

**PATTERNS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSITION**

**A STUDY IN A BANTU RESERVE**

**IN THE**

**"THREE RIVERS DISTRICT" OF NATAL**

**J. E. LAREDO**

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DISTRICT" OF NATAL

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J.E. LAREDO  
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## INTRODUCTION

Natal was named by the European explorer, Vasco da Gama, on Christmas Day, 1497. However, for centuries thereafter it remained an area largely unknown to the Western world - a region inhabited by Bantu peoples, and a part of "darkest Africa". It was only from the 19th Century onwards that White settlers moved into the region in increasing numbers. Under the impact of these settlers, the economic development of the coastal strip and the interior commenced. Today, as one of the four provinces in the Republic of South Africa, Natal plays an important part in the life of South Africa. It is the sugar-producing area of the country; has important inland cattle plains; major coal mines; and in Durban has the largest port in the country - the main gateway to the Witwatersrand conurbation, the third largest metropolitan region in the country, and one of the major industrial regions of South Africa.

The province has great opportunities to offer to the social scientist. There is not only a diversity of population - White, Black, Asiatic (nearly all Indian), and Coloured peoples - but also socio-economic conditions which range from primitive subsistence rural economies, through intensively organised agriculture, to the large industrial urban areas with their complex problems. There is, in fact, a veritable kaleidoscope of variations facing the student of human society.

Within Natal, the "Three Rivers District", comprising the Umbilo, Umgeni and Umlaas Rivers' Catchment Areas,

forms an important region. It contains most of the industries which are to be found within the province, and includes both the metropolitan areas found in Natal. At the time of the 1960 Census, three-quarters of the Whites and Coloureds, four-fifths of the Indians, and almost three-tenths of the Africans living in Natal, were within the Three Rivers District. The late Professor H.R. Burrows, at that time, Director of the Natal Regional Survey, and William Hudson, Professor of Economics, at the University of Natal in Durban, proposed a regional survey of this district, and started the planning. His successor, Professor O.P.F. Horwood, became director of the Regional Survey, and pushed ahead with research. The survey was to be an interdisciplinary project, and was supported financially by the Durban Corporation, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the Natal Regional and Town Planning Commission, the National Council for Social Research, the Durban Economic Research Committee and the South African Sugar Industry. The Department of Economics at the University of Natal was one of the main participants in the survey. The Institute for Social Research also took part in the research.

The regional survey was to include inter alia, demographic, economic, sociological and social anthropological studies of the area<sup>1]</sup>.

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1] Reports on the survey to date have included six interim reports issued by the Department of Economics of the University of Natal on the "Demography", "Land and Agriculture", "Land Use in the Durban Harbour Area", "Water Resources", "Transport and Communications", and "Industrial Development" of the District. (All reports are mimeographed).

The present study represents the social anthropological contribution to our knowledge of the Three Rivers' District, and was financed by the National Council for Social Research.

The final direction of the present investigation was in the hands of the Institute for Social Research, at the University of Natal. However, during the design stages of the project, an ad hoc steering committee assisted with the formulation of the problems to be examined. The purpose was defined as follows:

"To study several rural African communities living within the Three Rivers District. The basic theme was to be 'the relationship between people and land', with an analysis of the concepts held by the rural Africans in regard to the 'rights to land and water, and the utilization of natural resources'. Included in the study was to be a broad outline of the social structure of the African rural communities chosen, with special reference to 'an analytical study of leadership and group responses to leadership'."

The steering committee felt that the investigation of the rights to land and water, and the underlying utilization of natural resources, must include the legal, magico-religious, and economic bases in the African society. Both communal and individualized patterns of organisation in regard to the utilization of land and water resources, were to be analysed.

Summing up, the study was to concern itself with rural Africans. As land is important to any rural group, and water is a key problem in South Africa with the recurrent droughts, it was considered that a study of the use of land and water resources in relation to community structure and processes, including leadership, would reveal important elements in the social life of the rural Africans chosen for analysis.

The aims of the survey demanded a depth study of the community or communities chosen. This, in effect, meant that as only one worker (the author), was available to staff the project, the fieldwork would have to involve a detailed study of a small but representative part of the field. From the point of view of practical limitations (such as securing official statistics, and obtaining permission to work in the field), it was preferable to limit the study to the boundaries of official magisterial districts.

Thus it was decided to make an intensive study within one of the magisterial districts in the Three Rivers District. The district to be chosen would have to contain rural Africans practising their own type of agriculture, and living under tribal conditions (as far as these still prevail today). The choice of the district to be studied was made after a careful analysis of the characteristics of the various magisterial districts in the region. Pages 12-14 below describe the choice of the Ndwedwe district for study. The actual selection of fieldwork sites within this district is discussed on pages 18 and 19, while the fieldwork methods used are dealt with on pages 38-42.

PART I: THE SETTINGCHAPTER IITHE GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY OF THE  
THREE RIVERS DISTRICT

Natal is structurally divided, roughly from North to South, so that there is an eastern area "which has been involved in folding movements of the Mesozoic Era and a western unfolded region<sup>1]</sup>. The western region consists of the same series as the great interior plateau. This includes the Drakensberg Range, which is an example of the dolerite outcrops forming a hard protective covering. The eastern region is a 'zone of disturbance' which in the Jurassic and Cretaceous periods was involved in a folding movement, which resulted in the formation of a monocline with its axis lying roughly along a line connecting Nkandhla and the mouth of the Umzumvana River. Along the axis of the monocline, the old granite and gneisses of the fundamental complex have been deeply dissected, as is well exemplified in the Valley of a Thousand Hills<sup>2]</sup>. Drainage is provided by short, steep rivers, nearly all of which rise either in the great escarpment, or along smaller scarps further seaward. The rivers flowing seaward in a west-east direction tend to cut into the flanks of the slightly undulating plateau surfaces, and create sheer-sided valleys, many of which are more than 1,000 feet below the

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1] Anonymous (1951): "Archeology and Natural Resources of Natal": Natal Regional Survey: Vol. I.: Oxford University Press, Cape Town: p.36.

2] Ibid.: p.37

surface of the plateau<sup>1]</sup>. This powerful river erosion has produced a region known for its uneven and rugged topography. Smooth and undulating land is limited to a gradually widening coastal belt north of Durban, and to the areas of the Upper Tugela and Buffalo Rivers. There is a central zone of hilly and mountainous country which reaches its maximum inaccessibility in the middle Pongola, Tugela and Umkomaas Valleys. Areas of flat land are limited to isolated patches associated mainly with the 2,000 feet Middleveld around Greytown, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg and Harding<sup>2]</sup>. Much of the flatter land in the province lies in the areas of sub-humid climate, e.g. the Tugela Basin around Colenso and Ladysmith. The wetter areas, apart from the coastal belt, are by contrast generally seaward-facing scarps, steeply sloping and often rugged<sup>3]</sup>.

There are eight major and several minor rivers which dissect the province. The Umgeni River, though not one of the largest, runs past Pietermaritzburg to Durban - the two major metropolitan areas. Together with the smaller Umbilo and Umhlanga Rivers, it forms a catchment area in which there is a heavy concentration of people and industry. This catchment

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1] Anonymous (1951): "Archeology and Natural Resources of Natal": Natal Regional Survey: Vol. I.: Oxford University Press, Cape Town:p.38.

2] Ibid.: p.44

3] See Burrows, J.R. (1959): "The Population and Labour Resources of Natal": Town and Regional Planning Council, Vol. VI. Natal University Press, Pietermaritzburg; also Fair, T.J.D. (1955): "The Population of Natal": Natal Regional Survey, Vol. III: Oxford University Press, Cape Town.



area is today known officially as "The Three Rivers District", and includes both Durban and Pietermaritzburg. It consists of the following ten magisterial districts: Durban, Inanda, Pinetown, Camperdown, Pietermaritzburg, New Hanover, Lions River, Umlazi, Ndwedwe and Richmond.

Map No. 1 shows the regional setting of the Three Rivers District.

The total area of the District at the time of the 1960 Census was 3,436 square miles, with a population of 1,204,251 people<sup>1]</sup>. Table I, page 9 below provides details of the distribution of the population by magisterial district.

The 10 magisterial districts have been ranked in descending order according to the percentage of their total population classed by the Bureau of Statistics as being urban at the time of the 1960 Census<sup>2]</sup>. Thus, they range from Durban, as a completely urban area, down to Ndwedwe which is entirely rural in composition.

As the table shows, the Three Rivers District contains three-quarters of the White, Indian and Coloured populations

1] Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Statistics (1963): Population Census, 6th September 1960: Vol. I: Geographical Distribution of the Population: R.P. No. 62/1963: Government Printer, Pretoria: Table 6, pp. 27 - 32.

2] Ibid. pp. 27 - 32.

MAP NO. 1: REGIONAL SETTING OF THE NDWEDWE DISTRICT.

MAP OF NATAL SHOWING  
RESERVES 1950



TABLE I.

POPULATION IN THE THREE RIVERS DISTRICT, 1960,  
COMPARED WITH THE POSITION IN 1921 1]

Magisterial District	1960 CENSUS POPULATION					Total at 1921 Census	% increase 1921-1960	% of population classed as urban
	Whites	Coloureds	Indian	African	Total			
Durban	184,950	26,686	221,403	174,825	607,864	167,470	263%	100%
Pietermaritzburg	41,441	5,804	27,935	96,128	171,308	61,443	179%	75%
Pinetown	12,278	620	15,843	46,021	74,762	21,916	241%	75%
Inanda	4,820	610	37,029	40,540	82,999	63,564	31%	47%
Lion's River	4,986	540	3,253	27,008	35,787	16,792	113%	32%
Umlazi	621	10	22	65,960	66,613	22,894	190%	16%
Camperdown	2,844	83	1,523	38,690	43,140	19,986	116%	12%
New Hanover	2,300	185	1,739	40,304	44,528	24,687	80%	10%
Richmond	1,285	265	1,352	34,420	37,322	24,190	54%	6%
Ndwedwe	36	-	-	39,892	39,928	26,096	53%	0%
TOTAL	255,561	34,803	310,099	603,788	1204,251	449,038	168%	-
Total for Natal <sup>2]</sup>	340,235	45,253	394,854	2199,578	2979,920	-	-	36%
Population of Three Rivers District as % of Natal Total	75%	77%	79%	28%	40%			

1] The 1960 figures are from Vol.I of the 1960 Census Report: Bureau of Statistics (1963): *ibid.*; while the 1921 figures are extracted from Union of South Africa (1949) Population Census. 7th May 1946: Vol.I.: Geographical Distribution of the Population U.G. No. 51/1949 Government Printer, Pretoria, pp. 25 - 27.

2] Bureau of Statistics (1963) *op. cit.* p.8.

of Natal, leaving one in no doubt as to the importance of the region. However, only about one quarter of the African population in Natal reside there. The population of the district has been increasing steadily, especially in the major urban centres, and also in Umlazi, which while still predominantly a rural area, is becoming a "dormitory suburb" for Africans living in Durban<sup>1]</sup>. The data show that between 1921 and 1960, Durban with 263%, Pinetown with 241%, and Pietermaritzburg with 179% increase, have grown the most rapidly. Ndwedwe, the one completely rural area in the district, has had the second lowest rate of increase (53%).

The density of the population within the magisterial districts in the area is shown in Table II.

In studying Table II, it must be remembered that the overall density for each magisterial district masks much higher densities which occur in pockets. These pockets consist in the main of the urban areas, but some of the rural areas (e.g. in Inanda) also have pockets of population concentration where the density is considerably higher than that suggested by the overall average. This explains why despite the high rate of urbanisation, the overall density of population is not due entirely to the presence of cities or towns within the area. Population density amongst the Africans particularly, is high in parts of the rural areas, and especially so in the Ndwedwe district, with 154 persons per square mile. In the parts of the Ndwedwe district where fieldwork was undertaken, the density was

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1] This development of part of Umlazi as a "dormitory suburb" for Durban is the result of the official planning of a township there for part of Durban's African population.

TABLE II

THE SIZE OF EACH MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT, TOGETHER WITH THE POPULATION DENSITY AND NUMBER OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES WITHIN THE THREE RIVERS' DISTRICT, 1960 <sup>1</sup>].

Magisterial District	Size of district in sq. miles	<u>Density of Population by Race</u>					No. of local authorities
		<u>Number of persons per sq. mile</u>					
		White	Coloured	Indian	African	Total	
Durban	114	1,622	234	1,942	1,534	5,332	9*
Pietermaritzburg	416	100	14	67	231	412	9*
Pinetown	169	73	4	94	272	442	11*
Inanda	167	29	4	222	243	497	10
Lion's River	625	8	1	5	43	57	7
Umlazi	258	2	0	0.1	256	258	0
Camperdown	373	8	0.2	4	104	116	7
New Hanover	541	4	0.3	3	75	82	7*
Richmond	514	3	0.5	3	67	73	1
Ndwedwe	259	0.1	0	0	154	154	0
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>3,436</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>59*</b>
Total for Natal	33,578	10	1	12	66	89	-

\*NOTE: Two Local Authorities cross magisterial boundaries, and so there are a total of 59 in the Three Rivers District. Local Authorities consist of municipalities, town boards, health committees, and public health areas. (See Bureau of Statistics (1963): op. cit., p. vi, last paragraph.

1] Calculated from the data provided by the report of the Bureau of Statistics (1963): op. cit., pp. 68 - 91. The data are rounded to the nearest whole person, except in the case of very low densities.

estimated to be about 170 persons per square mile if migrant workers were included<sup>1]</sup>.

While the urban areas are concentrated largely around the two cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, there are eleven towns with total populations of over 2,000, and in all 59 constituted local authorities ranging from municipalities to public health areas. Only one district (Ndwedwe) has no constituted local authority of any kind, and so was completely rural in nature.

The high average density of 350 persons per square mile in the region is due to the size and concentration of population in Durban, and to a lesser extent in Pietermaritzburg and Pinetown. A striking feature of Table II is that the White, Coloured and Indian population tends to be concentrated in and around the large urban centres, with very low densities elsewhere. By contrast, the African population has (with the exception of the Lion's River district), a higher density in all districts than the provincial average of 66 Africans per square mile.

Agriculture and industrial urban work are the two major sources of employment within the area. There is a negligible amount of mining. Fair computed that the coastal region of the Province, with Durban as its centre, and the Midland region round Pietermaritzburg, account for 90% of the industrial population of Natal<sup>2]</sup>. Virtually every kind of industrial

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1] The estimate was based on a fieldwork median degree of 6.3 persons per homestead, of whom 1.1 were normally working away, and a median number of 27 homesteads per square mile. When migrant workers are excluded, the density drops to 140 per square mile.

2] Fair (1955): op. cit., p.67.

establishment is to be found here. Apart from the worker employed in industry, there are many people who are engaged in supplying goods and services in towns.

Durban is, apart from its industrial predominance, the major sea port of South Africa. It is the point from which radiates a network of communications, both road and rail. The main railway line to the Transvaal runs through the catchment area from Durban to Pietermaritzburg, and so to the north. Durban is connected by rail with the north and south coast. Pietermaritzburg is a junction for many lines which run into the interior, connecting it with New Hanover and Greytown in the north, and Richmond and Kokstad in the south. National roads serve almost the same areas as those served by the railways. There are also provincial and secondary roads which link various centres in the area. A map of communications in Natal demonstrates that all the main roads and railways bypass the Native reserves.

Agriculturally the catchment area is divided into two zones<sup>1]</sup>. The first zone, the coastal belt, is characterised by intensive cultivation, predominantly of sugar cane. The second zone, the midlands, is noted particularly for wattle growing. Intensive dairy-farming is assuming greater importance due to the growth of cities. Agriculture is practised on an intensive scale almost exclusively by White and a few Indian farmers. A distinction must be made in the rural areas between ground which is available for farming, and ground which has been

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1] Hurwitz, N.(1957): "Agriculture in Natal, 1860-1950", Vol. XII: Natal Regional Survey: Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

set aside as locations (the so-called 'reserves' or 'homelands') for exclusive African occupation.

The reserves and mission reserves found within the catchment area are shown in Tables III and IV below. They amount to 800 square miles, which are 23.3% of the total area of Natal. Generally speaking, the land so allocated to Africans is less suited to agriculture than land which is used by White farmers<sup>1]</sup>. There are two magisterial districts in the area which contain no White farms. These are Ndwedwe and Umlazi. The rest of the reserved land falls into five other magisterial districts. There are three districts which have no reserves within their boundaries<sup>2]</sup>. Umlazi lies immediately to the south of Durban, and part of Umlazi reserve was proclaimed<sup>3]</sup> as falling within the borough boundary. A new (urban) township is being built there. Inanda shares a common boundary with Ndwedwe.

The land set aside for Africans has been reserved for their exclusive occupation by the Natives' Land Act. Certain other lands were also made available for Africans in 1936<sup>4]</sup>.

- 
- 1] Fair (1955): op. cit., p.80. For example, 58% of the area of the reserves is either "very hilly or mountainous".
- 2] Durban, Inanda and Lion's River magisterial districts.
- 3] Union of South Africa (1958): Proclamation No. 200 of 1958. Government Printer, Pretoria.
- 4] See Union of South Africa (1912) - The Natives' Land Act, No. 27 of 1912, and also The Natives' Land and Trust Act, No. 18 of 1936; both from the Government Printer, Pretoria. These are the major acts dealing with land for Africans. Lands which had before Union (1910) been set aside for exclusive African occupation, were attached to the schedule of the 1913 Land Act. These "scheduled areas" are inalienable, and held in trust for the Africans in perpetuity. The Act of 1936 made provision for the purchase of certain areas which were to be attached to the scheduled areas. These are the "released areas", which may still be purchased on behalf of Africans. The combined total of the scheduled and the released areas will (when they have all been purchased) make up the total of land on which Africans may live.



TABLE III

LOCATIONS ('RESERVES' OR 'BANTU HOMELANDS')  
FALLING WITHIN THE THREE RIVERS DISTRICT<sup>1]</sup>.

