation became resistance to the royal family. KBNR realized that they needed a local person to mediate issues between KBNR and local people because problems were becoming uncontrollable. The Tembe Tribal Office appointed Mr. Masinga who was a chief-headman of chief Tembe. When Masinga was appointed to the position of chief-headman in the late 1980s, the house of Makhuza protested, as they believed that a member of Makhuza should have been appointed to that position.[60] Such appointment would have convinced the house of Makhuza that the royal family still recognized this family, and the members of the Makhuza would have then compromised. Masinga's appointment as liaison officer by the tribal authority raised further questions among the members of Makhuza family.

In addition, Masinga was not residing in the area where the park was established. As a result, the communities of Makhuza ward refused to report to Masinga because they felt that such an officer should have been appointed at least from the affected communities. A member of Ngubane family who identified himself with Makhuza perhaps best illustrated the prevailing attitude of coastal communities against the royal family. He protested:

> I think the way in which the Tembe Tribal Authority distributes portfolios is not fair for the house of Makhuza. For instance, the chief-headman, Mr Masinga, is not related to the Tembe family. The house of Makhuza believed that the royal family should have respected them by giving the house of Makhuza a position of chief-headman as a family

[60] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Manguzi, 11 July 1999 and Petros Khehla Ngubane, Manguzi, (11 July 1999). Solomon and Petros were both working in the tribal authority before they resigned.

> that was ruling in this country before Ngwanase arrived. There has been no respect of Makhuza family from the Tembe Royal family. As a result of this disrespect, the house of Makhuza feels that they should have their own tribal authority.[61]

This is further evidence showing how resistance to nature conservation by coastal communities had also inspired the dispute over chieftainship between the two Tembe families. Masinga's new position did not work out because as a liaison officer he needed to have a relationship with residents who were affected by nature conservation.

Conservation and tourism income

While the examples provided above may seem convincing that the introduction of nature conservation through the Tembe tribal authority provoked the grudge between the house of Makhuza and the royal family to resurface, there is another side of the story. There is strong evidence suggesting that the two Tembe families are fighting for the control of new resources. These new resources hold the promise of income generation through tourism. According to the KwaZulu legislation of Nature Conservation, 25% of revenue earned by conservation from tourists was to be paid to the local people as a way of returning the benefits of nature conservation to local communities. Yet the money was given to the tribal authority and this office was supposed to distribute it to the communities of Maputaland. In that way the local community would benefit by building local schools, clinics and other facilities. According to KBNR sources, R53 000 was paid to the Tembe tribal authority in 1986, and between 1987 and 1988 the Kosi Bay Campsite earned R35, 764,50 for the Tembe tribal authority. Yet, the members of Maputaland coastal communities said that they were not told about such money and never received aid from the tribal authority. A

[61] Interview with Petros Khehla Ngubane, Thandizwe, Maputaland, (11 July 1999).

resident of KwaDapha, a region in coastal Maputaland under the Ngubane headman said that the community was building a local hall and school with their own money because the government and tribal authority were not concerned about developing the coastal area.[62]

An elderly man (Mr. *X*) who resides in this area stated that if nature conservation has given money to the tribal authority, the royal family is using that money to raise the living standard of the people who did not suffer from the introduction of nature conservation programmes in Kosi Bay.[63] Mr. *X* pointed to the electricity, tap water system and beautiful schools around the tribal authority. The area where Tembe tribal authority is situated is better than the Makhuza ward in terms of infrastructure. Even the investors are focusing on this area because there seems to be facilities for modern or city life. In this area some people have electricity, piped water and the hospital, post office and other facilities are situated in Manguzi. In Makhuza ward, however, schooling facilities are inadequate, there are no clinics, and people have to walk more than six kilometres a day just for water from wells and for shopping.

Yet it is important to mention that the development of the Manguzi area was not linked to conservation and tourist revenues. The Manguzi area has always been better off if compared to other parts of Maputaland because of trading during the colonial period.[64] Nevertheless, the politicians from the Makhuza ward are using Manguzi's infrastructure

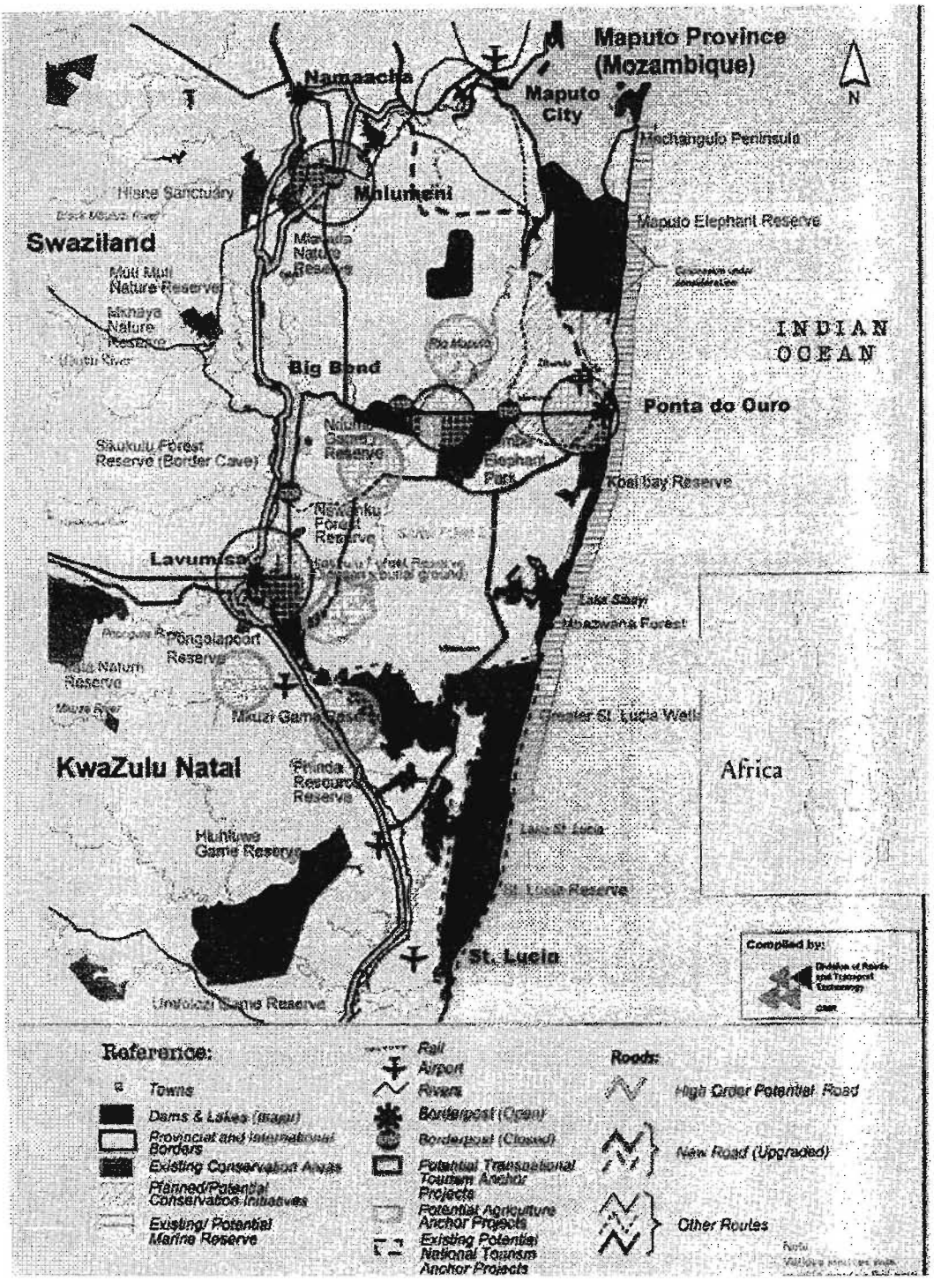
[62] Interview with Makokozane Ngubane, (3 September 2000).
[63] During the interview, Mr. X refused to be recorded and he also warned me not to put his name on papers. His name is therefore reserved. The interview was in Maputaland at KwaZibi, (7 November 1997).
[64] Manguzi became a trading place when the Harrison family started a shop in late 19th century. Even the colonial government had built the Magistracy in this area, thus today it represents a town of Maputaland. Recently, Manguzi has attracted many companies such as furniture shops, wholesalers and other important investors in South Africa. Facilities such as electricity first came because it was needed for refrigeration and government offices and hospital. However, in the 1990s Telkom begun to expand to local residents.

to claim control of coastal Maputaland that they believe can only be developed with the establishment of a Makhuza tribal authority. Therefore, it appears that the control of revenues derived from tourism is another source of conflict between the house of Makhuza and the Tembe royal family.