Magisterial District	Location	Area (acres)
Pietermaritzburg	Zwartkop	59,028
Ndwedwe )	Inanda	211,600
New Hanover )		
Pinetown )		
Camperdown )		
Richmond	Tilongo	1,442
Umlazi )	Umlazi	169,205
Richmond )		
Umlazi	Umlazi Trust	7,977
TOTAL:		449,252*
TOTAL RESERVED AREA IN NATAL (ACRES)		2267,632
RESERVES IN THE AREA AS A % OF ALL RESERVED LAND IN NATAL = 19.8%		

NOTE \* = 701.8 square miles

1] Source: Brookes, E.H., & N. Hurwitz (1957), op. cit.,  
Table 2, p. 18.

TABLE IV.

MISSION RESERVES FALLING WITHIN  
THE THREE RIVERS DISTRICT.

Magisterial District	Mission Reserve	Area (Acres)
Richmond	Indaleni	5,664
Umlazi	(Umlazi	7,521
	(Infume	7,498
	(Amanzimtoti	8,077
Ndwedwe	(Umsunduze	5,595
	(Inanda	11,500
	(Inthafamasi	5,500
Pietermaritzburg	Table Mountain	5,632
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>56,987*</b>
TOTAL AREA (ACRES) OF 19 MISSION RESERVES IN NATAL		144,987
MISSION RESERVES IN THE AREA AS A % OF TOTAL MISSION RESERVES IN NATAL		39.3%

NOTE: \* = 89.0 square miles

These are the so-called "released areas", one of which lies next to the Inanda Mission Reserve in the Inanda district. There are also old mission stations, such as Hammarsdale and Georgedale, (near the Shongweni Dam), where Africans have acquired freehold title to their land. At Clermont near Pinetown, and Edendale near Pietermaritzburg, African urban townships exist, where they may also acquire freehold title to their land.

Though the reserves fall within the rural areas, and should thus be considered as part of the agricultural potential, the obvious pressure of population on the land has meant that many people living there have to leave the area as migrants, and seek work in the nearby urban areas.

The Three Rivers District has been described in some detail: it was within the setting of this district that the present research was to be undertaken. As has been indicated, the project was to be a study of rural Africans. It was necessary to select a suitable area or areas from within this district for investigation. It was eventually decided that the fieldwork should cover three fairly closely grouped communities of distinctly different character. An examination of the reserves listed in Tables III and IV above shows that the largest concentration of rural Africans occurs within the 'Valley of a Thousand Hills' on the old 'Inanda Location', (not to be confused with the Inanda magisterial district.) This location covers parts of the magisterial districts of Ndwedwe, Pinetown, Camperdown and New Hanover. As Chapter I pointed out, for practical reasons as far as possible only one magisterial

district was to be selected for fieldwork. It is in the Ndwedwe magisterial district only that a purely rural African population is found, and it is this district which contains the largest Reserved Areas (see Tables III and IV). The resident magistrate of this district is a Bantu Commissioner, who is an official not of the Department of Justice, but of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development - this reveals the purely African nature of the Ndwedwe district. In view of these facts, it was considered that most or all of the fieldwork should be within this magisterial district.

The first community to be studied was to be a comparatively remote rural one, with social and economic conditions as traditional as could still be found within the region. It was concluded that parts of the Ndwedwe district around the Ndwedwe Mission (i.e. in the "heart" of the district), met with this provision. Consequently, as Chapter IV below shows, nine months were spent in the field in this area. Most of the research effort was concentrated on this area, with far less on the other two.

The second community was to be a rural one in the immediate vicinity of European farming and industrial enterprises. This would be a community subject to more urban influences than the first one. In the southernmost part of the Ndwedwe District, adjoining the Inanda magisterial districts, a community of this type was found in the Inanda Mission Reserve.

Finally, the third community was to be a peri-urban

settlement of the "dormitory" type, and virtually without a rural subsistence economy any more. In that part of the old Inanda location falling into the Camperdown magisterial district, adjacent the southwestern part of the Ndwedwe District, a community of this type was discovered. This was in the Shongweni area and around Hammarsdale (where "Border Industries" have now been set up.) This area had been surveyed by the Economics Department of the University of Natal<sup>1]</sup>, so that a study of the area would fit in with parts of the larger regional survey of the Three Rivers District. Consequently, the area was chosen for fieldwork.

Appendix A provides details of the names of the chiefs of the various areas in which the research was undertaken.

The study and comparison of these three different types of communities will allow a study to be made of the transition from a rural to a peri-urban society, and from a subsistence-economy to a wage-economy. It was felt that this would contribute to our knowledge of the evolution of modern African society, and its patterns of authority and land utilization. In view of this, fieldwork was undertaken in the three areas chosen. Fieldwork is briefly described in Chapter IV below.

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1.] Anonymous (1957): The Shongweni Survey: Department of Economics, University of Natal, Durban. (Mimeographed).

CHAPTER IIITHE NDWEDWE DISTRICT - A DESCRIPTION OF THE  
MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT SELECTED FOR THE MAIN  
INVESTIGATION.

As two of the three communities chosen fell into the Ndwedwe district, and most of the fieldwork was concentrated there, (see Chapter IV), it is necessary to describe this district in some detail:

Ndwedwe lies on the Natal North Coast, inland between the Tongati and Umgeni Rivers. A small portion of the district falls within the coastal plateau, but most of it is within the rugged "Valley of a Thousand Hills". It is drained by the Umhloti and Tongati Rivers, as well as by the Umgeni. The district is bounded in the south by the Umgeni River, on the west by the Umqeku River, on the northwest by the Noodsberg Range, and in the north by the Tongati River. In the east, the division between Ndwedwe and the neighbouring magistracy of Inanda follows a zigzag line. A very small portion of Ndwedwe falls into the higher, level plateau. By far the larger portion falls into the valley.

The "Valley of a Thousand Hills" is a deeply dissected region, carved into a basement of granite. Its characteristic features are the innumerable steep-sided valleys, gulleys and hills, closely spaced with steep gradients. It is from these hills that the valley derives its name. The soils are a mixture of the coastal and lateritic yellow earths (wattle belt soils).

They tend to lose humus with continuous grain cropping, and in adverse conditions, they erode badly. The veld is a mixture of Ngongoni and Valley Bushveld<sup>1]</sup>.

The district has a temperate climate. Frosts are rare and mild. Rainfall occurs during the summer, and is concentrated between January and March. The average fall is 46" per annum. The mean temperature in summer is between 75°- 80°F, and in winter between 50°- 60°F<sup>2]</sup>.

The main crops of the area are maize, madumbi, sweet potatoes and beans. These are grown on a subsistence basis by each household. Cattle and goats are grazed on the land. According to agriculturists<sup>3]</sup>, the future of the region lies in extensive ranching, provided proper care is taken of the veld. More intensive use of arable land, combined with proper farming methods, would increase food production. The planting of wattle, so well suited to the mist belt, would also help to diversify the economy and provide income from a cash crop.

Information on a district basis has been available since Ndwedwe was created a separate magisterial district in 1894. Available figures on the population of the district are given in Table V below.

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz (1957): op. cit., p.5.

2] These figures were collected by the prison staff at the magistracy, which is situated on the plateau. The staff are of the opinion that the Valley has the same amount of rain, but is hotter than the plateau.

3] Brookes and Hurwitz (1957): op. cit., p.51.

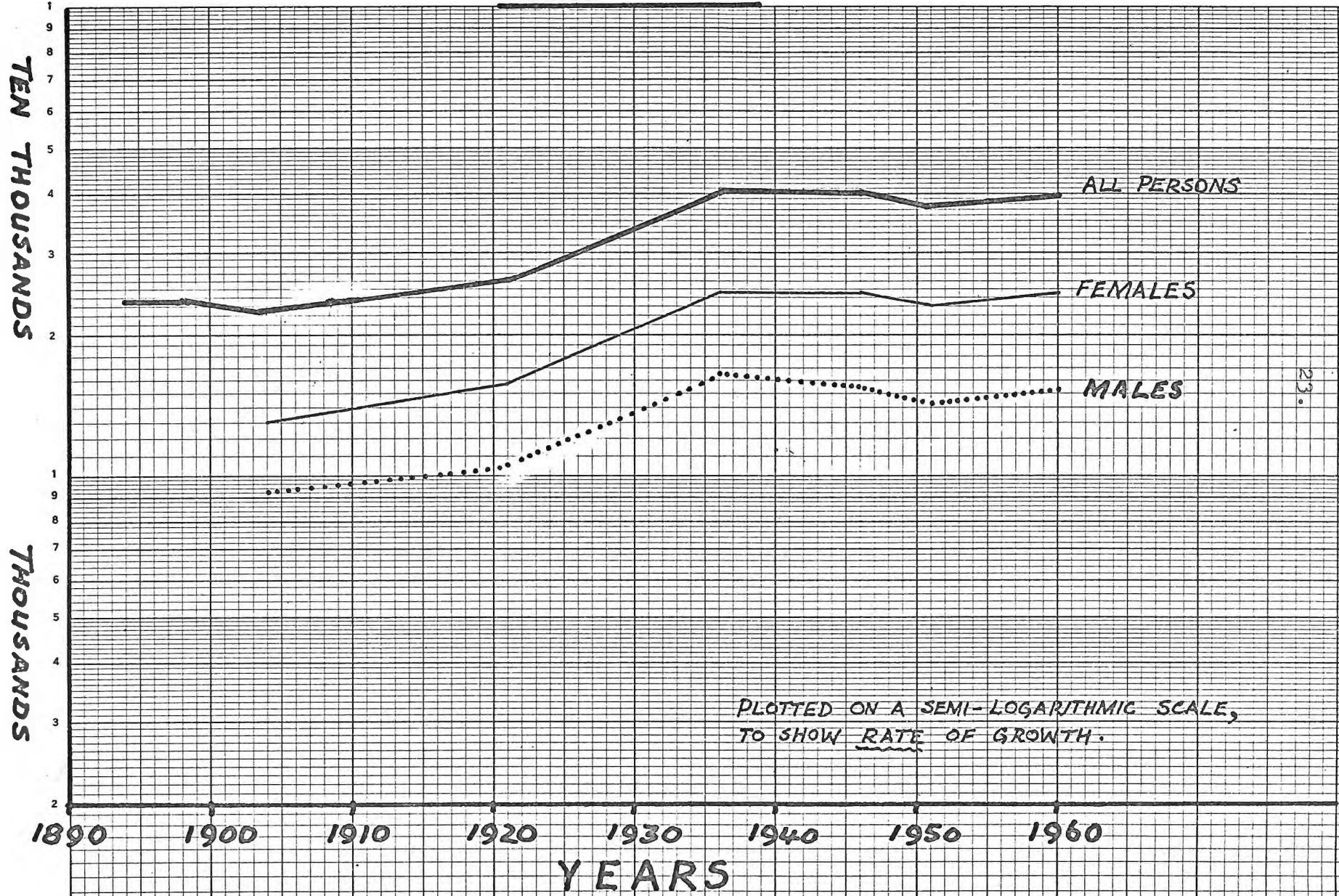
TABLE V  
POPULATION OF NDWEDWE DISTRICT SINCE 1894 WHEN IT  
WAS CONSTITUTED A SEPARATE MAGISTERIAL\*

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	% INCREASE IN POPULA- TION	MASCULINITY RATE PER 100 FEMALES
1894 (est)	23,576	?	?	-	?
1898 (est)	23,834	?	?	+ 1.1	?
1904	22,304	9,305	12,999	- 6.4	71.5
1921	26,096	10,403	15,693	+17.0	66.3
1936	41,168	16,544	24,624	+57.8	67.2
1946	40,386	15,576	24,810	- 1.9	62.8
1951	37,258	14,230	23,028	- 7.7	61.8
1960	39,928	15,325	24,603	+ 5.4	62.2

- \* Sources: 1894 - Colony of Natal: Ministerial Department of Native Affairs (1894): Blue Book on Native Affairs: Government Printer, Pietermaritzburg: p.75.
- 1898 - Colony of Natal: Ministerial Department of Native Affairs (1898): Blue Book on Native Affairs: Government Printer, Pietermaritzburg: pp. A26-7.
- 1904 - Census of the Colony of Natal, April, 1904: (1905): Government Printers, Pietermaritzburg: Part I. Table VI, pp. 26-7.
- 1921) -Union of South Africa: Bureau of Census  
1936) and Statistics (1949): op. cit., p.26.  
1946)
- 1951 - Union of South Africa: Bureau of Census and Statistics (1955): Population Census, 8th May, 1951: Vol. I: Geographical Distribution of the Population of the Union of South Africa: U.G. No. 42/1955, Government Printer, Pretoria: p.51.
- 1960 - Republic of South Africa: Bureau of Statistics (1963): op. cit., p.29.



FIGURE N° 1 : GROWTH IN THE POPULATION OF NDWEDWE, 1894 - 1960.

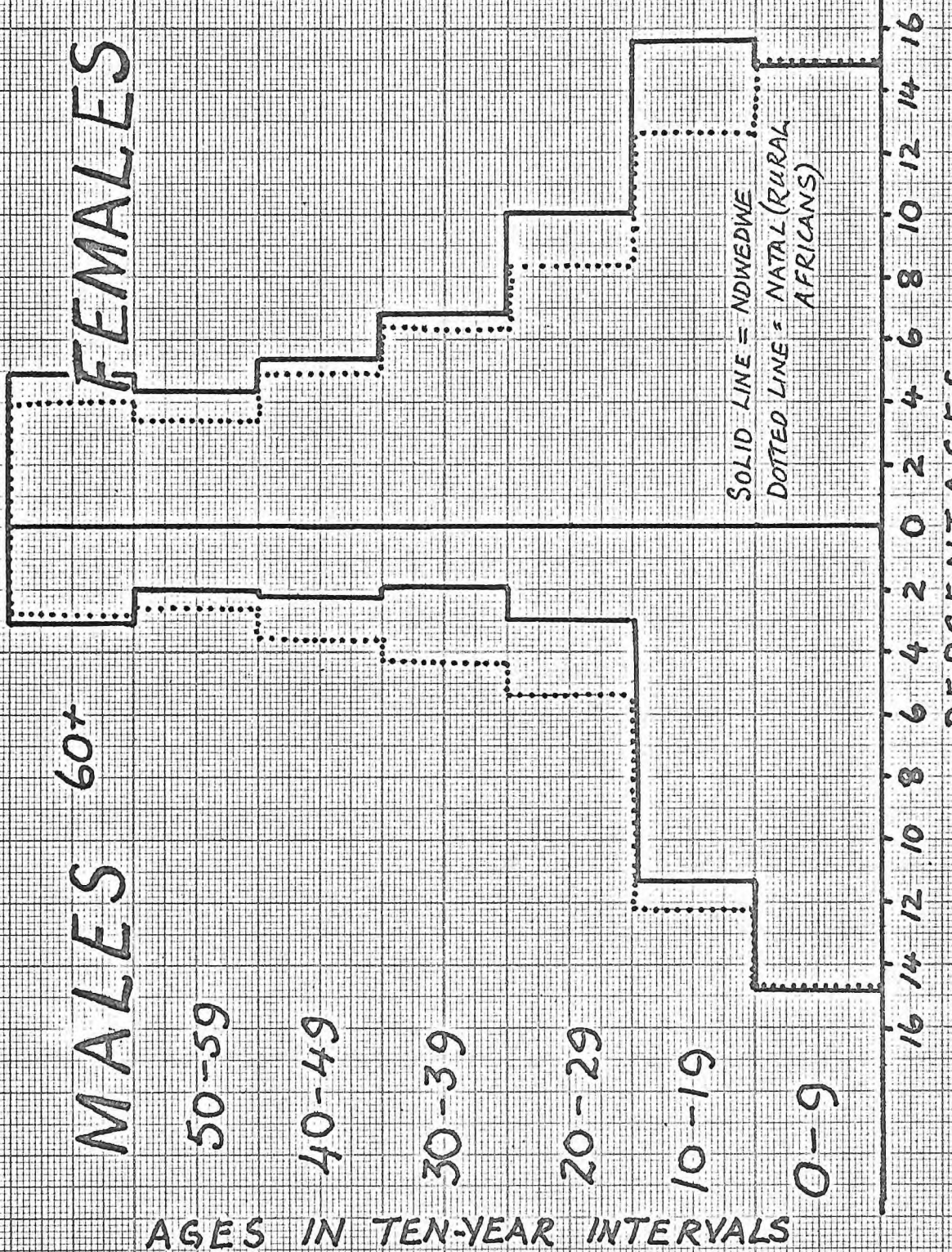


These figures are displayed in graphic form in Figure I on Page 23. In interpreting the graph, it must be remembered that the enumeration of rural Africans is subject to errors, so that small fluctuations could well be due to enumeration errors and nothing more. Consequently, it is wisest to take account of the broad trends, and not minor fluctuations. The graph shows that since the turn of the century, until the 'thirties, the population of the Ndwedwe district has grown. Since that time, however, the population has remained more or less static, with a possible tendency to decline in size. As a decline has been reported from some other African rural areas in the country - e.g. parts of the Ciskei<sup>1]</sup> this may well indicate a definite trend, and not merely enumeration errors.

Since 1904, when data for the sex composition of the Ndwedwe district were first collected, there has been a general trend for a reduction in the masculinity rate, which has dropped from about 72 males per 100 females in 1904, to 62 in 1960. Alsop contends that the African masculinity rate in Natal has remained normal between 1891 and 1946 (at a figure of 92 males per 100 females), so that the drop in the rate in country districts can be accounted for by the fact that migratory labour has drawn off more men than women to the towns<sup>2]</sup>.

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- 1] Houghton, D.H., and E.M. Walton: (1952): "The Economy of a Native Reserve": Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol. II: Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg: p.11.
- 2] Alsop, M.H.: (1952): "The Population of Natal": Natal Regional Survey: Vol. II: Oxford University Press, Cape Town: p.31, Table XXI.