What began as an inquiry into history of land and chieftainship claims in the past has expanded into a study not only of land acquisition and disputes, but also of the way that competing interpretations of the past figure in contemporary struggles over new property and power. This strategy is common in other rural areas in Africa. In her book, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries*, Sara Berry wrote that in Ashante, people were making claims on property and power by invoking the past and debating its significance for ordering people's affairs in the present.[65]

If the revenues from tourism have become another source of conflict, then there is an irony in this dispute. It can be argued that the coastal communities are not only driven by negative attitudes towards the establishment of the Kosi Bay Reserve but also by the need to control the economic benefits from conservation. Although the members of Makhuza family are emphasizing that their land claim is old, it appears that channelling 25% of tourist revenues to the tribal authority is one of the main factors in sparking the present conflict. Perhaps Walter Tembe was making a point when he stated:

[65] Sara Berry, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries: Essays on Property, Power, and the Past in Asante, 1896-1996.* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann; Oxford: J. Currey; Cape Town: D. Philip, 2001).



L.S.D.I. map showing the growth of nature conservation in Zululand in the 1990s.

> Why did the KBNR give money to the tribal authority? We want revenues that are obtained from Kosi Bay Reserve to be used in the development of the people of Kosi Bay because the house of Ngwanase has already benefited from the Tembe Elephant Park. They have been receiving thousands of Rands from that park. Our people did not request that money because the park was constructed in Ngwanase's area, therefore Kosi Bay should develop the communities of the coast. It was unfair to the house of Makhuza to see funds that were supposed to compensate families of the affected area being controlled by the royal family.[66]

Walter became angry as he was saying these words. There is no doubt that this issue frustrated the house of Makhuza. A member of the Ngubane family who resides in the coast said similar words about the royal family and conservation income:

> In reality the people who are living in the coastal Maputaland are the Tembe of Makhuza and the people of Ngubane clan. All the coastal area is under the conservation board, which pays money for working in the area. All that money and other benefits related to conservation is given to the Tembe tribal authority. The people who live in the affected area do not benefit. Decisions about conservation which affect the coastal communities are taken by the Tembe tribal authority, in other words by people who do not suffer from conservation activities because they do not live in the coast. These people have nothing to lose when our people are removed from their land, which has supported them for years. Our people are suffering; we need roads, schools and clinics. Conservation and tourism are paying for using our land and for destroying our nature while they deny people the right to utilize natural resources. All that money is going to the wrong people, they have electricity, water that goes by pipes to their houses, they have beautiful clinics and schools. This is not fair, we have no rights in the land we are living in, a land that was left to us by our forefathers. This is what is causing noise in Maputaland.[67]

The member of the Ngubanes made it very clear that they were not against conservation, but the fact that conservation was constituted through the Tembe tribal authority, which is led by the royal family, was causing problems. This shows that the coastal communities of Maputaland have realized the economic potential of tourism,

[66]Interview with Walter Tembe, Thengani, Maputaland, (5 January 2000).
[67] Personal interview with Khehla Ngubane, (11 July 1999).

which is brought through conservation, but the desire from local people to control resources from tourism remains illusive because of the domination by the house of Ngwanase. The members of the Makhuza family have appealed to the coastal communities to consider a Makhuza tribal authority as an alternative solution if the coastal regions of Maputaland were to benefit the local residents. Thus, the leaders of all communities who are living in coastal Maputaland regions have come together to support the establishment of a Makhuza Tribal Authority, which would work parallel to the Tembe Tribal Authority. A point here is that the house of Makhuza should control coastal Maputaland and therefore be responsible for distribution of the income from tourism. It is the influence of new economic opportunities that is complicating Makhuza's land claim. One wonders to what extent can this dispute be based on historical conflict that took place between Makhuza and Ngwanase in 1896 or even on Walter's claim in the 1960s. How the recent incentives such as income from tourism have influenced this conflict is an issue that the conclusion attempts to address.

In the present chapter, I have explored the impact of nature conservation and the involvement of KwaZulu government in Maputaland. It appeared that from the late 1970s to early 1980s, there was a dramatic shift in KwaZulu following the self-governing status granted to this country by Nationalist government. Given a new status, the KwaZulu government began to exert its control over all regions under Zululand. Its responsibility to maintain roads, schools, hospitals and dipping tanks; and other forms of infrastructure made it easy for the KwaZulu government to mobilize support in rural areas of Zululand. The control over Maputaland was tightened by a sordid deal of Ingwavuma and Swaziland in 1982, followed by some forms of development, already discussed in the previous chapters. Nature conservation was

another way Gatsha Buthelezi used to take charge of resource allocation in Zululand, and to generate income arising in the newly expanding market economy through tourism industry. Although he claimed that he was taking conservation services from the Natal Parks Board in order to develop job opportunities to local people, his conservation policies further alienated people from their land and further widened a conflict between the two Tembe families.

The Makhuza land claim is complicated, this family sought to use any opportunity available. The establishment of KBNR focusing in coastal Maputaland (mainly the Makhuza district) provided a framework to the Makhuza to mobilize the affected communities against the Maputan dynasty. What is interesting is that the resistance against nature conservation in coastal Maputaland was initially not organized by the members of Makhuza, people protested as they lost their farming and grazing land to KBNR, yet the members of Makhuza saw an opportunity in that the royal family was caught in the middle between the KwaZulu government and the people protesting against removals. In the name of Makhuza history, the affected communities were mobilized to combine with the members of Makhuza family and seek independent tribal authority under the leadership of Makhuza family with the hope that this family will provide development in the coastal Maputaland. Yet, as we shall see in the concluding chapter, the members of Makhuza may be looking for more than a chieftainship.

Conclusion

Local Power and Oral History

In April 2000, Sam Masinga, the reporter of the *Maputaland Mirror*, the local newspaper, described a political battle unfolding between the two Tembe houses. He emphasized a rift between the house of Ngwanase and that of Makhuza: "There is now a clash on how to handle issues of development in Tembe area and this is a symbol of a conflict that is becoming clear even to those who were not aware about antagonism between these two houses."[1] Ominously, he described how the Tembe leadership seemed confusing: "No one can ever know who is from and not from Royal Family in KwaTembe. Whenever one is commissioned to serve this Community he ought to bow for every one s/he meets as the opposite may be to his/her disadvantage."[2]

The reporter analysed what is at stake in this rivalry over resources. In early 2000, the house of Makhuza established a new relationship with the KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services (KNCS). Economic development and conservation in coastal Maputaland were to be under the Makhuzas' jurisdiction. The plan involved forestry plantations in the areas around Farrazoa Border Gate, Mahlungula and Kosi Bay, sites that are in Makhuza's district.[3] In the previous chapters examining the years 1896 to 1997, the house of Makhuza emerged as a force to promote development in coastal Maputaland. In the 1990s, the Makhuza house accused the royal family of misusing the revenues obtained from the KNCS in the district of Makhuza. Therefore, the house of Makhuza had not included the Tembe tribal authority in their new relationship with Nature Conservation Department. In fact, the members of Makhuza sought to exclude

---

[1] *Maputaland Mirror*: *The Pride of Thongaland*, No 1., 28 April 2000.
[2] *Maputaland Mirror*, 28 April 2000.
[3] After 1994, the KwaZulu Bureau of Nature Conservation was changed to KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services (KNCS) to reflect the new political transformations in KwaZulu- Natal Province.

the royal family from the benefits of the rising land values and commercial tourism. This situation now reversed the 1980s approach when the KwaZulu Natural Bureau Resources (KBNR) initiated the implementation of its policies through the Tembe tribal authority. The resistance from the communities in Makhuza district may have chastened the Department of Conservation against the use of tribal office.[4] Rather than consulting the tribal authority, the Department of Nature Conservation approached the house of Makhuza in decision-making on the issues pertaining to conservation and development in the areas surrounding Kosi Bay. Still, the strategy presented some potential conflicts between the two Tembe houses, and a struggle looms. The royal family rejected the idea that the house of Makhuza should be independent in Maputaland.