FIGURE No 2: AGE-SEX PYRAMID, RURAL AFRICAN POPULATION OF NATAL, AND NDWEDWE, 1951.



AGES IN TEN-YEAR INTERVALS

The age-sex distribution of any population provides an excellent index of the presence or absence of disturbing factors operating on that population, and so deserves study. Table VI below provides details for the Ndwedwe district, and Figure 2 shows an age-sex pyramid prepared from the data.

TABLE VI  
AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTIONS OF RURAL AFRICANS  
IN NATAL, AND NDWEDWE, 1951\*

Age Group (Years)	N A T A L				N D W E D W E			
	Males	% of Total	Females	% of Total	Males	% of Total	Females	% of Total
0 - 9	222,143	14.6	227,338	15.0	5,422	14.6	5,498	14.8
10-19	186,392	12.2	192,046	12.6	4,194	11.3	5,816	15.6
20-29	81,721	5.4	126,390	8.3	1,128	3.0	3,740	10.0
30-39	64,805	4.3	96,485	6.3	762	2.0	2,536	6.8
40-49	54,297	3.6	74,001	4.9	807	2.2	2,002	5.4
50-59	39,967	2.6	52,059	3.4	731	2.0	1,591	4.3
60+	43,220	2.8	60,351	4.0	1,165	3.1	1,822	4.9
Unspecified	123	0.0	164	0.0	-	-	-	-
TOTAL:	692,668	45.5	828,834	54.5	14,209	38.2	23,005	61.8
GRAND TOTAL: 1,521,502 = 100%					37,214 = 100%			

\* Source: Union of South Africa: (1958): Population Census 8th May 1951: Vol. V.: Ages, All races:  
U.G. No. 42/1958, Government Printer, Pretoria:  
pp. 113-114 and p.121.

The slope of the age-sex pyramid suggests a population with a high birth-rate, counterbalanced by a high death rate. Relative to the pyramid for Natal, Ndwedwe shows a marked absence of males of the working age group 20-59 years. This is due to migratory labour, resulting in the exodus of men out of the reserve into the towns to find work. The Natal figures also show a sharp drop in the number of working African males in the rural areas, but it is evident that the exodus of males out of the Ndwedwe district is heavier than Natal as a whole. Again, by contrast to Natal, the excess femininity of the Ndwedwe population is marked, showing the severity of the disturbing influences of migratory labour on the district.

The distortion of the sex-ratios according to age is shown clearly in Table VII below (which is based upon the data given in Table VI above).

TABLE VII  
SEX RATIOS BY AGE GROUPS, FOR THE RURAL AFRICAN POPULATION  
OF NATAL, AND FOR THE NDWEDWE DISTRICT, 1951.

Age Groups in years	Sex Ratios	
	NATAL	NDWEDWE
0 - 9	0.98	0.99
10 - 19	0.97	0.72
20 - 29	0.65	0.30
30 - 39	0.67	0.30
40 - 49	0.73	0.40
50 - 59	0.78	0.50
60+	0.72	0.64
TOTAL	0.84	0.62

If we take a sex-ratio of about 1.00 (i.e. one male to one female) as the biological norm, then it is evident that only in the earliest years are the sexes balanced. In Ndwedwe, the balance is already being markedly disturbed in the 10-19 age group, suggesting that men under the age of 20 years are leaving the reserve in fair numbers. After the age of 20 years, the sex-ratio is grossly distorted - far more than in the total rural African population of Natal - showing that the majority of men leave the Ndwedwe district to work elsewhere. Obviously the social life of the area must be affected by this exodus.

As pointed out in Chapter II, the density of population within the Ndwedwe district is high for a rural area at 154 persons per square mile. (Table II)<sup>1]</sup>. I tried to arrive at an estimate for those parts of the district in which I worked by doing a house count from the aerial survey of the district made while I was in the field. Apart from the fact that the density at Inanda (close to Durban) was much higher than that in Ndwedwe<sup>2]</sup>,

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- 1] Earlier available figures are themselves estimates, and in terms of population they cover the whole Inanda Location (which is larger than the present district). They do, however, give some idea of the growth in population density. In 1852 the density was approximately 45 persons per square mile. (Grout, Lewis (1852/3): Letter dated 28:12:1852 in Proceedings of the Kaffir Commission, 1852/3: Typescript in the Killie Campbell Library, Durban). In 1881 the density was approximated at 61.8 per square mile. [Colony of Natal (1881): Report of the 1881 Kaffir Commission: Appendix G.], while in 1904 the figure was about 85.8 persons per square mile. [Colony of Natal (1905): Census of the Colony of Natal:] op. cit., ibid.
- 2] A similar concentration of population has been observed in the Ciskei, where while the population in freehold areas has increased, whereas in the 'reserves' it has decreased. (C.F. Houghton and Walton (1952): op. cit.).

the overall figures are much higher than those in Table II. From my survey I derived figures showing that the homesteads in the reserve had a median population of 6.3 persons. Of these, 1.1 persons were normally working. The median number of homesteads per square mile was 27. I computed that, including workers normally away, the average density was 170.1 persons per square mile, (without the workers it was 140 persons per square mile). This is high for a rural area<sup>1]</sup>.

Ndwedwe Magistracy, which lies on the plateau on the extreme eastern side of the district, is only 36 miles from Durban. Monte Bello, a Roman Catholic Mission Hospital on the New Hanover side, is about 60 miles from Durban. Inanda, which lies on the southern side of the district on the Umgeni and Umzinyathi Rivers, is 20 miles from Durban.

Despite this comparative closeness to Durban, road and rail communications are poor. The Zululand railway line bypasses the district completely, running 18 miles away from Ndwedwe (at Verulam) and about six miles from Inanda (at Phoenix). No national road passes through or near the district. Two types of road serve the district: a few miles of provincial all weather roads (connecting Verulam and Ndwedwe Magistracy and Durban and Inanda), and roads maintained by the South African Native Trust. There are 153 miles of such roads, but these cannot be used in wet weather. They usually lead to small country stores serving as termini for the buses which run in the district.

Because Ndwedwe lies on the eastern side of the district

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1] The figures for Richmond and New Hanover, two other rural districts in the catchment area, are 67 persons per square mile and 75 persons per square mile respectively (see Table II).

on the plateau, it is by-passed by people going to Durban. For most people in the valley any contact with the Magistracy necessitates a special journey to Ndwedwe.

The area is dependent on road transport, and has a frequent bus service, if the weather permits. Various companies run buses through or to the edge of the district. In the south there are numerous services which run as far as the Inanda boundary. These are largely Indian controlled and run. Beyond the boundary of the reserve there is a service which runs along the course of the Umgeni; another runs as far as Thafamasi (and sometimes beyond); a third runs all the way to Monte Bello Mission Hospital. These latter services are all African owned and run. There is one Indian service which plies between Verulam and Monte Bello (this also passes through Ndwedwe). It has, in recent years, been the policy of the Road Transportation Board to encourage the establishment of African owned bus companies and Africans are encouraged to take over the services running in the reserves<sup>1]</sup>.

In addition to the private cars in the area, there is a "taxi service". Cars leave from Durban for all parts of the reserve. Because their licences do not permit them to compete with the bus services, they may pick up passengers only at their specified points of departure. A taxi service works on the principle of a "load"; the driver waits until his car is full

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz (1957): op. cit., p.59.  
See also Chapter V.



before setting off. The taxi service is more expensive than the bus<sup>1]</sup>, but it is far quicker. Bus and taxi fares are determined by the conditions of the licence, but these are not strictly complied with. The time tables to which buses run are also extremely variable.

The transportation of people and goods to and from the district is completely in private hands, and is dependent on the conditions of the licence and on the weather. The demand for transport is fairly great; three buses leave from and return to Thafamasi, which is about 49 miles from Durban, every day. New routes are also continually being opened by enterprising bus companies. The route through Thafamasi to a neighbouring store was opened about four months after our arrival in the field.

Of the 116 vehicles registered in the district, almost one-fifth (19%) are owned either by officials or Whites at the Magistracy or at Monte Bello. Of the vehicles owned by Africans, the greatest single number are buses (27%), followed by lorries (25%) and cars (25%). Because of the poor conditions of the roads, the wear and tear on vehicles is heavy. For this reason the greatest proportion of vehicles are owned in the southern parts of the district near Inanda, which is more accessible. The lack of freight transport in the rest of the district has serious

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1] For a trip from Durban to one of the stores in the district, the taxi charged R1 outwards and 75 cents inwards. The bus charged 65 cents.

economic repercussions. It discourages the growth of cash crops such as sugar cane, because there is no guarantee that the cane will reach the mill on time. It also makes the growing of other crops (such as vegetables) for the market a risky business.

CHAPTER IVFIELDWORK

The first community to be studied was at the mission at Shongweni, in the Camperdown district adjoining the Ndwedwe magisterial district. As has been pointed out, in common with the other two "communities" chosen for investigation, this one was part of the large old Inanda Location. The fieldwork here concerned a peri-urban community which had sprung up around an old mission. In a sense the work here proved a pilot study for the main fieldwork in the Ndwedwe district. The period from July to December 1958 was spent in the area. Fieldwork was undertaken by myself, aided by an African assistant.

As pointed out previously, the Ndwedwe magisterial district had been chosen as the area for the main fieldwork, to cover the two remaining communities chosen for study. For the "Ndwedwe" community, (as I will call it), a traditionally-oriented group had to be selected. I limited myself to an intensive study of three of the groups which the Administration recognises as tribes, with their traditional chiefdoms. The work connected with this part of the project was broadened by visits to the magistracy for such statutory meetings as the quarterly meetings of chiefs and headmen, and also to hear certain cases which came before the Commissioner's Court. I paid informal visits to neighbouring chiefdoms apart from the three chosen for intensive study. (There are fourteen separate chiefdoms in the district). The actual areas in which the

fieldwork was undertaken stretch in an arc from Monte Bello in the north-east, to Inanda in the south. A total of over nine months, from March to December of 1959, was spent on this section of the fieldwork<sup>1]</sup>.

Finally, the third community to be studied was one in between the traditional rural state, and the peri-urban dormitory-stage of development. The Kholwa (Christian) community around the Inanda Mission, in the south-eastern bottom corner of the Ndwedwe Magisterial District, was chosen. This area is some miles off the main road from Durban to Verulam. From April to July of 1960 was spent in the field investigating this area<sup>2]</sup>,

For purposes of convenience in the report, I shall refer to the three types of African settlement studied as the "Shongweni", the "Ndwedwe" and the "Inanda" communities. Confusion will be avoided if it is remembered that the latter two names do not refer to magisterial districts, but are "social anthropological regions" within the official Ndwedwe Magisterial District.

A brief description of these three fieldwork areas is given below:

The area referred to as Shongweni is a small part of the

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1] Appendix A gives the names of the chiefs of the areas visited during the course of the Ndwedwe fieldwork.

2] Philip Nipili is chief of this Inanda area. (See Appendix A.)

Camperdown district, but lies outside any of the recognised reserves. It is bounded on the southern side by the Umlaas River, on the eastern side by the Shongweni Dam, on the northern side by the main Durban-Johannesburg railway line. Apart from land held by such public bodies as the South African Railways and the Durban Corporation, most of the 14,530 acres comprising the farms Georgedale, Hammarsdale and Woody Glen, are either African owned or occupied. The total amount of land actually owned by Africans amounts to 60.5% of the total area. The population of the area was 7,457 in 1957<sup>1]</sup>. Shongweni forms part of the predominantly European occupied strip of land which lies between the broken country of the Valley of a Thousand Hills to the north and the reserves across the Umlazi River to the south. Because it falls outside reserves Shongweni is in a "released area"<sup>2]</sup>.

Shongweni because of its geographical position is well served with transport. The mainline railway runs parallel to the area and three stations (Georgedale, Hammarsdale and Nshongweni), serve it. The main national road to the north passes about three miles away and is easily reached by provincial road. Buses also run between Hammarsdale and Camperdown (the seat of the magistracy), and between Shongweni and Pinetown. This accessibility has in recent years raised the value of the area in African eyes.

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1] Anonymous (1957): Survey of Shongweni: op. cit.

2] These areas are "released areas" in terms of the legislation of 1936.

The community in the Shongweni area is Christian (Kholwa), and grew up from a mission station.

The first part of the fieldwork for the "Ndwedwe" community was done in the north-western part of the valley round the sources of the Nhloti and Mqeku Rivers. A South African Native Trust road leads to a small store where I pitched my first camp. The road did not proceed beyond this point. After an abortive attempt to hire horses, the rest of the fieldwork was done on foot. From my first camp, I was able to visit all people in the two chiefdoms except those living on the lower Umqeku. I visited there only twice - once by invitation to a wedding and on another occasion by appointment. The absence of roads in this part of the district and the relative remoteness of the people does not mean that they are isolated. They catch buses or trains in the New Hanover district which take them to Pietermaritzburg, or they may use the buses which go to Durban through Inanda. They may also cross the Umgeni and catch buses from the vicinity of Nagel Dam, and reach Durban via Nchanga and Botha's Hill. My second camp was on one of the mission reserves. This had a big school and a well built church. The Kholwa community living there was very small and had, in fact, never clearly distinguished itself from its tribal neighbours. This tribe was one of the larger ones in the district.

The final part of the study was conducted in the Inanda Mission Reserve which had developed as a district community. For historical reasons, the Kholwa community here was larger than it had ever been at either Thafamasi or

Umsunduze. (See Map 2 below for these Missions). Inanda Mission Reserve occupies 11,000 acres. The land, with the exception of the mission Glebe, is held under communal tenure. The reserve is occupied nominally by people who between 1856-1956 formed a Kholwa (Christian) tribe under their own chief. Since 1956 the people have been regrouped by the Administration under the neighbouring Qadi tribe, from whom most of them were originally descended.

The name Inanda is today given to an area which includes the whole of the Mission Reserve (which forms a small part), and also to part of the Verulam District which lies adjacent to the Mission Reserve. The land on the Verulam side is part of a "released area" and is owned by Africans, Indians and Whites<sup>1]</sup>. Land in the scheduled area, (i.e. within Ndwedwe District itself), is further sub-divided. Firstly, there is the Inanda Mission Glebe which is still owned by the American Board. The Glebe houses the church, the Inanda Girls' Seminary and also approximately 90 tenants.

The local inhabitants recognise a further sub-division of the Mission Reserve; this is called Inqoqube (or sometimes Lindleyville). It is the older part of Inanda, adjacent to the Mission Glebe and on the eastern side of the Umzinyathi River. Lindleyville was the centre of my activities while I was at Inanda. It is an old, well-established community. The people

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1] Part of this released area near the Umgeni River is being bought by the South African Native Trust. There were Africans living on the land at the time it was purchased, and they have continued to live there. They are regarded as subjects of the Qadi Chief.

live in well built brick houses, and have laid out gardens and planted trees. There is a community hall, a church and two large schools. I am aware that Lindleyville forms only part of the Mission Reserve. It was, however, the centre of the Kholwa community when it existed as a separate tribe. Further away from Lindleyville across the Umzinyathi and towards Umgeni Ferry, the division between the Kholwa and Qadi was not so finely drawn and the people would be very similar to those of Ndwedwe.

Inanda is a Kholwa and school community. I found that only 4% of a sample claimed to be traditionalists. 82% were members of orthodox Christian churches and 14% were members of separatist churches. 93% of those of school-going age had had some formal education.

#### METHODOLOGY:

The communities which were studied were thus two Kholwa communities at Shongweni and Inanda, and the tribal communities at Ndwedwe. The latter, together with the Kholwa community at Inanda, had a system of communal land tenure, whereas at Shongweni there was individual freehold tenure.

I lived in all three communities, camping near a store in one case, or on the Mission Glebe in another. At Inanda, because I was more interested in the Kholwa community, I camped in the grounds of the Umfundisi's house. At Shongweni, I rented the front part of a house from one of the local landlords.

The techniques of collecting information were interviews



and observation. Interviews were generally unstructured, (i.e. after preliminary introductions I tried to let the interviewers speak as freely as possible). I took notes, firstly with the aid of an interpreter and later on my own. These were written up at night. For information on specific matters I was often forced to attack the question directly, and preferably with someone whom I had learnt to know and whose information would be of value. I also used schedules for collecting statistical information.

I found, inevitably, that interviewing was not an easy task. The suspicions aroused by a White person are increased when that person becomes a semi-permanent fixture. Administrative and church officials and a few commercial travellers are the only White people who ever enter the reserves, and it is only the first two who have much contact with the people. Inevitably, these were the two categories into which one was classified by the people. The results were that some information was difficult to elicit, or that, worse, information was given in the hope that it would please the questioner. Information would vary with the informant's assessment of the latter's true role. Unless it could be verified, information had very often to be rejected on these grounds.

Nevertheless, during my stay I cultivated the acquaintance of a small group of regular informants who were a great help in testing much of the information I received. In this way I managed to correct much of the information I acquired. I am aware, however, that right to the end, despite protestations of friendship and good faith on both sides, one could not

eliminate the problem raised by the appearance of a White man, who suddenly evinced the desire to be friendly and at the same time was seeking information.

Another difficulty by which I was confronted was the dearth of male informants. This meant that information had very often to be elicited from women, many of whom hid behind their absent husbands, claiming to know nothing about the "things of men". Where it was a matter of collecting statistical data, the attitude could easily be shown to be one of dissimulation. There were, however, subjects dealing with the kin group or the organisation of the chiefdom on which women were ignorant or extremely reticent.

The difficulty was not relieved by the fact that many males came home for the weekends. I soon found that a promising relationship, carefully cultivated with a homestead during the week, could be shattered by the unfriendly and suspicious attitude of the returned husband. Generally, I relied for information on retired males or males at home on leave. The weekends were usually spent in observation at beer drinks, weddings and other ritual celebrations where men gathered round the beer pots to discuss their affairs.