In 2000, the Tembe tribal authority drafted a policy that stated development is only taking place with the permission of the royal family. The reporter of the *Maputaland Mirror* observed that the royal family requires "every civilian residing within the kingdom of KwaTembe to pay a levy for every endeavour s/he has achieved."[5] What is clear in this policy is that the royal family is claiming authority over all regions of Maputaland including that of Makhuza. According to the reporter, the new policy was not only questioned by the house of Makhuza, but by many other members of the Maputaland community, as they will have to pay taxes to the tribal authority.

Members of the Makhuza family believe that the British colonial and apartheid governments have played a crucial role in undermining the local status and authority of the original rulers of Maputaland. However, a close study of the Makhuza assertion

[4] Chapter six of this thesis describes how the local people resisted the implementation of the Nature Reserve by the KwaZulu Bureau of Nature Conservation in the late 1980s.
[5] *Maputaland Mirror*, (28 April 2000).

shows that it is not only about questioning the status of the Makhuza family, but also about the traditions invoked to serve contemporary interests. The most recent economic and political transformations in South Africa have sparked an old conflict between the two Tembe families. When the Nationalist government introduced its racial policies in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, the house of Makhuza sought to change its status in Maputaland. Similarly, with the advent of democracy in 1994, new opportunities have emerged for the members of Makhuza to fight for their autonomy in relation to the Tembe royal family. The re-emergence of the Makhuza claim suggests that the past may be used to achieve present gains. Desire for wealth and power drive the mobilization of Makhuza history in what has been described as "heritage tourism." In this age-old story, there is a strong relationship between chiefly authority, land control, and access to material benefits. The chapters in this thesis attempted to show the link between Makhuza's resurrected past and its current economic ambitions.

Contemporary historians of colonial administration in southeast Africa point out that the success of British "indirect rule" required compliant chiefs. In Maputaland, chief Ngwanase Tembe was a suitable person for this position. Ngwanase's conflict with the East African Portuguese government in the years between 1894 and 1896 forced him to flee his country, move south, and seek protection under a British colonial government. Ngwanase was given British protection in return for his expressed loyalty to the colonial government in Pietermaritzburg.[6] Although the southern part of Maputaland called "British Maputaland," was generally under the jurisdiction of the Maputa Royal family, evidence from colonial documents as well as interviews with local elders

[6] See Warhurst, " Britain and the Partition of Maputo 1875-1897," 26.

suggest that the Maputa family could not have extended authority over clans living in southern Maputaland in the late nineteenth century. The Maputa royal family may have commanded tribute from the southern chiefs, especially from the reign of Mabhudu to the rule of Noziyingile (1790s to 1870s), but under the leadership of Queen Zambili and Ngwanase Tembe, the southern clans had a large degree of independence.[7] Thus, the house of Makhuza and Ngubane, to mention a few, felt growing resentment of the imposed authority of the Maputa Royal family.[8]

Today, members of the Makhuza clan also feel that the Nationalist government protected the royal family with "paramount" status during the establishment of the tribal authorities in the 1960s. In a document authored by members of Makhuza and Ngubane families, they accused the Nationalist government: "The government relied entirely on the documents by their predecessors [British] and anything outside those documents was not valid. They maintained the status quo because discovering latent things would mean more responsibilities for them, which they could not handle."[9] In effect, these complaints point to ways that both the colonial and the Nationalist governments contributed to the decline of Makhuza's power. It is interesting to note that the house of Makhuza has refused to give up its struggle for control of coastal Maputaland, even though ultimately its claim may have been presented for various reasons.

---

[7] The independence of the southern clans was also influenced by the British colonial government which expanded boundaries of northern Zululand over the chiefs Fokothi, Manaba, and Sibonda former subjects of Maputa kingdom.

[8] Interview with Walter Tembe, Thengani, Maputaland, 5 February 2000.

[9] A document from the members of Makhuza ward to the Government's Department of Traditional Affairs, KwaZulu-Natal. This document filed the claim of the members of Makhuza family and it sought to re-establish the Makhuza Tribal Authority, was signed on the 11 October 1997.

During an interview with Walter Tembe in February 2000, I learnt that since the early 1990s there have been several meetings between the two Tembe families on the question of Makhuza's status in Maputaland, and on one occasion the royal family offered the headman position to the house of Makhuza if the claim was dropped. Walter responded pointedly: "Why would we compromise for a position that has no benefits? The government does not recognize a chief headman and therefore no salary is allotted for that position."[10] Economic benefits, thus, were an important element of the Makhuza plan to control coastal Maputaland.

The studies of African traditional leadership show that even in the pre-colonial period the chiefs were usually the richest men in their domains.[11] The measurement and source of wealth were cattle that chiefs accumulated from raids and from followers' gifts. Outsiders who wanted to be incorporated and receive the chief's protection usually provided a few herds. In his study of traditional African political systems, Alfred Moreah maintains that fines in cattle imposed by the court were perhaps the steadiest source of income for the chief. The access to wealth by chiefs was decidedly limited under colonialism, although colonial governments paid chiefs stipends. The traditional ways to accumulate wealth primarily funded the salary paid by the government to its servants. The colonial government also provided new means to accumulate wealth by giving the chiefs responsibilities to collect taxes. Of course, chiefs skimmed some taxes for themselves. The recruiting role of chiefs in the migrant labour system further allowed them to accumulate income by collecting money from returning migrant

[10] Interview with Walter Tembe, Thengani, Maputaland, (5 February 2000).
[11] Jeff Guy, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*. (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982); Shipton, P., and M. Goheen. "Understanding African Land-Holding: Power, Wealth, and Meaning." *Africa* 62, 3 (1992); Alfred T. Moleah, *South Africa: Colonialism, Apartheid and African Dispossession*. (Wilmington, Del.: Disa Press, 1993), 90.

workers.[12] In Maputaland, where there was a minimal state presence, chief Ngwanase combined traditional ways with the European systems to collect wealth, becoming financially secure. Ngwanase earned a fixed sum for the return of each migrant, which mounted over the course of year.[13] This is not to say that all chiefs were wealthy, but most chiefs were far wealthier than their subjects.

Ngwanase's successor, Chief Mhlupheki Tembe, told a Native Commissioner in 1946, that he wanted to buy a vehicle to transport his headmen to the government's meetings and he confirmed that he needed it on cash basis.[14] Although Mhlupheki's request was rejected possibly on the grounds of jealousy, it shows that as a chief he could make a lot of money. To this day, the chiefs still generate huge sums of money through judgments in tribal courts. In most parts of Zululand, including Maputaland, the followers of chiefs are still responsible for purchasing his vehicle. Although this vehicle becomes *imoto yesizwe*, or a people's car, it is the chief who keeps it and uses it more than anyone. In 1987, Gatsha Buthelezi complained in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly about a chief who was collecting R1000 per site.[15] During the research for this thesis, I observed one chief collecting R800 in fines for one day's work deciding cases at his court. A headman of this chief told me that the chief collects the same amount every Tuesday, confiding that the community did not know how the chief spent that money.[16] In 1971, the Tembe royal family fined Walter Tembe twenty cattle after he attempted to use lawyers to fight for the status of Makhuza family in Maputaland, a

[12] Harries, " Migrants and Marriage: The Role of Chiefs and Elders in Labour Movements from Pre-colonial Southern Mozambique to South Africa." A paper presented to the seminar in the University of Cape Town, (1979), also Harries, *Work, Culture and Identity*. (Johannesburg: Witswatersrand; Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994).
[13]Harries, " Migrants and Marriage."
[14]Ulundi Archives, Tembe Tribal Authority: Ingwavuma, C.N.C. 57/105, T. Young (Native Commissioner Ingwavuma) to Chief Native Commissioner, (5 July 1946).
[15] Alistair McIntosh, " Rethinking Chieftaincy and the Future of Rural Local Government: A preliminary Investigation," *Transformation*, No. 13, (Durban, 1990), 29-30.
[16] Names are withheld for the interviewer's protection.

matter that was rejected by the government.[17] Therefore, it makes sense that the benefits of chieftaincy are attractive to aspirant leaders.

Walter's challenge to the royal family in the 1960s was not only for Makhuza's status in Maputaland, but also a spur to tribal authorities to provide an opportunity to establish a Makhuza chieftainship with material benefits, including a salary from the government and power which gives permission to accumulate wealth through traditional means of collection. Without political rank, Walter Tembe's "followers" in Makhuza's ward would neither listen to him nor offer him "tribute."[18] Walter required the government to strengthen his powers. If the Nationalists considered the house of Makhuza a separate "unit" from the house of Ngwanase, Walter Tembe would be assured of a chieftainship and possibly the government's salary. The mobilization of the past legitimised the Makhuza claim. This does not mean that people in Maputaland routinely fabricate history to support their claims in the present, but that a different version of a shared history is often used to achieve tangible goals.

The Nationalist government, however, had its own agenda. Before tribal structures were established, the house of Makhuza could deal with matters involving people's infractions and fines. Although not entitled to a salary from the government, Makhuza had access to income such as the local taxes, traditional tribute (cattle and goats), and court fines. The establishment of the tribal authorities centralized the power to the royal family, thus giving authority to this family to control the whole of Maputaland, encompassing the district of Makhuza. Indeed, chief Mzimba demonstrated this by appointing his cousin, Hlabezimhlophe as a headman in the ward of Makhuza family.

[17] Interview with Solomon Tembe, Manguzi, Maputaland, (5 February 2000).
[18] See Chapter four.

As the fines were now paid to the tribal authority, the house of Makhuza lost both the authority to control the people of Makhuza ward and the means of accumulating wealth. Although Walter did not succeed in his claim in the 1960s, he was waiting for the opportunity to advance the cause of the Makhuza family.

The Makhuza land claim has been complicated by national politics. For instance, the Ingwavuma Land Deal in 1982, proposed by the apartheid government to create a barrier to ANC infiltration from Mozambique, opened a "can of worms" for the Tembe royal family. The royal family was criticised by Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister in KwaZulu and the President of Inkatha, for trying to sell Zululand to foreigners. Moreover, during debates over the Ingwavuma Land Deal, his followers publicly mocked chief Tembe as a sell-out, an alien, a Thonga "one who cannot speak a proper Zulu."[19] Although the Ingwavuma Land Deal fell apart and ultimately had no direct impact on the Makhuza land claim, debates of such a land-grab exposed chief Mzimba Tembe to fierce criticism from his own people. This struggle smouldered for many years.

In the late 1980s, the establishment of nature reserves in Maputaland profoundly influenced the rivalry between the two wings of the Tembe families who had learned to dislike each other even more during the Ingwavuma squabble. The old rift between the two Tembe families intensified as conservation schemes introduced a form of economic development in which local people believed they would benefit immediately with opportunities for employment and wealth. Indeed, the Tembe Elephant Park and the Kosi Bay Lake system attracted tourists from all over the world. The growth of tourism

[19]Webster, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala." Webster elaborated the question of language in Maputaland; also see Sihawukele Ngubane, A Survey of Northern Zululand dialects in the Ingwavuma District." M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, (1991).

in South Africa more generally also opened the region to economic possibilities. Maputaland was given a boost in 1997 when it was granted status as a World Heritage site in conjunction with Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park.[20] The Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (LSDI), a project launched by the governments of Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa, was another economic development strategy encouraging joint ventures with local entrepreneurs and communities, further increasing hopes of economic activity in coastal areas of KwaZulu-Natal. Locally, tourism raised the value of land, which in turn, elevated the position of those leaders who controlled the allocation of new plots. Chiefs and would-be chiefs saw a brighter future.

It was during this time of economic growth that Makhuza re-instituted the land claim and called for public gatherings. To gather supporters, the house of Makhuza sought a broad-based coalition of allies. Members of Makhuza family combined with all clans living in the coastal Maputaland first to seek benefits from KwaZulu Nature Conservation. The previous removal of people for nature conservation in coastal Maputaland during the apartheid era provided the scope for Makhuza's mobilization of Maputaland's coastal communities, not only against conservation schemes, but also against the royal family for its previous compliance with the KBNR policies. Public protests soon erupted calling for a defence of Makhuza rights. To be sure, Makhuza protestors had lost farming and grazing lands to KBNR, but the members of the Makhuza house sought a bigger prize: promised revenue from the tourist ventures.

[20] Chris van der Merwe, "World Heritage- a win-win Situation, *South African Country Life*, March 2000; Tammy Lloyd, "Conservation and Tourism," *Financial Mail*, 10 November 2000, 50-51, " People and Parks, Parks and People," Conference Summary Proceedings in J. Caruthers and A. Zaloumis, (eds.) *Peoples &Parks*, Occasional Paper No. 1, (1995).

In terms of rural development, both Natal colonial and Nationalist government long neglected Maputaland. Unlike other areas in South Africa, there was no resource that benefited the British colonial governments in Maputaland. Once the British were sure that there was no threat from German and the Afrikaner rivals, they turned away from what they saw as backwater Maputaland.[21] As Mamdani pointed out in *Citizen and Subject*, that the Nationalist government continued the colonial legacy of limiting development in rural areas. The Nationalist ceded responsibilities of rural administration to the local leadership, transforming "indirect rule" into a reliance on local ethnic allies who accommodated white rule. Thus, the Pretoria government did not have to spend money in these rural areas, which in turn, entrenched underdevelopment.[22]

The conflicts in Maputaland are now sprouting elsewhere in KwaZulu Natal where tourism projects are being developed. In St Lucia, for example, the people of Bhangazi are turning to their memories of the past to claim ancestral land taken from them for the purpose of conservation in the 1950s.[23] The process of legitimating these claims emphasized the point made by Trouillot. History is actually "produced outside of academia."[24] Now the pre-colonial identities of the Makhuza, Ngubane, and others once suppressed by colonialism and apartheid's rule, are re-emerging.[25] Although

---

[21] In 1895, the mission of stopping other European powers in the southeast Africa was completed when the British claimed a protectorate over Maputaland.

[22] Dori Posel, "Migration, Poverty Traps and Development: A tale of Two Villages." University of Natal, Durban 1999; Francis Wilson, "Minerals and Migrants: How the Mining Industry Shaped South Africa." *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.* (Winter, 2001), and Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele, *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge: Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989).

[23] Yonah Seleti, "Expropriation, Exploitation and Exhibitionism: The Quest for the Bhangazi Heritage Site in the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park." A paper prepared for the seminar, Campbell Collections, University of Natal, Durban, (2001).

[24] Michel-Ralph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 21.

[25] The study of Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of*

white states dominated and subjugated local people, they failed to diminish cultural identities of local communities. Now, "theatres of memory" in Samuel Raphael's term, are bringing old identities into new debates.[26] One of the clear failures of the colonial state in Maputaland has been the adjudication of the claim of Makhuza. This case has survived both colonial and Nationalists governments. This is an interesting point to note if one considers the present debate over the role of traditional leadership in the newly democratic government. On the one hand, the current state successfully implemented its policies of openness; hence the Makhuza identities are now debated, but ironically, the debates follow the guidelines of the apartheid structures for they deal with tribal authority in colonially defined districts and modern forms of remuneration. Whatever the themes in these debates-whether it is apartheid control of tribal authority, or Walter Tembe's use of the lawyers in 1960s to resist the authority of the royal family, or the new nature conservation schemes of the KwaZulu government-new battlefronts erupt in Maputaland. The advent of the tourism industry may launch liberation struggles of a different kind.

The democratic principles of the new Constitution formulated in 1994 protect and provide human rights within a legal framework to redress land claims. The attempt to reverse the evil of Apartheid has opened a road for South Africans to follow out of dispossession. To the members of Makhuza, this road leads away from the Maputa royal family. In fact, sections of the South African Constitution have been carefully selected by the members of Makhuza to justify their claim. A recent memorandum

---

Historical Invention. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998) and Mamdani's *Citizen and Subject* elaborated on the questions of the persistence and the use of customary law in postcolonial order.

[26] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. (London: Verso, 1994); A. Rankin, "Real History Revives Argentina Indians", elaborates same ideas. *History Today* 45, (1995), 8-11.

written by the people of Makhuza ward declares: "We now say that in terms of the given freedom of choice, speech...it is erroneous and unacceptable to force individuals and communities to belong where they do not belong nor is it acceptable to force a tribe to pay tribute to the inkosi [chief] which is not theirs by right of origin..."[27]

With the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, the South African democratic government launched a major land reform programme allowing rural communities of South Africa to claim land if they can prove that land was theirs before dispossession by white rule.[28] This has also provided another route for the members of Makhuza to justify their claim. Yet the members of Makhuza were careful not to use this program directly to avoid clear contradictions. Instead, they filed their claim with the new Department of Traditional Affairs in the context of the government Land Restitution Act, which recovers land lost after the momentous Native Land Act of 1913.