As a matter of form I tried to establish a relationship with the Chief who represented the official leadership in the political hierarchy. This did not always succeed. The choice of my first camping site was dictated by practical reasons, because it was near the store at the end of the road. This offended the Chief because it happened to be sited in an

Isigodi with which he was feuding. Our relationship never overcame this strain. Subsequent sites were chosen with greater care, but the early contretemps introduced me into the stresses and strains which can exist between the Induna on the one hand and the Chief on the other.

The older people, particularly retired men, were able to complete many of the gaps in my information, but they had a bias towards the preservation of the traditional system (many of them held tribal office of one kind or another). Their views had to be balanced against those of the younger men, who, because they are willing to leave home and send money home to support their families, are responsible for the continued existence of the chiefdom. It is not only their acceptance of the situation of migratory labour, but also of the office and functions of the officials in the chiefdom, that keeps the system intact. Their views could only be elicited if they were at home on leave sufficiently long to enable the establishment of an acquaintanceship. I also discovered that beer drinking parties were a potent source of information, and that the formation of public opinion and the dissemination of information depends largely on these gatherings.

Some statistics were collected to help illustrate trends. I compiled a questionnaire as a basis for collecting these statistics. The basic unit in each schedule was the homestead. When the Umndeni pattern at Ndwedwe became clear, most of the information was collected on an Umndeni basis. This means it was also a geographical basis. This schedule and a slightly modified schedule employed at Inanda gave me the figures I use

in Sample 'A', reported on in later chapters.

At Ndwedwe I also undertook a more detailed study of 44 homesteads, with particular attention to size of fields and their yield, and I also attempted some computation of income. I have called this Sample 'B'.

In discussing the material, I have relied largely on the survey conducted by the Department of Economics<sup>1]</sup>. This survey covered 90% of the African population of the area. It did not answer many of the questions which I would have asked, and as a result the statistical returns from Shongweni and Ndwedwe-Inanda, are not always comparable.

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1] Anonymous (1957): Survey of Shongweni: op. cit.

CHAPTER VTHE HISTORY OF THE LAND AND OF  
THE PEOPLE.

All available sources of information indicate that the region studied has always been occupied exclusively by Africans. The present occupants are not descendants of the original inhabitants, but infiltrated during the 19th Century. The continued ethnic homogeneity is undoubtedly directly connected with the segregation policies of White administrators. The people have been influenced by the two main streams of history: Firstly, the situation in Zululand which culminated in Shaka's becoming King of the Zulus (1816); and secondly, the arrival of a White trading party at Port Natal (1824).

We have some scattered information about the original inhabitants, who were either decimated or fled from the wrath of Shaka's Zulu armies. The present inhabitants, in turn, were people who had fled from Zululand at various times to escape the wrath of Shaka or his successors. Their flight from Zululand, and their settlement in what later became the district, provides the "charter" for their present claims to occupy the land.

The available records, and also the verbal traditions of the people, confirm that the Whites were a force to reckon with. Active administration was not really imposed before 1845, but long before that time the people had been dominated by the new settlers. When this domination became active administration, the people were finally subjected to White control. The

significance of these events is that the Africans never really lived as independent chiefdoms. They have, in fact, a tradition of dependence and recognition of White administration.

#### 1. The Inhabitants of the Area:

There are several sources giving information about the people who lived in and around the district in pre-Shakan times. The Rev. Lewis Grout<sup>1]</sup> of the American Board Commission Foreign Missions submitted an exhaustive memorandum to the "Kaffir Commission" of 1852. H.F. Fynn<sup>2]</sup>, one of the first Whites to come to Port Natal in 1824, also gave evidence before this commission. Lt. Governor John Scott, in a despatch of 12 February, 1864 (prepared by Shepstone's Office)<sup>3]</sup>, set out a history of the migrations. Finally, Bryant<sup>4]</sup> not only gives the history collected by himself, but also had access to all the previous documents with which he could compare his version. I have followed Bryant's general exposition, and referred to other sources where there is a difference of opinion, or where Bryant is insufficiently detailed.

The earliest maps, showing tribal distribution in the

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- 1] Grout, Lewis (1852/3): Letter dated 28.12.1852 in the Proceedings of the Kaffir Commission, 1852/3: Typescript in the Killie Campbell Library, Durban.
  - 2] Fynn, H.F. (1852/3): Evidence given on 11.1.1853 to Proceedings of the Kaffir Commission, 1852/3: op. cit.
  - 3] Bird, J. (ed.) (1888): Annals of Natal 1495-1845: (2 vols.) P. Davie, Pietermaritzburg.
  - 4] Bryant, A.T. (1929): Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: Longmans Green, London.

district are those accompanying Scott's despatch (reprinted in Fynn's diaries)<sup>1]</sup>. These were reconstructions based on information collected by Shepstone, from survivors of the original inhabitants. Bryant has an excellent map in his volume.

Bryant lists the following tribes living between the Umgeni and the Tongati Rivers: Zelemu, Ndlovini, Lumbi, Nkulwini, Njile and Dianyoka. Other sources also suggest the Nkanswayo, Divulu and the Hlongwa. According to the records, none of the listed people survived the Shakan wars as independent groups: they were all either killed or scattered across the country. Some survived, and in small groups joined the other peoples in the south.

Bryant records that the country round the Mdhloti and Tongati Rivers was a sylvan paradise<sup>2]</sup>, occupied by members of the Debe-Nguni group. The distinguishing characteristics of this group was a habit of making facial incisions, which he claims was a custom nowhere else in vogue amongst the Nguni<sup>3]</sup>.

In 1820 the Mxunwini people, who were fleeing from the wrath of Shaka, invaded this "sylvan paradise". This invasion

1] Stuart, J. & D.McK. Malcolm (Eds.) (1950): The Diaries of Henry Francis Fynn: Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.

2] Bryant, (1929): op. cit., p.535.

3] Ibid., p.547.

led to the formation of a confederation between the Zelemu, Nkulwini, Njile and Dlanyeka for mutual protection. This confederation proved no match for the impis of Shaka who attacked in the following year, and the members of the confederation were all vanquished and driven south.

According to Bryant, a "motley herd of Zelemu, Wushes and others (afterwards known collectively by the Zulu nickname 'Baca') assembled beyond the Umzimkulu"<sup>1]</sup>. The official despatch states that of the Zelemu only a few families remained, and they "ranged" with other peoples<sup>2]</sup>. The Dlanyoka "have no chief and the tribe never recollected"<sup>3]</sup>, the Njile amalgamated with the Nyivane and never reconstructed themselves<sup>4]</sup>, and the Nkulwini eventually also joined the Baca<sup>5]</sup>.

The area between the Umgeni and the Tongati was thus swept clear of all people living an organised life. Fynn, one of the earliest traders at Port Natal, commented<sup>6]</sup> that there were no people to be seen between the Umzimkulu River in the south and the Tongati River in the north.

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1] Bryant, (1929): op. cit. p.549.

2] Bird, (1888): op. cit., p.130.

3] Ibid., p.140.

4] Ibid.

5] Bryant, (1929): op. cit., p.535.

6] Stuart and Malcolm (1950): op. cit., p.130.



From the contemporary evidence of Fynn and others, and from the reconstructions of Bryant, it is quite clear there was an interruption of normal life, but small groups of people did hide and manage to stay in the area. Bryant described the appearance of devastation and complete emptiness resulting from the continual warfare, but adds, "it is true that in two or three cases remnants of clans that had fled en masse had practically held together, and among these a few stray leaders came to the fore"<sup>1]</sup>. There were small groups of people who eked out an existence, hoping no doubt that one day they might rebuild their homes and settle down. People were loath to make themselves conspicuous, but when the traders appeared at Port Natal, it did not take long for a settlement to form.

The next settlers in the district were the people who are living there now. If they encountered any of the original inhabitants who remained as stragglers, (Grout's evidence suggests that there were a few families), the new occupiers quickly absorbed them. No traces of the original inhabitants remain, and the oral tradition of the present occupants is that they settled in an "empty" country.

The people who came to settle in the district were originally Lala speaking, but were not related to the people who had fled<sup>2]</sup>. The newcomers were classified by Bryant<sup>3]</sup> as

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1] Bryant, (1929): op. cit., p.381.

2] Ibid., p.549.

3] Ibid., p.233.

belonging to the Tekela Branch of the Nguni people. These he sub-divides into two groups: The Embo or Dlamini, and the Tonga. The latter he again sub-divided into the Ntsetwa, the Lala, and the Debe. The Tekela-Nguni shared a common origin with the Ntungwa-Nguni (Bryant's "pure" Zulu). They also shared identical word roots. The Tekela had, however, owing to their contact with the descending stream of Sutu Bantu, assumed so many phonetic and structural changes that an almost new language was evolved. Those people who had had contact with the Tonga acquired a new vocabulary and also many Tonga customs<sup>1]</sup>. These peculiar Tekela characteristics were to a great extent lost after the consolidation of Shaka's power, because many Tekela were pressed into the Zulu army and learnt to speak "pure" (Ntungwa-Nguni) Zulu. Lala became the language of the old and the women and has virtually died out<sup>2]</sup>.

From the Tekela branch of the Nguni the following people moved into the area: Qadi, Pepeta, Cibane, Langeni, Osiyana, Shangase, Ngongoma, Nyuswa, Hlope, Mgangeni, Nodwengu, and Ngcolosi. There is also a small group of Ntungwa-Nguni (the Cili), Kumalo and Qwabe. This list, (compiled from administrative records), differs slightly from the list prepared by von Warmelo<sup>3]</sup>. He excludes the Qwabe, (who are a big tribe

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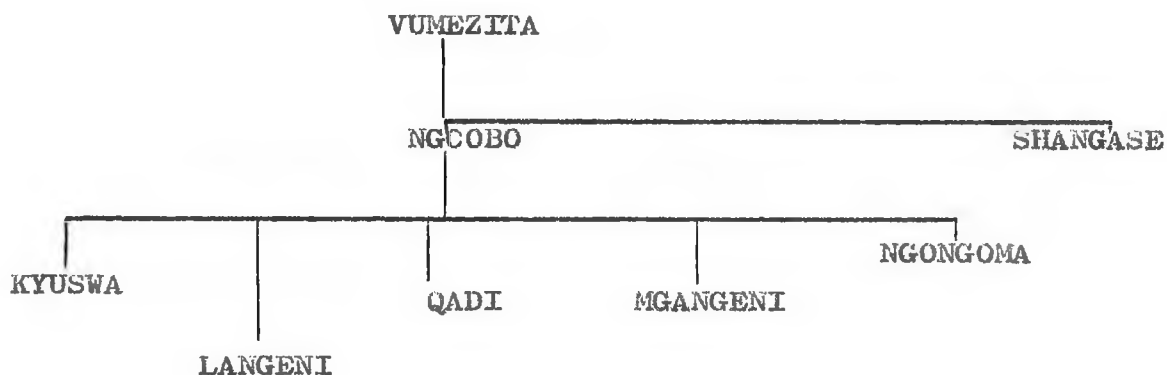
1] Bryant, (1929): op. cit., p.233.

2] Ibid.

3] von Warmelo, N.J. (1935): Union of South Africa, Department of Native Affairs, "Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa": Ethnological Publications, Vol. 5 p.30, Government Printer, Pretoria.

in the neighbouring Verulam district and have a small overflow in Ndwedwe), and he includes the Ndhlovu who were amalgamated with the Ngongoma in 1937. He also records two groups of Nyuswa, one of which is now recorded as Nodwengu. The Isithakazelo, (an extended clan name) which he records for the Langeni, does not accord with my information. He notes it as Mhlongo - i.e. Embo-Mnguni - whereas I have recorded it as "Ufuzze Afulele Njengenyamazane", i.e. Ngcobo (Lala-Nguni). He records no Isithakazelo for the Shangase, whereas I recorded "Shuku Kamkeshane", i.e. Ngcobo.

Bryant records the following relationship between the Ngcobo clans<sup>1]</sup> settled in the district:



To this group of clans he adds the Osiyana who, though not closely related to the Ngcobo, have always lived near to them and are probably connected in some way. Private information indicates that one of the Isithakazelo of the Nyuswa

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1] Bryant, (1929): op. cit., p.482.

branch is "Osiyana". This would indicate some connection, but I have not been able to trace this any further<sup>1]</sup>.

The map of the district (Map No. 2 below), gives some indication of the disposition of the tribes. The Qadi, Papeta, Mlangeni and Nodwengu all have chiefs living within the district, but they also have followers in neighbouring districts. Similarly, the Mgangeni and Qwabe have chiefs resident outside the district.

Though these clans within the district all claim descent from Vumezita, these are not his only descendants. There are still Ngcobo clans who reside elsewhere. These include the Bulose, Fuze, Qamane, Ngidi and Mangatini. There are also clans within the district which are not directly connected with the Ngcobos. Entry into, and residence in, the districts was not necessarily limited to members of the Ngcobo clan clusters.

Bryant notes that "lower down the Tukela as far as the Mdloti was the Lala group of Tonga Nguni's including the large Ngcobo tribe (comprising the Nyuswa, Qadi, Ngongoma, Shangase and Wosiyana clans in Zululand and the Fuze in Natal)<sup>2]</sup>.

Not all the people listed above as being Lala-speaking settled in the area as independent clan units, although

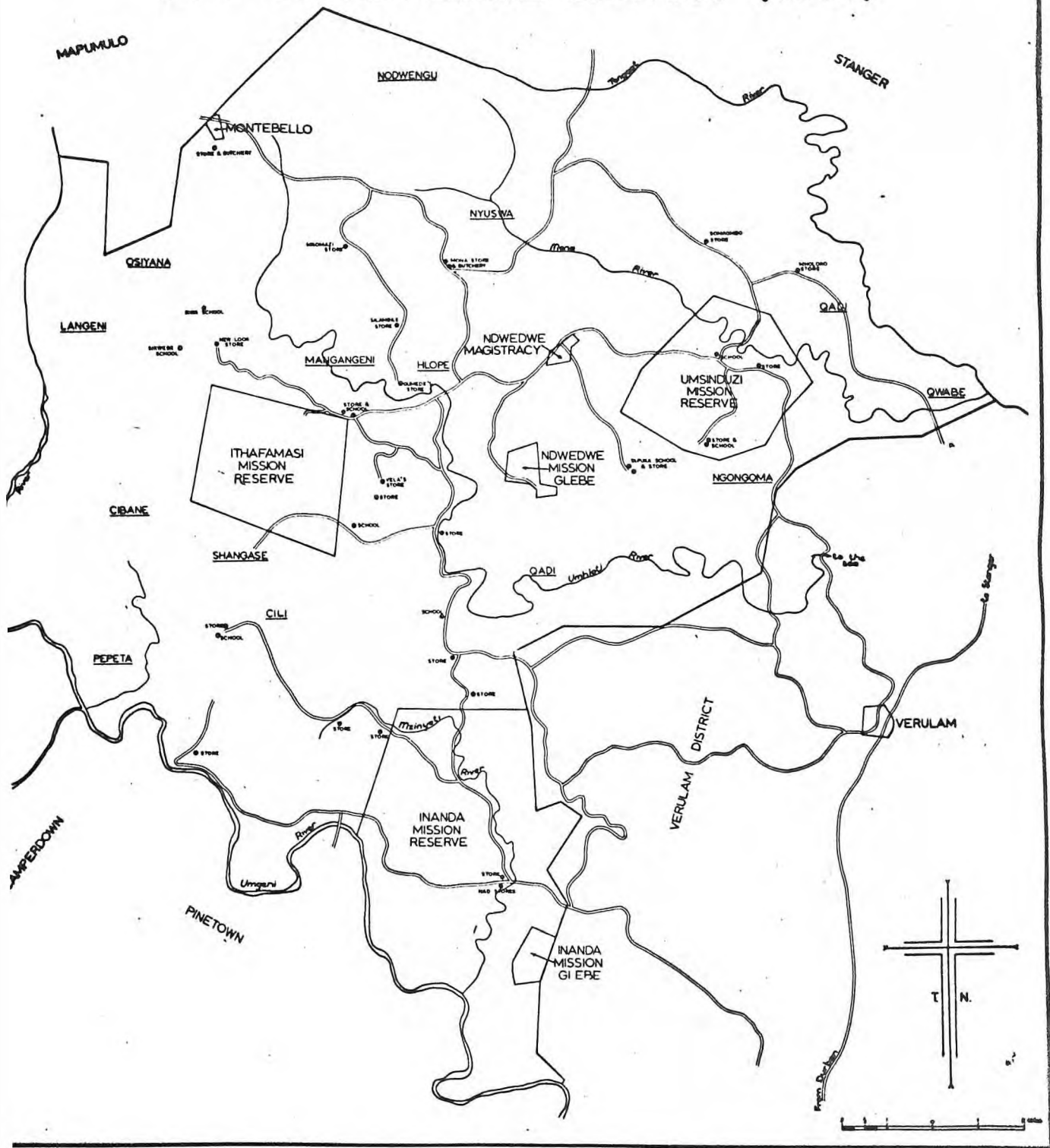
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1] Private communication, Dr. A. Vilakazi.

2] Bryant, op. cit., p.232.

MAP NO. 2: DISPOSITION OF TRIBES IN THE AREA.

# MAP OF NDWEDWE DISTRICT (1957)



occasional homesteads representing these clans are often present. To this Lala-speaking group must be added the doubtful case of the Cibane, whom Bryant seems to connect with the Ngcobo<sup>1]</sup>. The only groups present in the district which are not of Lala Origin are the Cili, Kumalo and Qwabe. They are of pure Ntungwa-Nguni origin.

Bryant estimates that the original inhabitants were defeated and scattered in 1820-1. He also notes that as early as 1824 Mshiyane, (Chief of the Shangase), was already living at Port Natal. He was one of the people to greet Farewell on his arrival and was "later" appointed to the position of district chief by the British Government<sup>2]</sup>. Fynn's Diaries<sup>3]</sup> note the massacre of the Qadi Chief, Dube, which took place in April 1837, and which was the immediate cause of the Qadi irruption into Natal. There is evidence that some people now living in the district had fled as early as 1824, and others as late as 1837. Some time between these two dates the people must have infiltrated into the "empty" land in the district and settled down. When Daniel Lindley founded his mission station

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1] Bryant, op. cit., Appendix.

2] Ibid., p.497.

3] Stuart and Malcolm, op. cit., p.259. The pattern of this massacre is familiar. The Qadi were commanded to help rebuild the royal cattle byre. They had to bring with them the saplings and carry them to the centre of the byre, leaving their arms outside. They were then surrounded and massacred. Exactly 10 months later, the same technique was used against Retief, the Trekker Leader, and his followers.

along the Umzinyathi River at Inanda in 1847, most of the tribes were already settled in the district. The evidence which Grout presented to the 1852 Commission supports this view.

Settlers either found empty lands in the district, and were thus able to set up as independent clans which in time were to form the core of a tribe, or they attached themselves to a settled clan core. The former course was adopted only if the settlers had enjoyed an independent position as a tribe in their original home, or if they arrived at a time when enough ground was available for them to settle without obviously encroaching on land already claimed by another clan group.

## 2. The Formation of an Ndwedwe Reserve:

The settlement of these people during this time was mainly due to the great changes which were taking place in Natal. At various times cessions of territory had been made by the Zulu king to Whites. These grants affected land south of the Tsekela River. Lt. Farewell had a concession dated 1824; Fynn had been granted land between the Tongati and Umgeni Rivers in 1828; Gardiner had been given a grant in 1835. The American missionaries had arrived in 1835 and been given permission to enter both Zululand and Natal and to build mission stations. None of the ceded land (except where mission stations were established) was ever effectively occupied. Not only was the British Government loath to extend its protection over the area which had been ceded, but the traders were too small a

community to occupy all the land. This was the situation when the Trekkers arrived in 1837. Their leader, Retief, obtained a grant to all land south of the Tukela. This included land that had previously been granted to others. This grant was made subject to certain conditions, one of which was that the Trekkers return to the Zulu king the cattle "stolen" by Sikonyela, Chief of the Batlokwa (the so-called Mantatis). Having complied with these conditions, Retief again visited Dingane to finalise the transaction, and was murdered in February 1838. The subsequent attempts of the Zulu to exterminate the Trekkers were not successful and the latter, with the help of people from Port Natal, defeated the Zulu army at Blood River in December, 1838. Dingane was forced to confirm the cession of territory south of the Tukela. He was finally crushed when a younger brother, Mpande, aided by the Trekkers, successfully challenged his right to rule. After 1837, when it was ceded to Retief, the land south of the Tukela ceased to be part of Zululand and became White-dominated territory. After the annexation of the Colony by the British in 1842, the land north and south of the Tukela was confirmed and strengthened. Thus, under both the Republican Government at Pietermaritzburg, and later the British Government, all Africans living south of the Tukela were subject to the overriding power of the White rulers.

The Republican policy toward the Zulu was to provide for the sharing out of labour (at the rate of five families of Africans per occupied farm); to register "apprentices"; and to remove the excess Zulu population beyond the boundaries of the Republic. It was an attempt at partial segregation and



also an attempt to ensure the safety of the Republic, which lacked both the means and the time to put its policy into effect. Active administration only began under the British, when Theophilus Shepstone was appointed diplomatic agent to the "natives". British protection had been extended to the inhabitants of the district in 1842<sup>1]</sup>, but the trouble between the traders at Port Natal and the Republican Government at Pietermaritzburg continued. It was not until later in 1843<sup>2]</sup> that Natal was annexed by the British Crown, and was constituted a Division of the Cape. A separate district, under the jurisdiction of a Lieutenant-Governor, was created by letters patent in 1845<sup>3]</sup>. The original proclamation of 1843 stated that there was to be "no discrimination in the eye of the Law"; that there was to be "no aggression on Natives"; and that there was to be "no slavery".

To regularise the position of the African inhabitants, a commission was appointed which has become known as the 1846/7 Commission. It was to enquire into the advisability of allocating land for Africans. The proposals of the Commission<sup>4]</sup> were the basis on which the present day reserves are constituted. Apart from recommending which land should be allocated as

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1] Minute 4th May, 1843.

2] Proclamation, 12th May, 1843.

3] Dated 30th April, 1845.

4] Published under Government Notice 12/1/1848.

reserves, (the Commission called them "Locations"), the Commission suggested that in each established reserve a superintendent should be appointed with "one or more assistants". His task would be to "improve and encourage the natives to acquire wealth other than livestock", and also to "raise the scale of women in native society, and by so doing civilise their barbaric habits"<sup>1]</sup>. These recommendations were not accepted by the British Government, but the idea of reserves was acceptable, and the proposed land was duly set aside. The size and location of this land remained a lively issue in colonial politics for many years. The colonists claimed that the reserves threatened their security, and also tied up labour. Though attempts were made to reduce the area of reserves, it remained substantially the same. Between 1847 and 1864 the land which had been allocated was finally reserved. The system of reserves remained a corner stone in Natal native policy.

The Commission of 1846 has been criticised by its successor, the 1852 Commission, and by subsequent writers<sup>2]</sup>, because the land allocated for tribal use was fit only for the "eagle and the baboon". The Commissioners pointed out that in many cases their hands had been forced because the Africans themselves had already settled inaccessible places. The Natal Zulu were not only afraid of further ravages by an army from

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1] Moodie, M.J.D., (1856): Ordinances and Proclamations of Natal. Vol. III, 1836-1855: May and Davis, Natal, p.277.

2] Brookes, E.H. (1924): A History of Native Policy in South Africa: Nasionale Pers. Bepk., Cape Town; Also Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit. and Fair, op. cit.

Zululand, but also of the encroachment of White farmers seeking land.

It is clear from the work of the 1847 Commission, and also from Shepstone's evidence before the 1852 Commission, that most reserves were to some extent occupied. It was Shepstone's first task after the Commission had reported to see that people who were not located in the reserves should be moved into them<sup>1]</sup>.

### 3. The Pattern of Settlement Within the Ndwedwe District:

The general pattern of early settlement in the area can be illustrated by noting the traditions of particular groups. Published sources rarely give enough detail to verify the oral traditions of each individual group. One must therefore test the oral traditions collected in the field against the general pattern as it is illustrated in the literature. It is salutary to remember that all information in Zulu history was first recorded from an oral source.

Grout, Fynn and Shepstone collected their information independently of one another, and published where and when they could. Grout was the only person to make available a list of

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1] "As all Natives residing near the sea between Port Natal and the line of the Umvoti shall find room in neighbouring locations". (G.N. 5 May 1847). The notice goes on to state that they must move within two months, but must only take orders from the Diplomatic Agent and not from other "European Inhabitants".

informants, but this does not tell us much beyond their first names, and also that they were his close neighbours. He did not, to his credit, rely only on his converts. Bryant also relied on oral sources but he had the previously recorded evidence at his disposal. His information on the location of people before and after the Shaka period is probably as complete as is possible. Nevertheless, even Bryant in some sections of his book shows how much he had to rely on particular informants, who relayed an oral tradition<sup>1]</sup>.

The difficulty in dealing with a detailed account of the settlement is that this reflects the particular bias of people relating their own "history". It serves to validate the claims to the origin of the clan, and its right to the land it occupies. This is important if these claims are disputed by other people. Much of the information presented can be verified only in broad outline: the details vary from person to person or from clan to clan. Within these limitations I shall endeavour to set out the pattern of settlement:

The overall pattern of all these histories is similar. There is the flight across the Tsekela; arrival in Natal; the wandering; discovery of empty land, and finally settlement. The wanderings are told only in terms of the dominant clan or merely in terms of the leader or chief of such a dominant clan. Elaborations of this general pattern by lineage or members of other clans merely underline the main story.

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1] Bryant, C.F., op. cit., p.498.

Very little can be recalled or recounted about the early life across the Tukela. Only in a few exceptional cases is one able to trace the origin of a present clan beyond the fleeting eponym. The Tukela now serves as a reference point for a myth of origin: People date all their happenings from the time they crossed the River.

For the Shangase, for instance, history begins with Mshiyane, son of Shuku, son of Ndaleka, son of Mkeshana, son of Ngcobo<sup>1]</sup>. Mshiyane had two sons, Mnguni and Lusapho. The latter lacked "respect" for his father and this caused a split between the two brothers. The exact relationship between them is obscure. They were apparently born of different mothers, and it would seem that Lusapho, though younger than Mnguni, was the first born son of the great wife. Lusapho's alleged insubordination caused the fight between the brothers. Shaka intervened in the fight, and Mnguni had to flee. The father, Mshiyane, was killed in this battle. Mnguni crossed the Tukela into Natal, and wandered as far as the Umlazi River, eventually reaching the ridges along the present Berea in Durban<sup>2]</sup>. He remained there for many years, but when he saw how many Whites were coming to live at the bay, he looked for a quieter spot, which he found at Thafamasi along the Umhloti River. He moved to Thafamasi accompanied by all the people who had lived with

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1] Compare this lineage with the lineage Bryant gives. Bryant op. cit., p. 482.

2] Grout, in his evidence to the 1852 Commission, says it was on the "Bluff", and not the Berea.

him on the Berea. When it became known that the Shangase had settled at Thafamasi, many of their clansmen from different parts of the colony flocked to join them. People from other clans also came and asked for the right to settle. They were given land and built their homesteads, recognising Mnguni as chief.

What written sources we have confirm this story, except that the earlier evidence of Grout and Scott (Shepstone) points towards their having lived south of the Tukela, whereas Bryant claims they lived on the northern bank. It is possible that Grout and Scott, relying on oral evidence, gave only approximate positions. It is also true that both Scott and Grout, in presenting their evidence, were at great pains to defend the right of Africans to the land they were occupying. It was the colonial view at the time that most, if not all, the Africans in the colony were "strangers" from the north of the Tukela, and therefore were not entitled to land within the colony. Bryant, with fairly accurate maps at his disposal and not having to meet with these colonial objections, shows the Shangase as living north of the Tukela. He records, however, that the chief who fled to Natal was Mshiyane, the Father, and not his son, Mnguni. He further states that Mshiyane wandered around the country and was at Port Natal in 1824 to welcome the first British traders, "raising himself from Native chief to the rank of British Servant"<sup>1]</sup>. The reward for this was that Mshiyane, and Mkizwane, (a commoner of the same clan), were raised to the position of district chiefs under the British

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1] Grout, in his evidence to the 1852 Commission, p.496.

Government<sup>1]</sup>. Bryant does not record where or when this happened.

The north-western neighbours of the Shangase are the Osiyana, who had also been their neighbours in Zululand. The Osiyana, while claiming that they were neighbours of the Shangase in Zululand, deny the existence of any closer relationship<sup>2]</sup>. The Shangase, speaking of the Osiyana, sometimes refer to them as adopted (Tolwa) people<sup>3]</sup>. The Shangase hereby imply their own social superiority. In practice, however, there is no sign of inequality.

The dominant clan amongst the Osiyana is the Nzama (or Zama). The reason given by informants of the senior lineage for their flight from Zululand is that a member of a junior lineage, Gcugcwa, roused Shaka's wrath, which was visited on the whole clan. Gcugcwa's crime was the theft of royal cattle. He is said to have had a reputation of cattle stealing, and of enjoying certain immunity owing to his faculty for making himself invisible. Unfortunately he could not eradicate his scent, so he was tracked down by dogs, brought before Shaka, and sentenced to death by having a herd of cattle driven over him.

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1] Grout, in his evidence to the 1852 Commission, p. 497.

2] There is the suggestion of a genealogical link, but it has no significance.

3] A Tolwa'd person is someone adopted into a person's Umuzi, who would eventually take his guardian's Isibongo, although he would always be known as a Tolwa'd person.

Mashiza, the Osiyana chief, fled into Natal where he first visited near the site of the present Greytown, and eventually moved as far as the Umlazi. The Zama claim that they were settled on the Umlazi when the Trekkers came, and claimed the land as farmland. Mashiza heard that the Shangase had settled on the Mhloti and paid a visit to Mnguni, the Shangase Chief. During this visit, his dog Izwiba, so impressed the Shangase with his powers in hunting leopards, that they suggested the Osiyana should settle in the neighbourhood. The Osiyana found vacant land (Amathuthu) and settled there. Thereby they re-established their neighbourly relationship with the Shangase.

Among the present Osiyana tribe, variants of this history circulate, which illustrate the method by which people of clans other than the Zama justify their presence. The Msomi, a large clan group, explain their extensive land holdings by the following story: Their Eponym, Notabela, while accompanying some White hunters as a guide, crossed the valley and saw that it was empty. He persuaded his chief, Mashiza, to settle there. As a result the Msomi were rewarded by Mashiza with a sizeable portion of land.

The Osiyana, being early arrivals in the valley and having bonds with the Shangase, settled down and became an independent group under their own chief. Long after they had settled they were subjected to pressures, which show how difficult it was to establish independent chiefdoms on ground already occupied.



In 1856, trouble arose between two sons of King Mpande, Cetewayo (leading the Usuthu), and Mbulazi (leading the Igqoza). This was settled by force of arms. The Igqoza were defeated and fled into the colony. Mbulazi's mother, Monase, and a younger brother, Mkhungo, were entrusted by Shepstone to the care of Bishop Colenso. Shepstone intended the young prince to live at Bishopstowe and to receive his education there<sup>1]</sup>. The followers of Mbulazi, however, had to be settled elsewhere. At the suggestion of Shepstone, a group were sent to settle on the Umqeku River. These people eventually penetrated as far as the Osiyana territory. The descendants of the Igqoza claim they had a "letter" from Shepstone which not only directed them to settle on the Mqeku, but also, because they were followers of a royal prince, set them up as an independent "tribe" with their own chief. They claim the young prince Mkhungo came with them, and they can point out the site of his homestead. This assertion is not correct, as Mkhungo grew up in the care of Bishop Colenso and eventually became a farmer<sup>2]</sup>. Whatever Shepstone's intentions may have been, the arrival of a large group such as the Igqoza, caused quite an upheaval amongst the Osiyana. The Igqoza claimed that their arrival reminded Chief Mashiza so much of a Zulu impi that they caused him to leave. Mashiza's present descendants maintain he merely went to visit some clansmen near Greytown. The chieftainship of the Osiyana was left in the hands of the Nobanga branch of the Zama clan. They are a junior

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1] Rees, W. (Arr.) (1958): Colenso Letters from Natal: Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, p.42.

2] Ibid., p.250.

branch of the clan. The Igqoza claimed the chieftainship as theirs. However, this latter claim did not succeed because there was no place where they could settle as an independent unit. The Administration also refused to recognise them as an independent tribe. They were, however, allowed to appoint an Ummumzane, (i.e. an Induna), to represent their interests. This office differed from other similar offices in the tribe in so far as the Ummumzane represented the Igqoza people, and not a tribal ward (Isigodi), as do other Indunas<sup>1]</sup>. When the last incumbent died during the 30's no one was appointed in his place.

The history of the Shangase and Osiyana reflects a pattern of settlement familiar throughout the district, and possibly throughout Natal.

#### 4. Formation of Chiefdoms (Tribes):

The leaders of the groups which settled, and were regarded as independent units, were the men the White Administration recognised as hereditary chiefs. These leaders had usually succeeded their fathers who had held similar positions in Zululand. Where the "true heir" (Inkosana) has not succeeded - as amongst the Shangase - circumstantial evidence is brought forward to explain the discrepancy. The chiefs and their clans are regarded by the present-day inhabitants as the first settlers, the Abadabuko peoples. The concept of the Dabuko settlement, and its implication that the dominant clan is descended from the eponym who led the people into the district, is vital to the

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1] See Chapter VIII.

understanding of the growth of administratively recognised chiefdoms. Within each clan lineage groupings (Lusendo) occur. The lineage distinguishes one group of clansmen from another by reference to a pattern of descent. The dominant lineage, often loosely equated with the dominant clan, is the agnatic line which should bring forth the chief.

The leader who was the eponym of both dominant clan and dominant lineages, settled himself and his immediate followers on the land. This first settlement was followed by the addition of other groups and individuals, some of them clansmen rejoining their own clans, while others were strangers from many parts of the country who came to ask for land and to settle. They then acknowledged the authority of the leader from whom they had received land. As the chiefdoms grew bigger, wards (Isigodi) were created and placed under the leadership of fellow clansmen of the chief, (or under the leadership of persons from other clans if they were powerful enough to demand it<sup>1]</sup>).

Within the chiefdom, and even between chiefdoms, there was considerable mobility. People came in, were allocated land and left because they found better land elsewhere or because they could not get along with their neighbours. It is significant that those people who settled early and were allocated land which was flat or along the river banks have retained these choice pieces of land.

The great number of people who eventually came to live

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1] See Chapter VIII.

on the land is reflected by the variety of clan names (Izibongo) which can be found. I collected 80 different clan names, and the list was by no means exhaustive. Most of these names, when checked against the information from Bryant, indicate that people were drawn from a very wide area to become settlers. They were neither limited to a relationship with the dominant clans in the district, nor to one with the dominant clan of the tribe in which they settled<sup>1]</sup>.

##### 5. The Growth of New Types of Community:

The growth of administratively recognised chiefdoms, which has just been described, was not the only development which took place in the district. The British Government in Natal early recognised the claims of missionaries to be regarded as "civilising agencies", and embarked on a policy which was to lead to the formation of a distinctive community - the Christian (Kholwa) community.

The mission reserve is a development peculiar to Natal. It has existed de facto since 1847, and de jure since 1856. Mission reserves exist on scheduled areas (i.e. reserves) whereas a mission station is founded only on land purchased by the missionary. Mission reserves now fall under the South

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1] Cf. Grout, L., evidence to the Kaffir Commission: op. cit. He claims that there were in those days people from 88 different tribes in the location. He cites further evidence of finding a number of different Izibongo in one homestead.