The problems with using new democratic statutes for redress of the Makhuza claim are rooted in the ambiguous role of tribal authorities. The tribal structures have long been the key to the implementation of apartheid policies in rural areas. In fact the role of traditional leadership and tribal authorities in democratic South Africa continues to be a hotly debated topic.[29] A researcher for Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), Lungisile Ntsebenza pointed out clearly in his report "Rural Local Government Reform," that the traditional authorities cannot play a decisive role in a

---

[27]A document signed by the members of Makhuza ward, (11 October 1997).

[28]For an illuminating discussion of the provisions of this act see Bertus de Villiers, *Land Claims and National Parks*, Pretoria, HSRC, (1999); see also section 1 of the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994. For examples of how this Land Program have been successful in land re-settlement, see Leslie Witz, Ciraj Rassool, and Gary Minkley, "Repackaging the Past for South Africa Tourism," *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, No.1, Volume 130, (Winter 2001). They give examples of land settlements in northern Cape and Northern Province.

[29] A Discussion Document: Towards a White paper on Traditional Leadership and Institutions. Issued by the Department of Provincial and Local Government, (26 April 2000).

South African democratic government.[30] The Makhuza's fight for tribal authority at this time may be seen as an attempt to hold on to the unintended benefits of apartheid structures. It remains to be seen how the ANC-led government deals with these contradictions.

The Makhuza claim reinforces several important themes in the scholarship on ethnicity in Southern Africa. For instance, the idea that identity is rarely fixed and people have a choice about how to identify themselves emerges plainly in this story.[31] The narratives of the members of Makhuza and Ngubane families compete for the position of the authoritative voice of history in Maputaland. Although this thesis has not fully elaborated on the Ngubane's pasts, their history shows that they were the first people to live for sustained periods in Maputaland before the Tembe families came into the region.[32] It could be generalized that the Ngubane people should be resisting not simply the Tembe royal family but the house of Makhuza. The chieftainship of the Ngubane (if there was such an entity) was lost to the house of Makhuza in the early nineteenth century. Members of the Ngubane clan have chosen to side with Makhuza family for a reason: historical precedence. The main question is to what extent will the Makhuza claim appeal to the past or to more recent histories. The house of Makhuza and its allies are in the process of re-inventing, if not re-producing, a new history that has little to do with a complex past. In this new history the question of who belongs in Maputaland is no longer an important issue.

---

[30] Lungisile Ntsebenza, "Land Tenure Reform, Traditional Authorities and Rural Local Government in Post-apartheid South Africa: Case studies from the Eastern Cape." School of Government, University of the Western Cape, Research Report No. 3, (199..?).

[31] Vail, "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History." ; P. Harries, "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity Among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa."

[32] The history of the Ngubane is long and complicated. It is composed of more than three versions, it could not be accommodated in this thesis it requires its own attention. This is similar with clans such as the Mdletshe, the Ntuli and Mlambo, they all form of competing claims in Maputaland, hence they have their own history. Although all these clans are living in Makhuza ward and have combined with Makhuza they still hold their protests against the rule of the Tembe people.

The winners in this struggle will be families who mobilize not only their past, but also a history with a specific discourse relevant to the present political and economic issues. The Makhuzas' claim is an example of a family who seeks power and access to new monetary ventures by mobilizing history. The economic hope promised by tourism is fundamentally changing the way history is being told in Maputaland. Private entrepreneurs are investing in Maputaland and building lodges. Suddenly, Maputaland's soil is valuable. However, in order to benefit from outside economic development, local leaders have to legitimise their power by re-inventing or reinforcing past claims.[33] An attempt to collect oral history of the region has already commenced. The Ngubane, for example, have actively sought to discuss their history in parties, ceremonies, funerals and feasts.[34] As Elizabeth Tonkin writes in *Narrating Our Past: the Social Construction of Oral History*, the next phase of this oral history effort will advance a new social process.[35]

---

[33] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past.* Trouillot exploration of the various ways that history may be produced has been inspirational to my work of land claims and the overlapping historical narratives in Maputaland.
[34] Interview with Albert Twayi Ngubane, Thengani Maputaland, (13 July 1999). Albert was angry with the members of his family because they could not trace their history. He was also angry with the fact the members of the Ngubane are divide, some have already submitted to Makhuza and some to the royal family. He thought the lack of solidarity of the Ngubane could make them loose in the battle of histories, yet they are the original owners of the Maputaland.
[35] E. Tonkin, *Narrating Our Past.* In addition, see Isabel Hofmeyer, *"We Spend Our Years as a Tale that is told": Oral Historical Narratives in a South African Chiefdom.* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993); L. Vail and L. White, Power *and the Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History.* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991) Some scholars outside of South Africa have observed the construction of history in social arenas, see Sara Berry, "Tomatoes, Land and Hearsay"; M. Gilbert, " The sudden death of a millionaire: conversion and consensus in a Ghanaian Kingdom," Africa 58, No. 3 (1988); R. Rathbone, *Murder and Politics in Colonial Ghana.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

One wonders, as the history of Makhuza is continually debated whether there is a pecking order between memory, oral history, and the pursuit of wealth and power. Having the first two is worth little in the here-and-now unless one has access to and plans to achieve the last, wealth and power. Bukiwe's ambition is finally being realized but not in ways she intended; her telling of oral history was motivated by what she believed would be lost in time. Walter Tembe's telling of oral history was motivated by what he believed he could gain in time and achieve his ambitions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Government Records

British Parliamentary Papers (BPP): Colonies Africa. Vols. 35 & 48, (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1968-1971).
Chief Native Affairs Commissioner (CNC), 1897 to 1928: Pietermaritzburg Archives.
Chief Native Affairs Commissioner (CNC), from 1924 to 1972: Ulundi Archives.
Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO) 1887 to 1918: Pietermaritzburg Archives.
Ingwavuma Magistrate Records 1898-1954: Pietermaritzburg Archives.
Principal Veterinary Surgeon (PVS): Pietermaritzburg Archives.
Secretary of Native Affairs (SNA) 1887-1910: Pietermaritzburg Archives.
Surveyor General Office (SGO): Pietermaritzburg Archives.
Transvaal: Correspondence, N/A, TAP, SSα 13F 152(GR 361/95)
Zululand Government House (ZGH), 1889-1899 (2 Volumes): Pietermaritzburg Archives.

Interviews cited: Maputaland, 1997-2000

1997: Albert Mabole Tembe, Star of the Sea, KwaNgwanase, 7 November;
MaMkhwanazi Tembe, Thandizwe Tembe Royal Palace, KwaNgwanase, 5 November;
Nomacala Mthethwa, Malangeni, 5 November;
Mampinga Ngubane (MaGumede), Mahlambani River, KwaNgwanase, 6 November;
Japhet Ngubane, Durban, 28 October;
Themba, Hlabile Tembe, Enkathwini, KwaNgwanase, 6 November;
Chithumuzi Mdletshe, KwaChithumuzi, KwaNgwanase, 14 July;
Khambule, Manguzi, KwaNgwanase, 15 July;
Magwevu Tembe, KwaZibi, KwaNgwanase, 21 December,
Bhidi Ngubane, January 1998.

1999: Joshua Mathenjwa, KwaZibi, 20 May;
Wayibhani Mthembu, KwaZibi, 20 May;
Sonile Mathenjwa, 21 May; Richard Qwabe, Manzengwenya, 21 May;
MeMtitingwenya Tembe, 11 July;
Nkaphani Ngubane, Lake Shengeza, KwaNgwanase, 12 July;
Albert Twayi Ngubane, Thengani, KwaNgwanase/Maputaland, 13 July;
Jalimane Nhlonzi, Thengani, KwaNgwanase/Maputaland, 13 July;
Khehla Petros Ngubane, Thandizwe, KwaNgwanase, 11 July;
Bidi Ngubane, KwaMandende, KwaNgwanase, 14 July;
Solomon Hlomehlome Tembe, KwaNgwanase, 11 July;
Moses Mgadi Ngubane, Manguzi, KwaNgwanase, 12 July;
Walter, Mlingo Tembe, Thengani, KwaNgwanase, 10 July;
David Mshumbu Ngubane, Manguzi, KwaNgwanase, 11 July;
Anderw Zaloumus, Botha's Hill, November.

2000: Walter Mlingo Tembe, Thengani, KwaNgwanase, 5 February;
Solomon Hlomehlome Tembe, Manguzi, KwaNgwanase, 5 February;
Rev. J. Masinga. Thandizwe, KwaNgwanase, 18 June;
Magamenkosi Mkhwanazi, Mtubatuba, 22 June;
Jameson Makokozane Ngubane, Nkathwini, KwaNgwanase, 3 September;
Chief Mabhudu Tembe, Manguzi, KwaNgwanase, 16 May;
Nyanga Ngubane, Department of Traditional Affairs, Pietermaritzburg, July;
Jerry Mngomezulu, 4 November,
Teka Tembe, 6 November 2000.

Individual unpublished items, articles and minutes

"Umlando Ngendlu kaMqingampondo," 20 January 1993.
"Application for Re-establishment of the Late Traditional Leader, *Inkosi* Makhuza's Chieftainship, Re-definition of the well Boundaries and Recognition of 11 Community Authorities Situated within the Late Traditional *Inkosi* Makhuza Tembe's Territory," 10 November 1996.
"Application for the Re-establishment of the late *Inkosi* Makhuza's Chieftainship," 11 November 1996, Kosi Bay Royal Kraal.
"The Establishment of Madingi Chieftainship," 8 March 1997.
Minutes of the meeting of the members of the Tembe Royal Family, Tembe Tribal Authority, Maputaland, 27 December 1997.
Statements prepared by the house of Ngwanase to respond to Mbuzana Tembe, 27 December 1997.

Magazines and Newspapers

Daily News, June 1982-1984
Drum Magazine, September 1982
Financial Mail, November 2000
Maputaland Mirror, 1999-2001
Natal Mercury, (1947; 1990).
Natal Witness, 1989-1990
South African Country Life, March 2000
Sunday Tribune, 1982-1985.
Weekly Mail, October 1988

Published Articles, Books, and Pamphlets

A Discussion Document: Towards a White paper on Traditional Leadership and Institutions. Issued by the Department of Provincial and Local Government, (26 April 2000).

Association for Rural Advancement, "Maputaland: Conservation and Removals." *AFRA*, Special Report No. 6, (January 1990).

Association for Rural Advancement, "Kosi bay Nature Reserve: The Problem of Consultation." *AFRA* Newsletter No. 4, (February 1990).

Association for Rural Advancement, "Animals versus People: The Tembe Elephant Park." *AFRA* Newsletter No. 6, (March 1990).

Association for Rural Advancement, "Removals, Compensation and the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve." *AFRA*, (March, 1990).

Axelson Eric, *Portugal and the Scramble of Africa, 1875-1891.* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967).

Ballard Charles, "Migrant Labour in Natal 1860-1879: With Special Reference to Zululand and the Delagoa Bay Hinterland." *Journal of Natal and Zululand* 1: 25-42 (1978).

Ballard Charles, "Trade, Tribute and Migrant Labour: Zulu and Colonial Exploitation of the Delagoa Bay Hinterland, 1818-1979," in *Before and After Shaka: Papers in Nguni History.* J. B. Peires, (ed.), (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1981).

Basso Keith, B., *Wisdom Sits in Places.* (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 1995).

Begg G.W., "Kosi Bay: A Wonderful Aquarium and most gorgeous Aviary." *African Wildlife*, Vol. 36, No 4/5 (July August-September/October), (1992).

Begg G.W., "The Kosi System: Aspects of its Biology Management and Research," in M.N. Bruton and K.H. Cooper, (eds.) *Studies on the Ecology of Maputaland.* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1980).

Beinart W., *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa.* (London: James Currey, 1987).

Beinart W. and C. Bundy, "State Intervention and Rural Resistance: The Transkei, 1900-1965," in *Peasants in Africa,* M.Klein (ed.), (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981).

Berry Sarah, "Tomatoes, Land and Hearsay: Property and History in Asante in the Time of Structural Adjustment," pp 1225-1241, 25: 8, (1997).

Berry Sarah, *Chiefs Know Their Boundaries*: Essays on Property, Power, and the Past in Asante, 1896-1996. (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann; Oxford: James Currey; Cape Town: David Philip, 2001).

Bonner P., Peter, Delius and P. Posel, *Apartheid's Genesis: 1935-1962.* (Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1993).

Bonner P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State.* (Cambridge and Johannesburg: Cambridge University Press and Ravan, 1983).

Boyarin J., "Introduction and Space, Time and the Politics of Memory," in J. Boyarin, (ed.) *Remapping Memory: The Politics of Time Space.* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

Braatveldt H.P., *Roaming Zululand with a Native Commissioner.* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1949).

Bruton M.N., "Conservation and development," in Bruton, M.N. and K.H. Cooper (eds.) *Studies on the Ecology of Maputaland.* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1980).

Bryant A. T., *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal.* (London: Longmans, 1929).

Bryant A.T., *A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes.* (Cape Town: Struik, 1964).

Bryant A.T., *The Zulu People: As They Were Before The White Man Came.* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 2nd ed., 1967.

Bulpin T.V., *Natal and Zulu Country.* (Cape Town: Books of Africa, 1969).

Canonici N., *The Zulu Folktale Tradition. Zulu Language and Literature.* (Durban: University of Natal Press, 1993).

Caruthers Jane, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995).

Carton Benedict, *Blood from Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000).

Christopher A. J., "A Note on the Opening of Zululand to European Settlement," *Historia*, Vol. 16, (September, 1971).

Christopher A. J., *The Crown Lands of British South Africa, 1853-1914.* (Kingston, Ont., Canada: Limestone Press, 1984).

Ciraj Rasool, and Leslie Witz, "South Africa: A world in One Country." *Cahiers d Etudes Africaines*, 143, XXXVI-3, (1996), 335-371.

Claude Dennis, "The Hidden Architecture in Maputaland." *South African Journal of Art and Architectural History.* Vol. 4, (1994), 45-53.

Clerc A., "The Marriage laws of the Ronga Tribe (Specially the Clans of the Maputo District, South of the Espirito Santo, Portuguese East Africa)," *Bantu Studies* XII (2), (1938), 75-104.

Davenport T.R.H., *South Africa: A Modern History.* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1977).

De Kiewiet C.W., *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic.* (London: Claredon Press, 1941).

De Villiers Bertus, *Land Claims and National Parks.* (Pretoria: HSRC, 1999).

Du Toit B., "South Africa: Consciousness, Identification and Resistance," *The Journal of Modern African Studies.* Vol. 21. No.3, (1983).

Edgecombe Ruth, "Sir Marshal Clarke and the abortive attempt to "Basutolandise" Zululand, 1893-7." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History.* Vol. 1, (1978).

Etherington Norman, "Frederic Elton and the South African Factor in the making of Britain's East African Empire." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History.* Vol. 9, (1981).

Evans Ivan, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Fabri Antonella, "Memories of Violence, Monuments of History," in *The Labyrinth of Memory: Ethnographic Journeys.* (eds.) Marea, C. Teski and Jacob J. Climo (eds), Westport, Bergin & Garvey, (1995), 141-158.

Felgate Walter, *The Tembe-Thonga of Natal and Mozambique: An Ecological Approach.* Occasional Publication No.1, (Department of African Studies: University of Natal, Durban, 1982).

Ferraz A.C., "Probing the Mysteries of Tongaland." *The Outspan.* 5 September (1947).

Ferguson J. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho.* (New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Freund Bill, *The Making of Contemporary Africa.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

Foucault M., *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse of Language.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

Furlough E., "Making Mass vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s." Comparative Studies in Society and History. An *International Quarterly.* Vol. 40, No 2, Cambridge City Press, (April 1998).

Garland I., "An Expedition to Ingwavuma," *African Wild Life.* Vol. 6. No 1 (July 1952), 6-12.

Garland I., "Ingwavuma Expedition." *Africa Wild Life.* Vol. 8. No. 4, (July 1954), 323-328.

Garson N.G., "The Swaziland Question and a Road to the Sea, 1887-1895," MA thesis, in *A Year Book for South African History*, (1957).

Gerhart Gail M., Black *Power in South Africa. The evolution of an Ideology.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

Gilbert M., "The Sudden Death of a Millionaire: Conversion and Consensus in an Ghanaian Kingdom," *Africa* 58, No. 3 (1988).

Giliomee H. and L. Schlemmer, *Up Against the Fences: Poverty, Passes and Privilege in South Africa.* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1985).

Griesel H., *Sibambane: The Voices of Women at Mboza.* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1988).

Gross N. and R. Barker, (eds), *At the Desert's Edge: oral histories from the Sahel.* (London: Panos/Sos Sahel, 1991).

Guna Ranajit, "Discipline and Mobilize," in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, (eds.) *Subaltern Studies VII: Writings on South Asian History and Society.* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Guy J., "A note on fire arms in the Zulu Kingdom with special reference to Anglo-Zulu War, 1897," *JAH*, Vol. 12, (1971).