African Native Trust, and differ from tribal locations principally in the fact that within them missionary work should be restricted to one official denomination. Attached to each mission reserve is a mission glebe, which is outright freehold property under deed of gift from the Crown.

Many of the mission reserves (this includes Inanda), were granted to the American Board of Missions. They were responsible for initial introduction of Christianity, and they have been responsible for the development of the Kholwa Community.

a) Inanda Mission Reserve:

There are two things to note about the Inanda Kholwa: Firstly, their close relationship with the Qadi, the large tribe across the river. Most of the prominent Kholwa are descended from the Qadi, and the land which comprises the mission reserves was originally Qadi territory. The Kholwa share with the Qadi the history which caused them to flee from Zululand and settle in the district. The second thing of importance is the arrival of Daniel Lindley<sup>1]</sup>, the missionary, in 1847, to found a mission. This was the beginning of the Kholwa community.

When Lindley arrived at Inanda he was given a site by Mgawe, the Qadi chief, on which to build a house near "the big tree" along the Umzinyathi. Lindley did not find his first site

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1] Smith, E.W. (1949): The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley: Epworth Press and Methodist Publishing House, London.

salubrious, and eventually moved up the hill and settled very close to the present site of the Inanda Seminary. One of the buildings still used by the Seminary was a house built by Lindley.

The Kholwa account of his arrival and his move all stress Lindley's prowess: "he worked hard all day, and was the best shot that our people had ever seen". These qualities attracted people (the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation). The friendly relations which Lindley maintained throughout his career as missionary with Mqawe are stressed: "When my grandfather came over to be a Kholwa, he left Mqawe and said I go to another man (Indoda)". The local Kholwa recount that when Lindley moved from the Umzinyathi, he not only received aid from the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Gray, but Mqawe drafted his regiment (Indlebe Innashi) to help him build his first church<sup>1</sup>].

After the establishment of the mission, Lindley continued his work of converting and building up a community of Christians on the ground which Mqawe had "shown him". The word Ukudabula or Ukubeka (to divide off pieces of land), is the same word used when a man is allocated a portion of land for his homestead. The growth of this community was legally recognised by the colonial Government in 1856 when a number of mission reserves were officially created. The idea was to create a Kholwa community, and many people "left our kin"

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1] This story was vouched for by a number of informants, but does not appear in Smith's Biography of Lindley.

(Bashiya Bakithi) and came to live with the missionary. The latter soon found that he spent more time than he wished settling the problems of his converts on the mission reserve. To aid him in his administration, Lindley appointed an Induna. The first man to be thus appointed (Klass Goba) was not, significantly, one of the people whom Lindley had trained in the church. When Goba became the first Induna at Inanda, James Dube<sup>1]</sup> had almost completed his training as the first African minister of the church. The honour of being the first catechist far outweighed the honour of being made Induna of the mission reserve.

After the Colonial Parliament made the Natal Code Law in 1891, the position of the Induna on the mission reserve was regularised. He became the "chief" of a Kholwa community, i.e. of those people who claimed to belong to the community. He was elected (ukukethe) by the men.

The increasing administrative duties which the Induna (later the chief) had to deal with were still very often brought to the missionary to be settled. The missionaries felt that their work was being hampered by having to attend to these administrative details. The colonists were, for very different reasons<sup>2]</sup>, critical and distrustful of the education made

1] Father of Dr. Jan Dube (Mafukazela).

2] Taylor, J.D. (1904): "Attitude of the Natal Government and the Colonists towards Work among the Natives" : American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions South African Deputation Papers, American Zulu Mission, 1904, p.93.

available by the missionaries, and they were worried by the "lack of control" on mission reserves. They did not approve of the Board's policy of allowing Zulu catechists to be in sole charge of a congregation and of the reserve. In 1903, after lengthy negotiations the mission reserves reverted to the (then) Natal Native Trust.

After that the mission reserves were administered as separate tribes by the administration. In 1919 a Mission Reserve Advisory Board was instituted to aid the chief in his duties. The Inanda Kholwa tribe was disestablished in 1956. The official reasons given were that the administration wished to eliminate smaller units, preparatory to the creation of Bantu Authorities.

b) Shongweni:

The Kholwa community at Inanda developed out of the neighbouring Qadi tribe and have always maintained links with that community. The Kholwa community at Shongweni had different origins. This was a mission station begun in the Camperdown district, in 1880, by the Methodist Church. It was an addition to the churches' work in the Verulam district, and originally comprised the farms Georgedale and Woodyglen.

The mission station at Woodyglen, under the guidance of Rev. John Allsop, differed from the mission reserve in so far as the land acquired for the former was purchased by the Mission Society. The community established on both the mission reserves and the mission station was a community of converts.



Initially membership of either could be obtained only by becoming converted and being baptised.

The leader of the community at Shongweni was chosen from among the group of people who were to make the move from Verulam. The original leader, Joseph Matiwane, did not eventually make the move, and Christian Luthayi was elected leader in his stead. The growth of the Kholwa community at Shongweni was on similar lines to the development at Inanda, and when the Natal Code was promulgated as law in 1871, the leader of the Kholwa community at Shongweni also became chief.

There is an important difference between the Kholwa community at Shongweni and that at Inanda. Because the original missionary had bought ground for the mission at Georgedale, it was decided that the Kholwa who settled there should "buy" their land from the Missionary Society. The basis of land tenure at Shongweni is thus that each homestead should live on ground which it has purchased, and for which it has title deeds. The objective of the missionary was to finance the new mission venture, and it was in accordance with ideas at the time that<sup>1]</sup> land should be converted into "freehold grants for Natives, whose improved conditions of life render such action desirable".

The result of the decision to sell ground to the individual occupiers had far reaching effects on the community who live at Shongweni. There has been a greater influx of settlers at Shongweni than into either Inanda or Ndwedwe.

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz: op. cit., p.8

Without the historical links which bind Inanda to Ndwedwe and without the control exercised over the allocation of ground, the community at Shongweni shows greater heterogeneity than either Inanda or Ndwedwe. This heterogeneity is due to the presence of a number of people gathered from all parts of Natal. Shongweni no longer admits only converts, and has no historical point of reference which gives unity to the community such as the people at Inanda have with the Qadi. Most people who come into the area today were not born there, and they come from as far away as Vryheid in the north, and Pondoland in the south.

I found only 9% of the heads of households I interviewed had been born in the area. Furthermore, only 36% of the households owned the ground on which they lived, 52% of the homesteads were occupied by tenants and a few had caretakers.

People had come into the area from a variety of places: 11% had come from urban locations<sup>1]</sup>, 58% had come from White farms, and 12% from reserves. The great number of tenants is the most remarkable feature of the area. African landlords let their ground to tenants, rather than practice any agriculture. This influx on peri-urban areas such as Shongweni has been a widespread phenomenon in the distribution of the

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1] These are usually from the smaller midland towns, such as Richmond and Mooi River. The openly avowed objective was to "follow the husband". The spouse usually tries to find work in the big industrial centres such as Durban.

African population for some years<sup>1]</sup>. The reasons for this influx into Shongweni are not difficult to find. "I live here with my wife because it is not Mapulaswini (i.e. a farm)"; "Where I was before the farmer said I must work for three months every year, how was I to earn money for my family?"; "Our land at Umbumbulu (a reserve) was so small that my husband said let us go"; "Here I pay M (the landlord) his money and then we can live". The basic desire of the settlers is similar to that expressed at Inanda or Ndwedwe: A place to build a house where the wife and children can live. For many tenants, however, home means not the place they rent at Shongweni, but the place they left to come and live here.

The restrictions which often attach to labour tenancies on farms, where men have to perform labour in lieu of rent, have made White farms very unpopular to live on. The difficulty of finding land in the reserves (or of being granted land as an outsider), has to a large extent prevented a greater influx into these areas. The influx has instead been channelled into areas such as Shongweni, where the only permission needed to settle is that of the landlord<sup>2]</sup>. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that residence in the area has, for most people, been comparatively short. Most people have lived in the area only a few years, and not for generations as in the reserves. The median period of residence

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit., p.72.

2] There are also legal restrictions on the accommodation of "squatters". See Act 18/36, Chapter 7. Getting permission is not so important unless the landlord has to register tenants.

for people who own land is 12 years, and for tenants 4 years.

The community can most easily be divided into three groups. There are the small group of original settlers and their children, who began with the exodus from Verulam. Then there are the people who, particularly since 1913 and 1936, have come into the area, settled down and bought land; finally, there are the tenants.

With the exception of Shongweni, the land on which the people live is held on a system of communal tenure. The administration still regards the people as being subject to the traditional authority of their chiefs. There has been an attempt to fuse the two major streams of history to which the people have been subjected. The idea is to maintain, on the one hand, traditional political institutions, even where these are garbed in the less familiar form of the elected Kholwa chief, and to assert, on the other hand, the power which the White administration has to direct, guide and organise the life of the people.

PART II : THE EXTERNAL SYSTEM -  
SOME INFLUENCES FROM OUTSIDE

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

We have noted that while internal friction within the Zulu nation was causing a great upheaval in the lives of the Africans, a new important factor was beginning to dominate the history of Natal. The infiltration of Whites, from a mere trickle of traders and missionaries, eventually became a stream of settlers. The significance of this must be seen in the concessions of land, granted by successive Zulu kings. These had the effect of distinguishing Natal south of the Tukela from Zululand north of the Tukela. Those Zulu who settled south of the Tukela did so only with the approval of the new overlords, the Whites. The development of some form of control and administration was therefore inevitable.

1. Shepstone's Administration (In the 19th Century):

The creation of chiefdoms (described in the previous chapter) took place as people settled in what was called the district of Natal. These developments took place with the cognizance and eventually with the active support of Theophilus Shepstone, who had been appointed Diplomatic Agent

to the Natives in 1845<sup>1]</sup>. Shepstone's name has become linked with a system of administration, but his ideas and techniques were developed over a long period while he was dealing with day-to-day problems of administration. The 1846-7 Commission, of which he was a member, had proposed that certain areas of land be set aside as locations, and that these should be directly administered by White officials. The British Government accepted the principle of creating locations (or reserves) but rejected the administrative proposals as being too costly.

Shepstone made one further proposal which was to be a solution to the problem. He was prepared to "lead" the excess African population over the southern boundary of the colony, the Umzimkulu River, and to rule over them there. This policy was disapproved by his immediate superior, Lt. Governor Pine, and also by Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape<sup>2]</sup>. As a result Shepstone acted merely as an administrator.

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- 1] For general reading on Shepstone and his administration, see Brookes, op. cit.  
 Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit.  
 De Kiewiet, C.W. (1937): The Imperial Factor in South Africa: Oxford University Press, London.  
 Young, Lindsay (1951): "The Native Policy of Benjamin Pine in Natal": Argief Jaarboek vir Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis: 14de Jaargang, Deel II : Government Printer, Cape Town.  
 Sullivan, J.R. (1928): The Native Policy of Sir Theophilus Shepstone : Snashal & Walker, Johannesburg.  
 Wolfson, F. (1946) : Some Aspects of Native Administration in Natal under Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs 1857-75 : Unpublished Master's Thesis (University of the Witwatersrand).
- 2] See Young, op. cit.  
 Theal, G.M. (1886): The Republic of Natal and the Pondo Tribe: Saul Solomon, Cape Town, (Wm. Hiddingh Society Reprint Series, No. 16, Cape Town).

He remained Diplomatic Agent until 1857, and thereafter till 1875 was Secretary for Native Affairs. He created a system of administration which depended greatly on his personal prestige, and on the recognition of the indigenous institutions of the people.

Between 1847 and 1864 the policy of setting aside land as reserves was consolidated, and since that date only negligible amounts of land have been added to or taken from the original allocations. There was, for many years, no certainty about legal title to the land.

There was doubt whether title should be vested in the Lt. Governor, or in each individual tribe. There was a recommendation (by the 1846-7 Commission) that land be made "into freehold grants for Natives whose improved conditions of life rendered such action desirable"<sup>1]</sup>.

Lt. Governor Pine (1850-55) was eager to dispose of land to individual Africans (he also wished to create smaller reserves interspersed between the White farming population). Shepstone, although not opposed to the idea of individual tenure<sup>2]</sup>, opposed the granting of title to tribes. The problem was finally settled in 1864 when Letters Patent<sup>3]</sup> constituted a Natal Native Trust. This was achieved during the term of office of Lt. Governor Scott, whose outspoken comments on the

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1] G.N. 1.12.1848.

2] Shepstone to Secretary of Natal Government, 26th April, 1848.

3] DD. 27th April, 1864.

attitude of colonists towards the African moved the Colonial Office to guarantee the rights which had been granted as far back as 1846<sup>1]</sup>. The Trust, which consisted of the Executive Council of the Colony, had general title to all locations and mission reserves.

The African population was under the jurisdiction of magistrates who were assisted by "Administrators of Native Law", who interpreted the "Native Law" which had been recognised. Shepstone's difficulty was to persuade the (British) Government to give recognition to "Native Law". The first Recorder of Natal, Henry Cloete, strenuously opposed this recognition, insisting that the original proclamation (of annexation) did not allow for discrimination in the eyes of the law and that Roman Dutch Law should apply. Shepstone, however, won partial recognition of the Zulu Law, which was to be applied when it was not "repugnant to natural law and justice".

At the same time the office of Supreme Chief, with certain extraordinary powers, was created. When, later in the century, the Colonial Parliament codified the Zulu Law, the Supreme Chief's powers were expressly defined in the code.

"The Supreme Chief exercised all political power over Natives in Natal; he appointed and removed chiefs; he decided questions of heirship to deceased chiefs; he could divide and amalgamate tribes; he might remove tribes or portions of tribes or individual natives;

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1] Theunissen, A.B. (1936): Natal Under Lieutenant Governor Scott 1856-1864 : (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of South Africa (Natal), pp. 47-58, Chapter V).



he might call out armed men or levies and had power to call upon natives to supply labour for public works; he was the upper guardian of native orphans and minors; he could punish political offenders and impose penalties for disobedience to his orders; he might impose a fine upon a native community as a whole for suppressing evidence of a crime; and finally, his actions as Supreme Chief were not cognisable by the courts"<sup>1]</sup>.

The Supreme Chief as envisaged by Shepstone and later administrators was an administrative fiction based on their interpretation of the Zulu kingship. At the time the office was created (in 1849) the Zulu kingship had only been in existence for 33 years. All three incumbents had thus far been brothers and a royal line had not yet been established.

Concurrently with the creation of the office of the Supreme Chief, Shepstone recognised the tribal system and the tribal leaders as the chiefs. He granted chiefs limited civil and criminal jurisdiction to hear cases according to Zulu Law. A special court of appeal consisting of himself and the governor, was created to hear appeals in cases decided according to Zulu Law.

Shepstone's contemporaries were critical of his use

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1] Rodgers, op. cit., p.2.

of chiefs, and the creation of locations<sup>1]</sup>. The colonists, for reasons of their own, became vociferous critics, but his superiors were not completely convinced. Thus Governor Pine could write to the Secretary of State that "Magistrates have been a means of checking the tyranny of chiefs over their people and gradually diminishing their powers"<sup>2]</sup>. Even the policy of setting aside land as locations held in trust for the Africans, a policy which Shepstone vigorously defended against the colonists, was described by Lt. Governor Scott, (whose evaluation of colonial attitudes was less flattering than Shepstone's) as a temporary measure. "I also trust that the time will come when native locations have no place on the map of Natal", he wrote to the Secretary of State in 1858<sup>3]</sup>.

Shepstone defended his recognition of the chief and other institutions on the grounds of the "perilous disruptions

1] The colonists' criticism of Shepstone centred on the fact that they wanted a system of continuous and cheap labour, and that they did not want to be burdened with the expense of administering the locations. The first regulations for the control of labour were issued as early as 1850, and magistrates were continually being asked to "use their legitimate influence to cause chiefs to induce young men to enter service". (Cf. G.N. No. 64 dd. 28.9.1852). The direct taxation of Africans began in 1849 when a hut tax of 7/- per hut was levied. (See G.N. 12.1.1849). In 1852 the Kaffir Commission, of which Shepstone was a member but which was dominated by the colonists, criticised the large grants of land made available to Africans; the terrain so set aside because it was militarily indefensible; the use made of chiefs because they were the "fountain head of barbarism"; and referred continuously to the fact that the locations locked up too much labour.

2] Young, op. cit., p.246.

3] Lt. Governor Scott to the Secretary of State (enclosure 88/58, 30.11.1858).

which would follow a sudden abolition of the tribal system"<sup>1]</sup>. Yet he admitted in 1848<sup>2]</sup> that only half the people then living in Natal fell under their hereditary chiefs. He recognised that there were limitations to this system. He noted with pride<sup>3]</sup> that since he took over as Diplomatic Agent the chiefs considered themselves as hereditary representatives<sup>4]</sup> (his italics), of the government (and not of their people). Later when criticised by his fellow colonists, he was to say that "the presence of civilised government has necessarily a direct tendency towards breaking up of chieftainships. It does so by degrees but the process will undoubtedly continue....."<sup>5]</sup>.

The return to the pre-Shakan clan system by Shepstone in fact was ignoring an important revolution which had taken place in Zululand itself. It has been argued<sup>6]</sup> that the assumption of the kingship by Shaka and the unification of the Zulu nation made explicit by this act, was not fortuitous. The Zulu Nguni did not continue to develop as a semi-independent series of small tribes, because the mode of shifting agriculture needed unlimited land for expansion. Where the

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1] Wolfson, op. cit., Chapter IV.

2] Shepstone to Secretary of State, 14th August, 1848 (S.N.A. 1:8:9).

3] Evidence: Kaffir Commission, 28.1.1853 (answer to Question 346).

4] Shepstone to Secretary of State, 14th August, 1848 (S.N.A. 1:8:9).

5] Evidence: Kaffir Commission, 28.1.1853 (answer to Question 346).