Guy J., *The Destruction of Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884.* (London: Longmans, 1979).

Hamilton C., *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention.* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip Publishers, 1988).

Harries P., "Plantations, Passes and Proletarians: Labour and Colonial State in Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Southern African Studies (JSAS)* Vol.13, No. 3, (1981).

Harries P., "The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal: H.A. Junod and the Thonga." (*JSAS*) Vol. 8, No 1, (1981).

Harries P., "History, Ethnicity and the Ingwavuma Land Deal: The Zulu Northern Frontier in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. VI, (1983).

Harries P., "The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of language Construction in South-east Africa." *African Affairs* 87, no 346 (1988), 25-52.

Harries P., *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910.* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994).

Harris M., "Labour Emigration among the Mozambican Thonga: Culture and Political Factors." *Africa* XXIX (1), (1959), 55.

Heribert and Kanya Adam, "The Politics of Memory in Divided Societies," in Wilmot James and Linda van der Vijver, (eds.) *After TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa.* (USA: Ohio University Press, 2000).

Hindson D., *Pass Controls and the Urban African Proletariat in South Africa.* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987).

Hobsbawn E., "Peasant and Politics," *Journal of Peasant Studies.* Vol., 1, No.1, (1973).

Homier I., "*We Spend Our Years as a Tale that is Told." Oral Historical narrative in South African Chiefdom.* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993).

Houghton Hobart, *The South African Economy.* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1964).

Hurcombe E. H., *A Walk Round Kosi Lake, Undertaken by Miss Prozesky, Nkosazane YaseMaputa.* (Blysthswood: Blysthswood Press, 1925).

Irwin P., *Liptako Speaks: History from Oral Tradition in Africa.* (Princeton: PUP, 1981), xix-xxiv, 22-41.

Jackson Mabel, *European Powers and South-East Africa*: *A Study of International Relations on the South Coast of Africa, 1796-1856.* (London: Longmans, 1942).

Janeway E. *Powers of the Weak.* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1981).

Jacques A. A., "Terms of Kinship and Corresponding Patterns of Behaviour among the Thonga," *Bantu Studies* III, Vol. 4, (1929), 327-348.

Junod H., *The Life of a South African Tribe. Social Life.* Vol. 1. (London: D. Nutt, 1913)

Junod H., *The Life of a South African Tribe.* (London: Macmillan, 1927).

Kane-Berman J., "Inkatha: the paradox of South Africa politics." *Optima*, Vol. 30, No. 2, (1982).

Krige E. J., *Report on Ecological Study of the Tembe-Thonga of Natal and Mozambique.* University of Natal, Institute for Social Research, Durban, (196-?). Killie Campbell Library.

Kuper A., "Zulu Kinship Terminology over a Century," *Journal of Anthropological Research* XXXV (3), (1979), 373-383.

Laband J. and Paul Thompson, " The Reduction of Zululand, 1878-1904," in A. Duminy, and Bill Guest (eds.), *Natal and Zululand*: *From Earliest Times to 1910.*
(Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1989).

Lambert J., "From Independence to Rebellion: African Society in Crisis, *c.* 1880-1910," in A. Duminy and Bill Guest, (eds.) *Natal and Zululand*: *From Earliest Times to 1910.* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1989).

Lambert J., *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal.* (Scottsville: University of Natal Press, 1995).

Leslie D., *Among the Zulus and Amatongas.* (Edinburgh: Edmondson & Douglas, 1875).

Leyds W. J., *The Transvaal Surrounded: A Continuation of the first Annexation of Transvaal.* (London: T. Fisher UN Win. 1919).

Lummis T., *Listening to History: The Authenticity of Oral Evidence.* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).

Makanjee V., "Maputaland the Neglected Territory." *Indicator South Africa,* Vol. 6., No.1/2, (1989).

Mamdani Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Mare G., "Mixed, Capitalist and Free: the aims of the Natal option," in Moss, G. and Obery I. (eds.), *South African Review*, Vol. 4, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press).

Marks Shula, "The Traditions of the Natal 'Nguni': A second look at the work of A.T. Bryant," in L. Thompson (ed.), *African Societies in Southern Africa.* (London: Heinemann, 1969).

Mbeki Govan, *South Africa: The Peasant's Revolts.* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1964).

McIntosh A., "Rethinking Chieftaincy and the Future of Rural Local Government: A Preliminary Investigation," *Transformation*, No. 13, (Durban, 1990), 29-30.

Minaar Anthony, *Patterns of Violence: Case Studies of Conflict in Natal.* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1992).

Mohapelo J. M., "Africans and their Chiefs. Should Africans be Ruled by their chiefs or elected leaders?" in the *Pro and Con Pamphlet.* (Cape Town: The African Bookman, 1945).

Moleah A. T., *South Africa: Colonialism, Apartheid and African Dispossession.* (Wilmington: Disa Press, 1993).

Moll E.J., "The Distribution, Abundance and Utilization of the Lala Palm, Hyphaene Natalensis on Tongaland, Natal." *Bothalia*, Vol. 10. (1972).

Moll E.J., "The Vegetation of Maputaland." *Trees in South Africa*, 29, 1978 (4): 31-59.

Morris M. and Hindson, Doug, "South Africa: Political Violence, Reform and Reconstruction," *Review of African Political Economy*, No.53, (1992).

Mountain Alan, *Paradise under Pressure.* (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1990).

Mudimbe V. Y., *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge.* (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1988).

Murphy William, "Secret Knowledge as Property and Power in Kpelle society: Elders versus Youth," *Africa*, 50, 2 (1980), 193-207.

Ntsebenza Lungisile, "Land Tenure Reform, Traditional Authorities and Rural Local Government in Post-apartheid South Africa: Case studies from the Eastern

Cape." School of Government, University of the Western Cape, *Research Report* No. 3, (1999).

Pooley Tony and Player, Ian, *KwaZulu/Natal Wildlife Destinations: A Report to the Game Reserves, Resorts, Private Nature Reserves, Ranches and Wildlife Areas of KwaZulu/Natal.* (Cape Town: Southern Publishers, 1995).

Posel Deborah, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise.* (Clarendon Press: New York, 1991).

Posel Dori, "Migration, Poverty Traps and Developments: A 'Tale of Two Villages,'" University of Natal, Durban, (1999).

Prozesky H. *An Account of a Trip in Maputaland.* (Blythswood: Blythswood Press, 1925).

Rankin A., "Real History Revives Argentina Indians." *History Today* 45, (1995), 8-11.

Rathbone R. *Murder and Politics in Colonial Ghana.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

Ribot Jesse, "Rebellion, Representation, and Enfranchisement in the Forest Villages of Makacoulibanting, Eastern Senegal," in Charles Zerner (ed.) *People, Plants and Justice.* (New York: Columbia, 2000).

Samuel Raphael, *Theaters of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture.* (London: Verso, 1994).

Saul J., *The State and Revolution in East Africa.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

Schlemmer L., "Squatter Communities: Safety Valves in the Rural-urban Nexus," in H. Giliomee, and L. Schlemmer (eds.), *Up Against the Fences-Poverty, Passes and Privileges in South Africa.* (Cape Town: David Philip)

Schreuder D.M., *The Scramble for Southern Africa 1877-1895: The Politics of Partition Reappraised.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

Schudson M., "Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory," in D. Schacter, (ed.), *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains and Societies Reconstruct the Past.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Scott James, "Hegemony and the Peasantry." *Politics and Society.* Vol. 7, No. 3, (1977).

Scotts James, *Weapons of the Weak: Of Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (New Haven: Yale University, 1985).

Shipton P., and M. Goheen. "Understanding African Land-Holding: Power, Wealth, and Meaning." *Africa* 62, 3 (1992).

Ari Sitas, "Inanda, August 1985-Where wealth and power and blood reign worship gods." *South African Labour Bulletin*. Vol. 11/4(1986).

Smith Alan, "The trade of Delagoa Bay as a factor in Nguni politics 1750-1835," in L. Thompson (ed.) *African Societies in Southern Africa*. (London: Heinemann, 1969).

Tessendorf H. and Brenda, Boult, "Inkatha YeNkululeko Yesizwe: An analysis." A Research Paper, University of Port Elizabeth, (1991).

Theal G. M., (ed.) *Records of Southern Africa, Collected in Various Libraries and Archive Department in Europe*. (London: Printed for the government of the Cape Colony, 1898), Vol. II.