6] Gluckman, M. (1958) "Analysis of a Social Situation in modern Zululand" : Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 28. Manchester University Press.

continual process of fission and segmentation could not take place, the hierarchical political and social organisation of the Zulu made centralisation, and consequently the birth of the Zulu nation, inevitable. The reasons for these changes were presumably not unconnected with events elsewhere in Southern Africa. The pressure on land at the beginning of the 19th Century could not have been all that heavy, but the events on the Eastern Frontier (where Whites and Africans were beginning to become embroiled in a series of frontier wars in which the foundations of a new society were being laid), sent ripples back into Zululand, just as the depredations of Shaka later affected the Eastern frontier<sup>1]</sup>. Centralisation and unification took place amongst the Zulus. Shepstone ignored this and reverted to small clan chiefdoms without removing the forces in favour of centralisation and consolidation. One is forced to consider the possibility that the system Shepstone selected was moribund before he started. However, the official view of the Department of Native Affairs (now the Department of Bantu Administration and Development) is that policy in Natal was to "codify and recognise Native Law, maintain and perpetuate the tribal system and the authority of the chiefs, and to govern the Natives insofar as possible according to their own ideas and institutions"<sup>2]</sup>.

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1] Walker, E.H., (1957): A History of Southern Africa: Longmans Green, London, (3rd ed.), Chapter VII, p.181 et seq.

See also De Kiewiet, C.W. (1942): A History of South Africa, Social and Economic: Oxford University Press, London.

2] Rodgers, H., (1949): Native Administration in the Union of South Africa: Second ed., Revised by P.A. Linington, Government Printer, Pretoria, p.5.

## 2. The Present-Day Administration:

The present system of administration shows many clear connections with the Shepstonian system of administration evolved in Natal. The "Supreme Chief" is the President of the Republic of South Africa, who "shall be vested with all such rights, immunities, powers and authorities in respect of all Natives as are or may be from time to time vested in him in respect of Natives in the Province of Natal"<sup>1]</sup>. Since 1956 the powers of the Supreme Chief have been extended to the Cape, and they now apply throughout South Africa.

The State President is the Supreme Chief because of his constitutional position. He, in conjunction with the executive (the Cabinet), implements the laws which parliament makes. Parliament is the sovereign legislature of the country, but extensive subsidiary powers are vested in the State President in Council as they affect African affairs. The Supreme Chief has the power to legislate by proclamation. The Department defends a system which "by its flexibility and elasticity makes it possible for the administration to meet rapidly the ever-changing needs of primitive people emerging from barbarism"<sup>2]</sup>.

Apart from these legislative powers which the Supreme Chief exercises (limited only by the necessity of tabling each

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1] Sec. 1 Act U.G. No. 38/1927, refers to the Governor-General, who after the Union became a Republic, was transformed into the State President.

2] Rodgers, H., op. cit., p.20

proclamation before both houses), Parliament has the right to make, and had made, laws affecting the African population. These include inter alia the Land Act (No. 27 of 1913), which provides for the segregation of Black and White, and confirms the Natal system of reserves throughout the country; the Native Administration Act (No. 38 of 1927), provides for the extension of the Natal system of administration throughout South Africa. The Separate Representation of Voters' Act (No. 12 of 1936) removed the Africans in the Cape from the common voters' roll and placed them on a separate roll. It also created a Native Representative Council. The Native Land and Trust Act (No. 18 of 1936) extends the system of Trusts as developed in Natal to the rest of South Africa. This Act also makes the final allocation of land promised under the Land Act of 1913. The Native Urban Areas Act (No. 25 of 1945) consolidated legislation in relation to Africans in urban areas dating mostly from 1923. This Act, with successive amendments, makes possible very strict control within any proclaimed urban area. It is also important to the rurally based African because it controls the flow of labour into proclaimed urban areas. The Bantu Authorities Act (No. 68 of 1951) is described by its protagonists as a "return to the traditional Bantu democracy"<sup>1]</sup>.

The latter Act, in common with the Native Administration Act, recognises an office of "Chief" and a group "tribe", and seeks to build a series of local authorities on this basis.

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1] Rhoodie, N.J. and Venter, H.J. (1960): Apartheid : H.A.U.M., Cape Town, p.226.

Firstly, there are tribal authorities with the Chief-in-Council and a Treasury; then there are district authorities which will, in a district such as Ndwedwe, bring together the separate tribal authorities. Finally, there are territorial authorities such as the authority which replaced the Transkeian Territories General Council (Bunga) in 1956<sup>1]</sup>. This act also abolished the Natives Representative Council established under the legislation of 1936. The promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (No. 46 of 1959), is also regarded by supporters as a measure designed to enable "political development to take place under a policy of separate development"<sup>2]</sup>. The Act abolishes the limited, direct parliamentary representation allowed to Africans, on a separate roll, in the Cape. It creates the office of Commissioner-General, who represents the Government in each of the seven ethnic groups, and at the same time represents the views of the officials in charge of the ethnic group to the Government. The Act envisages the "gradual development of self-governing Bantu National Units"<sup>3]</sup>, still however, under "responsible guidance by White guardians on the basis of creative self-withdrawal"<sup>4]</sup>.

The powers extended to the Supreme Chief, and delegated to various officials have in no way been limited by

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1] Proclamation No. 180 of the 31:1:1956.

2] Rhodie and Venter, op. cit., p.226.

3] Ibid., p.227.

4] Ibid., p.228.

these acts; control is still exercised and maintained in the hands of the executive and the bureaucracy. Though a number of tribal, district, and regional authorities have been formed, Ndwedwe district has not yet accepted them.

The trend in recent legislation has been, particularly by amendment, to already existing legislation, to limit freedom of movement and association. The power of the Administration has always been separate and unique.

Parliament, though it is the supreme legislative body, has no representation of the African people as a member. Before 1959 a limited number of three in the Lower House, and four in the Upper House, directly represented the Africans. Since 1920 there has been a Statutory Commission (Native Affairs Commission) to aid Parliament in its deliberations with regard to the African population.

The original intention was that the Commission was to act independently of the Minister, and thereby act as a check on him<sup>1]</sup>. Since 1956 this aim has been completely changed: the members of the Commission have been given "portfolios", and they now serve as an adjunct of the Minister.

The Minister for Bantu Administration and Development

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1] Lord Hailey, (1956): An African Survey: Oxford University Press, London : Third revised ed. p.432.



is the political head of his department. He, and the Minister for Bantu Education, between them are responsible for all but minor aspects of the administration of the African population. The size and scope of the works of these two departments, and the peculiar powers which vest in either of the Ministers, or in the Supreme Chief, make the departments unique among the Departments of State.

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development views its essential functions as being "to assist, guide, protect and generally subserve the interests of a large, under-developed and for the most part inarticulate Native population which is rapidly emerging from barbarism, and is in the process faced with the necessity of accommodating itself to a novel and highly complex environment while at the same time its own tribal organisation, control, discipline, customs and traditions are rapidly and inevitably breaking down with the ever increasing impact of European standards of life. It must in the widest sense govern the Native population in their own areas; provide special tribunals for the determination of disputes according to their own laws and customs, in so far as such are recognised by the law of the land; it must regulate the ownership and occupation of land in Native locations and reserves and must inculcate among people improved methods of agriculture and stock raising so as to ensure beneficial occupation of Native Areas; it must provide facilities for the dipping and cleansing of stock; it is concerned to secure for the people such educational facilities as are best suited to their present state of development."<sup>1]</sup>

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1] Rodgers, op. cit., p.15.

The Administrative Staff in the departments is headed by a Secretary, who has under secretaries responsible for such matters as urban development, rural development and agricultural development. The Department is divided into seven areas, each presided over by a Chief Bantu Commissioner, responsible to the Secretary. The Chief Bantu Commissioner in Natal is stationed in Pietermaritzburg. Though the Chief Bantu Commissioner is an important official and exercises supervisory rights over the Commissioners, he does not make policy, but merely executes it. Under the Chief Bantu Commissioner there are various "Bantu Commissioners". Generally speaking, the office of the Bantu Commissioner and Magistrate coincide in districts where there are few or no members of other races living. There are only 15 of these districts in Zululand and Natal. Commissioners in these districts are officers of the Bantu Administration Department. They may act as Commissioners in the same magisterial districts as magistrates, who are members of the Department of Justice, if the Commissioner deals only with the Africans living in that district. In a few districts the magistrate, who is an official of the Department of Justice, may also act as Commissioner.

The Assistant Magistrate at Camperdown (in which district Shongweni falls) is the Commissioner. Ndwedwe, however, because it is an exclusively African area, has a Magistrate who is also the Commissioner and an officer of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

The position of the Commissioner is not analagous to that of the magistrate. He has the same jurisdiction as a

magistrate, but has more administrative work than the magistrate. His unique position is, however, due to the fact that he must administer with "tact and efficiency" the laws and regulations made to apply to Africans. He must also "make himself acquainted with the customs and histories of the tribes" under his jurisdiction; ensure the people "receive prompt attention when they come to his office"; and at all times "show patience and sympathy when listening to their grievances and difficulties". He must also keep the people, on the one hand, and the Department on the other, informed of latest policy decisions and the "state of local opinion"<sup>1]</sup>.

The importance of the Commissioner is not only that he is a judicial officer, (he shares this distinction with his fellow magistrates), but he also symbolises the Government (Uhulumeni) (and the State) to the people<sup>2]</sup>. He is the personification of the State, "the Magistrate (Umantshi) has the strength (mandla) of the Government". Furthermore, he personifies the cleavage which separates White from Black; he is the living symbol of the power exercised by the Whites. His position is also unique because he never meets the people over whom he is appointed except in his official role. Either he meets them in court where he sits as a judicial official, or

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1] Rodgers, op. cit., p.9.

2] While it is necessary to distinguish the Administration (i.e. the civil servants who implement day-to-day details of policy) from the Government which frames such policy, it is not always possible for the people to make this distinction. They do not often make the distinction between the Uhulumeni (Government) and Umantshi (Magistrate, i.e. the Administrative Official).

in his office as an administrative official. When he, as part of his duties, does a tour of his district, he is greeted with deference wherever he goes. Meetings which he addresses rise when he appears; he is given the royal salute before he speaks and when he sits down<sup>1]</sup>. People may sit when he addresses them in groups, but in personal interviews people are expected to stand in his presence.

The Commissioner is aided by other officials, both Black and White. African clerks in a situation where they deal with a large African population have a unique role to play. It is administrative policy to use more African clerks in "their own" areas provided they do not occupy a position superior to any White clerks in the same office. The effect of employing these clerks is obvious in districts such as Ndwedwe, where the African staff actually outnumber the White staff<sup>2]</sup>.

The importance of the African clerk is that as an African he has been recruited to work within the Administration. He is recruited for his ability to perform the services normally expected of a clerk, and is therefore an integrated,

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1] This deference is graded for other White officials. Every official has a title which will be used, but none are given the royal salute. People always stand when they speak to officials.

2] The Commissioner is assisted by an Assistant Commissioner (White) and one White clerk. There are two African interpreter clerks, two recorders, and one secretary of the school board.

though subordinate, part of the Administration<sup>1]</sup>. The clerk may not be in a position to take decisions, but he is in a unique position to give people advice. The clerks, though they work with the White officials and are therefore better able to "study" the Government to see what it really wishes, are nevertheless separated from their White colleagues by the conventions of the society. For this reason Africans feel that they can approach the clerks more freely than White officials, and the former are therefore important as a source of information. Clerks are aware of this, and they are also aware that their importance depends on their relationships within the administration. As a result they have earned sobriquets like Iqhude Lamantshi, (the Magistrate's cockerel), meaning that they very rarely do something for you without "crowing about their performance of the deed".

The range of duties of a Bantu Commissioner is

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1] Sherwood, Ray, (1958): "The Bantu Clerk: A Study in Role Expectations": Journal of Social Psychology, p.47. "Thus the expectations that White Supervisors are likely to have of Bantu clerks will follow in major outlines, the western stereotype of a clerk, i.e. that he is submissive, equable, self-effacing, methodical and controlled. In the non-literate, tribal culture of the Bantu, there would, of course, be no cultural role approximating to that of a clerk or scribe. In the process of acculturation the western concept of the role of the clerk would inevitably be communicated to and gradually assimilated by the emergent middle class Bantu, but as the behaviour which implies has no congruence with anything in the original Bantu culture, it seems likely that the role expectations of the Bantu clerks themselves would be less stereotyped than those held by the White Supervisors, and that there would be lower degrees of consensus among the members of this group than among White Supervisors".

indicated by the following picture for Ndwedwe<sup>1]</sup>, where over a period of five years, the Bantu Commissioner of Ndwedwe spent 18% of his time on the bench, 36% doing administrative work, and 52% doing book (or clerical) work. The relevant figures for the rest of his staff were 6% judicial, 8% administrative and 86% clerical.

The Commissioner must try all criminal cases which fall within his jurisdiction. Those which do not, must be dealt with as preparatory examinations. He may also hear cases between "Native and Native" where "Native Law" may be applied. "Native Law" as applied in Natal, is the Natal Native Code which has been issued as a proclamation by the Supreme Chief<sup>2]</sup>. Appeals from a Magistrate's decision lie with the Supreme Court. Appeals from the decision made in cases involving Native Law, lie with a special Native Appeal Court. The Commissioner must also hear cases which are brought up from Chiefs' Courts on appeal. These cases, which have been heard in duly constituted Chiefs' Courts<sup>3]</sup>, may be appealed to the Commissioner, who hears the whole case de novo before he gives his judgement. The Commissioner is also concerned with what the Department calls "Quasi Judicial Functions". These

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1] I wish to thank the Commissioner of Ndwedwe and his staff for supplying much of the information used here.

2] Proclamation No. 168 of 1932.

3] Section 12, Act No. 38 of 1927: Regulations G.N. 2886/51.

include matters such as the conducting of inquests, and also specialised matters such as the hearing of cases of adultery which (under the Code) are felonies<sup>1]</sup>.

The Commissioner's Court<sup>2]</sup> was intended as a simple and inexpensive tribunal to settle disputes among Africans. It has somewhat wider jurisdiction than the Magistrate's Court has, and it can decide certain cases according to "Native Law". The Chiefs' Courts and the Commissioner's Courts are both intended to serve as special courts for Africans. This quality of separation is also applied in the role of the Native Appeal Courts, which ultimately are presided over by officials rather than independent judicial officers. The result is that the system, though cheaper (often because of the exclusion of lawyers) draws personnel from people who are usually commissioners. Appeals are thus often heard by persons with the same background, experience and qualifications as the original trial courts. The result is that many of the decisions handed down by these courts are of poor quality<sup>3]</sup>.

Much of the work of the Commissioner's office concerns the investigation of complaints and disputes, such as land disputes, which are treated as "administrative enquiries". The Commissioner acts in his administrative capacity in listening to these disputes, and people may not therefore be represented

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1] Section 162 of the Natal Native Code (proclaimed under Proclamation No. 168 of 1932).

2] See Simons, H.J. (1949): "The Law and Its Administration" in E. Hellman (ed) Handbook of Race Relations of South Africa: Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

3] Ibid., p.56.

by attorneys. Appeals from such administrative decisions lie with the Chief Bantu Commissioner. There are an average of 18 land disputes adjudicated annually, and between 45 to 50 "other disputes". These are specified separately, but range from succession to the chieftainship and to problems of compensation when roads are built across people's lands. The settlement of these disputes must inevitably depend on the presentation of the dispute and the general experience of the Commissioner. Commissioners were not, in the past, trained specifically for their offices<sup>1]</sup>, and despite changes in recent years, no formal provision is made for theoretical instructions to guide these officials in the execution of their duty. To this extent it has been the view that public administration does not constitute a technical activity.

A Commissioner is also responsible for the income and expenditure of monies within his districts. Money is received from the poll tax, licence fees, and local tax. To this must be added monies received from the Department, the South African Native Trust, and other bodies (e.g. the Provincial Authorities). Average income over the last 5 years has been R24,000-00 at Ndwedwe and average expenditure has been R62,000-00. The financial arrangements in the district must also include the arranging for, and the paying of, tribal levies. Levies are authorised by the Minister when they have been requested by the tribes, for purposes which the Minister may approve<sup>2]</sup>. A levy

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1] See Simons, H.J. (1949): "The Law and Its Administration" in E. Mellman (Ed.) Handbook of Race Relations of South Africa: Oxford University Press, Cape Town, pp. 55-56.

2] Ibid., pp. 55-56 for a discussion of the problems raised.



of 50 cents per taxpayer was in fact levied on all tribes within the Ndwedwe district for the years 1956/7/8<sup>1]</sup>.

Grants paid by commercial firms to ex-employees or to their dependants can be fetched from the Commissioner's office, which sees that they are paid to the proper person. The office is also responsible for the issuing of special liquor permits (approximately 25 per annum); registration of marriages (customary unions) 110 per annum<sup>2]</sup>; registration of births not only at the office, but also those reported by the dipping tank assistants; registration of deaths in similar manner to births; the election of boards (and if they exist, District Council); the recording of the activities of chiefs, their number, their jurisdiction, the number of cases as recorded in their casebooks; the registration and issuing of unemployment insurance<sup>3]</sup>; the granting of permission to extra-Republic Natives to reside (temporarily or permanently); the licensing of medicine men under the Code<sup>4]</sup>; the issuing of licences for

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- 1] Section 15 (i) Native Taxation and Development Act. No.41 of 1925.
- 2] A customary union is a civil contract entered into and between intending partners, and endures until the death of the first dying, unless dissolved by a competent court of law. Section 57 (1) Code (Proclamation No. 168 of 1932).
- 3] Changes in 1947 and 1957 raised the minimum wages for effective contribution from R364 to R546 per annum. Nevertheless, there are people who qualified for payments from the inception of the Act (1946) till these changes were made.
- 4] Section 120 (1) No. 168 of 1932.

general dealers, hawkers, etc.<sup>1]</sup>.

The working of the system of Bantu Education must be supervised by the Commissioner. This entails supervision of the working of the school board and of the various school committees. Travelling to and from meetings, travelling to pay out pensions, and paying visits to various sections of the district (which the Commissioner is expected to do at least once a year), amounts to almost 4,000 miles a year<sup>2]</sup>.