Thompson Paul, *The Voices of the Past: Oral History*. (2nd ed.). (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

Thompson P., "Life Histories and the Analysis of Social Change" in D. Bertaux (ed.) *Biography and Society: the Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*. (Beverly Hill/London: Sage, 1981).

Tonkin Elizabeth, *Narrating Our Past: The Social Constructions of Oral History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Torres J. L. R., "The Amathonga people of Maputaland with special reference to the inhabitants of Pongolo Floodplain area," in M.N. Bruton and K.H. Cooper (eds). *Studies of the Ecology of Maputaland*. (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1980).

Trouillot Michel-Rolph, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. (Boston: Beacon, 1995).

Vail Leroy, and Landeg White, *Power and the Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History*. (Charlottesville: University of Virgina Press, 1991).

Van Warmelo N.J., "Grouping and Ethnic History," in I. Schapera, *The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959).

Van der Merwe Chris, "World Heritage: A win-win situation." *South African Life*, (March 2000).

Vansina J., *Oral Tradition. A Study, Historical Methodology.* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

Vansina J., *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples.* (US & Canada: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

Warhurst Philip, "What's in a name? Ethnicity and the Kingdom of Maputo." *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. VI, (1983).

Webb Colin de B., and John Wright, (eds.) *The James Stuart Archives of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples.* Vols. 3 & 4. (Pietermaritzburg and Durban: University of Natal Press and Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1976-1986).

Webster David, "Tembe-Thonga Kinship: The Marriage of Anthropology and History.' *Cahiers d' Etudes Africans*, 104, XXVI-4, (1986), 611-632.

Webster David, "Abafazi Bathonga Bafihlakala. Ethnicity and Gender. KwaZulu Border Community." *Tradition and Transition in Southern Africa.* Andrew Spiegel and Patrick McAllister, (eds.) African Studies, 50th Anniversary. Vol. (1&2), (Johannesburg, 1991)

Welsh D. *The Roots of Segregation; Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910.* (Cape Town, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Wigram E. H., *Soldiers of the Cross in Zululand.* (London: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 1906).

Wilson F., Labour *in the South African Gold Mines 1911-1969.* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972).

Wilson F. and Mamphela, Ramphele. *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge: Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989)

Wilson F., "Minerals and Migrants: How the Mining Industry Shaped South Africa." *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.* (Winter, 2001).

Wilson M. and L. Thompson, (eds.) *The Oxford History of South Africa.* Vol. II. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Witz L. "The Write Your Own History Project." *Radical History Review*, 46/47, (1990).

Zulu Paulus, "Durban Hostels and Political Violence: Case Studies in KwaMashu and Umlazi." *Transformation*, Durban, No. 21, (1993).

Unpublished Dissertation, Theses, and Papers

Bejak I.K, "Environmental and Engineering Aspects and Implication for Tourist developments along the Maputaland Coast." Msc. Geography and Applied Geology. University of Natal, Durban, 1988.

Buthelezi G.M., A speech prepared for the opening of Masinda Camp (Umfolozi Game Reserve), (28 April 1979). (Natal Collection in Sociology Department at the University of Natal, Durban)

Buthelezi G. M., A paper prepared to be read to the delegation from His majesty King Sobhuza II concerning some, "Territory in the Ingwavuma District in KwaZulu," Ulundi, (15 September 1979). (Natal Collection in Sociology Department at the University of Natal, Durban)

Buthelezi G. M., A speech prepared for the, "Opening of Manguzi Hospital," Manguzi (Ingwavuma District) (6 October 1979). (Natal Collection in Sociology Department at the University of Natal, Durban)

Buthelezi G. M., Speech on the, "Opening of the Tembe Tribal Authority," at Manguzi, (14 Friday, 1980). (Natal Collection in Sociology Department at the University of Natal, Durban)

Buthelezi G. M., A speech at the Zulu National Conference, "The proposed excision of the Ingwavuma District and the KaNgwane region for the purpose of incorporating these areas into the Kingdom of Swaziland," Nongoma, (31 July 1982). (Natal Collection in Sociology Department at the University of Natal, Durban)

Campbell G. G., "Presidential Address: A Review of Scientific investigations in the Tongaland area of Northern Natal." (1969). (housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban)

CORD, "Overcoming Apartheid's legacy in Maputaland (Northern Natal)." Durban: University of Natal, (1991).

Curson H. H. and J.M. Hugo, "Preservation of Game in South Africa." (8 July 1924). A pamphlet housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban.

Davion Raoul, "A Contribution to Understanding Contemporary People-Environment Dynamics: South African Approaches in Context." M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, (1996).

Ellis B., "Game Conservation in Zululand (1824–1947)" Hons. Thesis, University of Natal Pietermaritzburg, (1975).

Ellis B., "The Impact of White Settlers on the Natural Environment of Natal 1845-70." A paper presented at the workshop at University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, (October, 1984).

Dominy Graham, "From lake St. Lucia to Delagoa Bay: African Trade Route and European Buffer Zone: The Ingwavuma Dispute in Historical Perspective." A paper written for the Conference on Research in Progress in South Africa, (21-23 March, 1983).

Guy J., "Battling with Banality: Tourism, Historians, and the Killing of Zululand." A paper prepared for a seminar in the Department of History, University of Natal, Durban, (1998).

Harries P., "Migrants and Marriage: The Role of Chiefs and Elders in Labour Movements from pre-colonial Southern Mozambique to South Africa." A paper prepared for the Seminar in the University of Cape Town, (1979).

Hedges David, "Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in Early Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." PhD, University of London, (1978).

Hughes G.R., "The Possible Role of Sea Turtles in the Utilization of the Tongaland Coast." A Report to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. (1973) (Durban, Killie Campbell Library).

Hurcombe E.M., "The Lady of the Sun Helmet." (1940) Unpublished Manuscript housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban.

Louw C.L., "Agricultural Extension within a Development Framework." A paper submitted for discussion within the centre for Social research and Documentation, University of Zululand, (undated) housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban.

Louw C.L., "The Peasant Agricultural system in Eastern Maputaland. A development Strategy." A paper prepared for a Carnegie Conference, Paper No.228, Cape Town, (13 – 19 April, 1984).

Miller Papers, "Von Wissell Louis Charles: Reminiscences of trading days in Northern Zululand 1895-1919." (Housed at Killie Campbell Library as KCM 2309, Durban).

Mkhize Bongani, "How Did Debates Around Zuluness and the Teaching of Zulu History Shape the Teaching of Zulu History in Kwazulu Secondary School, 1980-1994? M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban (1999).

Ngubane Japhet, Untitled and Unpublished prepared for a Ph.D. on Environmental Studies in Maputaland, University of Natal. (work in progress)

Ngubane Sihawukele E., "A Survey of the Northern Zululand dialects in the Ingwavuma district." M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, (1991).

Précis of Information Conceming Swaziland, Tongaland and North Zululand: H.M.S.O., (1905) (Unpublished article housed at Killie Campbell Library).

Report from Scientific Advisory Committee for Maputaland, Oceanographic research Institute, Durban, (September 1980). (Housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban. File KCM 99/72/88/5).

Seleti Y., "Expropriation, Exploitation and Exhibitionism: The Quest for Bhangazi Heritage Site in the Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park." A paper prepared for the seminar, Campbell Collection, University of Natal, Durban, (2001).

Smith A., "The Struggle for Control of Southern Mozambique, 1720-1835." Ph.D. Thesis, Los Angeles: University of California, 1976).

Taylor D., "Agriculture in Maputaland: Existing Methods and the Potential for Change." Paper given to Centre for Research and Documentation, University of Zululand. (undated). (Housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban).

Tinley K. L. and W. van Piet, "Proposals towards an Environmental Plan for KwaZulu." Report given to the Nature Conservation Division, KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry. (Undated). (Housed at Killie Campbell Library, Durban).

Tinley K. L., "Fishing Methods of the Tsonga Tribe in Northern eastern Zululand and Southern Mozambique." (No publication details) (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press).

Warhurst P., "Britain and the Partition of Maputo 1875-1897." A paper presented in the Natal and Zululand History Workshop, University of Natal, Durban, (July 1985).

Webster David, "Class and Rural Differentiation in a Rural KwaZulu Community: The people of Kosi Bay." Mimeo. Paper delivered at the Association of Anthropology in Southern Africa at Rhodes University, (October 1988).

Wright John, "Popularizing the Pre-Colonial Past: Politics and Problems." A paper

presented in the History Workshop Conference, Wits, (1987).