The Commissioner and his office have to arrange for the registration of work-seekers; they have to report applications to their regional bureau; and they have to report back vacancies to their local applicants. They have to issue new reference books to males (and females) who require them, and they have to re-issue books which have been lost.

Throughout the year, the office is responsible for the payment of pensions (these are made by cheque from Pretoria but are distributed and cashed locally). Pensions include old age pensions (1,200); blind (34); and disability pensions (234). These are made available once every two months at six centres throughout the district.

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1] In this respect the Ndwedwe district forms a licensing board with the neighbouring district of Inanda.

2] There are 153 miles of road in the district.

The activities of the South African Native Trust also fall within the purview of the Commissioner. The office must care for and maintain the buildings (11); the stud bulls on the betterment scheme, the land reserved for forest (approximately 1,708 morgen), the roads (approximately 153 miles), bridges (5), and dipping tanks (23), which are the property of the South African Native Trust.

Apart from the clerical staff, there are also certain technical officers (such as the Agricultural Officer), and apprenticed officer, and Inspector of Roads, and a Dipping Inspector. There are also the members of the South African Police (one White sergeant, two White constables, one African sergeant and seven African constables). The Department of Prisons also maintains a prison with one White male and one White female warder and two African sub-warders.

The relatively small staff is assisted by certain officials who are "recognised" by the Administration. Chiefs are subject to appointment by the State President who "may recognise or appoint any person as Chief"<sup>1]</sup>. The Administration has in fact made use of this provision on a number of occasions. Since about 1900 there have been 44 different chiefs for the various tribal units. There have been during this time, 25 "acting chiefs" (i.e. regents). Of the chiefs, 6 have been deposed at one time or another, and 3 have been suspended from office for various periods.

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1] Section 2 (VII) Act No. 38 of 1927. The methods by which this is done in practice will be discussed below.

The State President may also "define any boundary of any tribe and may from time to time alter the same"<sup>1]</sup>. The Administration has availed itself of these powers on a number of occasions. Two tribes were disestablished after complicity in the Bambata Rebellion of 1906. A section of the one was re-established in 1922, and a section of another in 1937. Two tribes were amalgamated in 1937<sup>2]</sup>, and in 1956 the two Kholwa communities at Inanda and Thafamasi were disestablished.

The activities of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in the rural areas range widely, and involve it in much work. It is not assisted in its administrative duties in a district such as Ndwedwe by a local Council representing the people.

There is a tendency among the people to distinguish between those things they themselves do, and those things which are "of the Government". This has important repercussions on the form of local authority which the Administration chooses to use<sup>3]</sup>. The activities of the Department are, of course, not limited to the rural areas. Africans are controlled in the urban areas as well. That, however, falls outside the scope of this study.

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1] Section 5 (1), Act No. 38 of 1927.

2] See Chapter II.

3] See Chapter VIII.

### 3. The Participation of People in the Administration Today (1950's and 1960's).

There are not, apart from official contacts with the Commissioner, many ways in which people can participate in administration. Where clerks are employed, it is only in subservient positions<sup>1]</sup>. There is only one Statutory Board in either of the three communities. This is the Mission Reserve Board (Nkomidhi) which functions at Inanda. The Board was instituted in 1919<sup>2]</sup> to assist in the administration of the reserve. It was not affected by the disestablishment of the Kholwa tribe in 1956. Each Board consists of five members who hold office for a year, and members are nominated - (the people say "elected") - by a public meeting of local taxpayers. Their membership is confirmed by the Chief Native Commissioner who thereby actually makes the appointment.

As an integral part of the Mission Reserve, the Board's functions are closely tied up with those of the Mission Reserve Chief and will be dealt with later. Membership of the Board is not always eagerly sought. In the last 22 years, the average length of membership has been three years at Inanda, and five years at Thafamasi. The members at Inanda are all members of the Kholwa community and are in the case of the present Board,

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1] The appointment of an African District Surgeon in a neighbouring magisterial district was announced. This is the first time this has happened. Africans are being trained in the Transkei to take over as Magistrates. They have, however, not yet assumed duties.

2] G.N. No. 621 of 1919.

all except one, either men with businesses either in the community, or in Durban. In contrast, the Board at Thafamasi has (and has had for many years), two representatives of the Shangase people. One member is a small shopkeeper, two are ordinary labourers in town, and a third is a "Father" of the Shangase Chief who once held high office in the tribe. He was, however, disgraced (ngcolisa), and had to relinquish his tribal office. He subsequently became a member of the committee. He is not a Christian.

The Council system, as it existed in the Transkei and Ciskei, was not introduced in any of the three communities, although there was considerable propaganda made for its acceptance by the Administration during the 1930's. Since the abolition of the Council system and the introduction of the system of Bantu Authorities (from 1951 onwards) considerable propaganda has been made for people to accept such authorities. Thus far the people have refused to accept them, and the description of the system that follows refers to administration where Bantu Authorities have not yet been introduced.

Under the system of Bantu Education there are also school committees which control each Bantu community school and there is a school board which controls the school committees. These will be dealt with in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VIITHE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY AND FORMAL EDUCATION:

Formal administration was not the only technique of change which came with the Whites. Historically the missionary and the school (which often accompanied his work), appeared amongst Africans long before the Magistrate. This was also the case in Natal.

Christianity and formal schooling are among the factors which strike at some of the roots of traditional social organisation and adjustment, and which may necessitate many changes: Changes in the cult of the ancestor are likely to disturb the ritual position of the chief, or king, especially where his followers are actively abjured to cease "heathen practices" which served to integrate his followers. Formal education also opens the way for people to achieve status outside the traditional organisation - something which is also destructive of the chief's authority. The process, is, however by no means straightforward. The rate of Christianisation and the rate at which education is made available to the people is a factor which must be taken into consideration. The position of both Christian and educated Africans must also be considered. Rightly or wrongly older generations regard Christianity and education as means by which they would emancipate themselves from older tribal ways. Within the South African context however, it was not possible for people, even as members of the same faith with similar educational attainments, to achieve the status of the dominant White group. To

the extent that neither Christianity nor education have completely emancipated the African, they have been forced to accept, or in the case of the Separatist Church to re-interpret, their social attitudes. In this sense Christianity and education in the South African context have not been able to break down the position and authority of the chief altogether.

Christianity and education are no longer regarded as synonymous. Many people who profess to be traditionalists no longer object to their children going to school. The close association between missionaries and education was ended in 1953 when education was formally taken over by the State. The religious affiliation of the Ndwedwe and Inanda samples is shown in Table VIII, (over the page).

As the table shows, in terms of the total population sampled, both the Ndwedwe and Inanda communities are predominantly Christian - this is particularly so at Inanda, where less than one-twentieth were traditionalist in terms of religion. At Ndwedwe, however, about two-fifths of the total were traditionalist, and it is worth noting that over half of the adults, (in contrast to under a third of the minors), were traditionalist. Christianity has obviously made more converts amongst the younger than the older generation. At Shongweni the picture is also one of a predominantly Christian



TABLE VIII.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF AFRICANS IN THE NDWEDWE AND INANDA SAMPLES (Sample 'A').

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	NDWEDWE						INANDA					
	No. of Persons			Percentages			No. of Persons			Percentages		
	Adults	Minors	Total	Adults	Minors	Total	Adults	Minors	Total	Adults	Minors	Total
Tradition- alist )	826	370	1196	52.6	30.8	41.7	18	3	21	6.9	1.3	4.3
Non-Christ- tian )												
Orthodox Christian )	577	633	1310	36.7	52.8	45.6	212	191	403	80.9	83.0	81.9
Separatist) Christian )	110	196	306	7.0	16.4	10.7	32	36	68	12.2	15.7	13.8
Other	58	-	58	3.7	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>1571</b>	<b>1199</b>	<b>2870</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>492</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(Kholwa) community, where 83% are converts<sup>1]</sup>.

The preponderance of church members are women and children<sup>2]</sup> which means that religion is a personal rather than an Umuzi matter. The large number of children who go to church do so because of the influence of their mothers. There is no guarantee that once they have grown up they will not relapse or become apathetic. This happens in the case of many men who disclaim any church membership, and who have turned to the traditionalist worship of the ancestors, or who place greater faith in the workings of the magicians.

The history of mission work in Natal is almost as old as permanent White settlement. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which is still the largest group in the Ndwedwe District, was established in Natal as

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1] Orthodox churches are any of the recognised churches in the country. Separatist churches are any churches (whether recognised by the Government or not) controlled exclusively by Africans. The following is a list in descending order of membership of churches I came across in Ndwedwe:-

American Board for Foreign Missions (Congregationalist) -  
Orthodox.

Church of the Province (Anglican) - Orthodox.

Church of South Africa (Sobantu) (Anglican) - Orthodox.

Nazarite Church (Shembe) - Separatist.

Full Gospel Church - Orthodox.

Methodist Church - Orthodox.

Roman Catholic - Orthodox.

Zulu Congregational - Separatist.

Ibandla Lika Krestu - Separatist.

2] Cf. Wilson et al., op. cit., pp. 133-134.

early as 1835. The Mission Station at Inanda was started by Daniel Lindley in 1847. The influence of the Christians can be seen far beyond the confines of the duly established Kholwa communities.

1. The American Board for Foreign Missions<sup>1]</sup>:

The American Board's first missionaries, Adams, Lindley and Grout, were amongst the earliest Whites to settle in Natal. They began missionary work in 1835. Their primary objective was to create a self-supporting, self-governing Zulu church, the Bantu Congregational Church. To achieve this aim it was necessary not only to educate and train their catechists but also to provide education for their converts. The achievements of the Board in education are written large in the annals of Natal and South Africa. Adams College was an original Board School and, before it was closed down and reconstituted as the Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College in 1956, had an excellent reputation in African education. The Inanda Girls' Seminary is still under the direct control of the Board.

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1] Any adequate history of Natal tells of the part played by the American Mission. Additional material includes:-  
 Smith, E.W. (1949) : The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley, op. cit.;  
 Kotze, D.J. (ed) (1950): Letters of the American Missionaries, 1835-1838, van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town;  
 Kotze, D.J. (ed) (1958): "Die Eerste Amerikaanse Sendelinge onder die Zoeloes, 1835-1838": Argief Jaarboek vir Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis; Printed by National Commercial Printers Ltd, Elsie's River for the Government Printer.  
 American Zulu Mission: South African Deputation Papers, 1904. The Rev. A.F. Christoferson had prepared a manuscript on the history of the Mission. He very kindly allowed me to see sections of this work. It is intended that it should be published in due course.

Besides these two institutions there were innumerable other schools founded by the Board. These have all been taken over by the Department of Bantu Education in 1954. The Board also interested itself in welfare, and was instrumental in starting and supporting such institutions as the McCord Zulu Hospital in Durban, and the Bridgman Memorial Hospital in Johannesburg.

The Board laid down that church members were to be converted, baptised, accept Christian doctrines, and become confirmed. Members were to be active in church affairs and were to abandon pagan rituals and worship of the ancestors. The Uazinduzi rules drawn up by the Board also provided that no church member was to be a polygamist; members were to abandon the custom of paying lobola; Church members were not allowed to brew beer and have beer feasts, or to drink intoxicating liquors. They were not allowed to smoke dagga (hemp), and no one was allowed to become a member of the "Ethiopian Church"<sup>1]</sup>. Becoming a Kholwa entailed being "decently dressed"

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1] The Zulu Congregational Church broke away from the American Board in 1896. The difficulties were two-fold: firstly, a misunderstanding about the progress of the Church towards independence, cf., "The burden of this letter was to encourage the Native Church to assume self-support. In translating self-support, a Zulu word was used which may mean either self-support or self-government": F.B. Bridgman in South African Deputation Papers, op. cit., p.11. Sundkler, op. cit., also discusses the position of the American Board and the Ethiopian breakaways, pp. 44-46.

(men were expected to wear trousers and a shirt, and women dresses that covered them "from bosom to knee"); building a "substantial house" (following plans drawn up by the missionaries) - a wattle and daub structure, not a discrete hut, with plastered walls and eventually doors and windows; it also meant that one had to send one's children to school.

To the early converts, education and conversion were the route by which they could achieve the same standards of civilisation enjoyed by the Whites.

The effect of contact with the missionaries was the creation of a feeling among their converts that they were a separate and in some ways privileged community. The Kholwa communities were never very extensive, and tended to form a fairly close group surrounding the missionary, his church, and his school<sup>1]</sup>. There were never enough converts for the Kholwa

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1] The few figures we have show that the size of the Kholwa at Inanda in relation to the neighbouring Qadi was very small indeed.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Qadi Huts</u>	<u>No. of Kholwa Huts</u> (Inanda)
1881	1,085	54
1902	1,512	71
1904 (census)	1,512	69
1909	1,873	70
1955	4,701	231

These figures refer to "huts", although the greater proportion of buildings of the Inanda Kholwa are listed as "other dwellings" meaning European type housing.

The latest available figures refer to taxpayers.

community to claim extensive jurisdiction over the whole mission reserve. Many people never transferred their allegiance to the Kholwa, and organised their life in accordance with the traditional tribal structure already described for the reserves.

Even among the converts, the concept of the Kholwa tribe was never fully accepted. One informant claimed that "being a Christian (was) not a chief's work. My chief is M(Andlakayise)" (i.e. a chief of the neighbouring Qadi tribe). In contrast to this, many Kholwa throughout Natal were proud of being members of a Kholwa tribe. In evidence of this, before the Native Land Commission in 1917, one Kholwa said that "..... From their pleasant present places of residence - I do not think that that is a thing which is proposed by the British Government. Why, Sir? Because by removing us....you will be pushing us back as one of my friends said, 100 years." 1]

Church activity centres on the weekly service on Sundays which brings the congregation together as a group. The larger churches have substantial buildings, usually of stone, and sometimes a resident minister. The church also has a Sunday School, and there are such additional organisations as the Women's Club (Isililo), and Evangelical Clubs such as the Amavoluntia. The attendance at both the ordinary service and at other activities is very small. The Sunday Schools and other church organisations are run on a voluntary basis.

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1] Proceedings Natal Natives Land Commission, U/G 35/18, evidence M.J. Luthuli, p.101.

There is a large measure of participation in Church services: the congregation sings hymns not only at the set time, but also at intervals through the sermon. When the services are under lay leadership, they consist largely of readings from the scripture and "witness" by members of the congregation. It is in these services that the role of women in the church can be most clearly seen. They lead in the singing of hymns, and also confess publicly, and bear witness when they pray<sup>1]</sup>.

2. The Organisation and Government of an American Missions Board Church:

Because of the activities of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Bantu Congregational Church is the largest church in the Ndwedwe and Inanda Communities. It has several well established congregations and in mission reserves such as Inanda is still recognised as the only functioning church. Other churches do exist, but only unofficially<sup>2]</sup>.

The church is usually in the care of a resident

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1] For an excellent description of this type of prayer see Jabavu, N., (1960): Drawn in Colour : John Murray, London, pp. 13-18.

2] At Inanda the adjacent released area allows for a number of different denominations. These include a Roman Catholic Church, the breakaway Zulu Congregational Church. Ekupakameni, the headquarters of the Church of the Nazarene (Shembe), is only a few miles away from Lindleyville.

minister, (Umfundisi). A White minister of the mission church has a supervisory role. He is known as Manameli. The church is organised into a synod (Mkandlu), which consists of the minister and laymen. The synod elects an executive committee (Mlomo), to which in turn the mission church (i.e. the White missionaries) also elect members. The Bantu Congregational Church therefore exists side by side with the mission church. They meet officially on the executive, and the mission church has general supervisory powers. The synod is open to laymen of both sexes. It is responsible for the church policy, and represents for those persons active in church membership an opportunity to take part in the government of the church. Despite the preponderance of women, a minor role in the actual government of the church is played by them.

The committee controls the use of the church building (if there is one). This control is subject to review by the mission church which originally helped towards the cost of putting up the buildings. The church council also controls its own finances, which are collected either in the usual manner during church services, or by donations made by various people from time to time. Members of the council also have to prepare a roster of lay preachers who conduct services in the remoter areas where the minister cannot always be in attendance.

Church government at the local level vests in the minister and his deacons (Amadekoni), elected by the congregation to "help and advise" the minister. Matters of church discipline can be discussed and are discussed, by the deacons. General matters affecting the church will be referred to them by the



minister. The deacons have, however, no say in the appointment (or transfer) of the minister. This is a matter for the mission church.

The church committee at Inanda, for instance, consists of the minister and seven deacons. They are all prominent members of the church. All of them are men, and all live in the mission reserve (though not all in Lindleyville itself). Three of them own stores - one locally and two in town. Two farm locally, one works in town, and one has retired. They are responsible for the minister's salary, and for the upkeep of the church (a handsome structure); for the minister's house, built in 1918 and in great need of either extensive repair or rebuilding. They are also responsible to see that local members remain "in good standing" within the church and that the "commands of the scriptures are obeyed". They sometimes act as a body to assert church discipline or to enquire into difficulties between members, although their role is not clearly defined and is not always decisive. Pregnant women, for instance, may be married (albeit in the minister's "study" and not in the church); occasional drunkenness in members is not censured; premarital children are baptised, and very little stigma attaches to the mother. The unmarried daughter of at least one deacon had had a child, and several prominent members of the congregation have unmarried daughters who are mothers.

The minister acts as an "adviser" to the community round his church. He has a constant stream of visitors asking for advice and guidance. This is largely due to the fact that the "Umfundisi knows us and our problems; therefore we can

speak to him". The supplicants are usually women - the most active members of the church.

The women in the congregation are organised into several groups which have church affiliation and which enable them to meet and to express themselves as groups. The Women's Church Guild (Isililo) is a good example of this. Membership is open to women in the congregation; membership cards are issued, and an annual subscription levied. A uniform of black shoes, black dresses, red jackets and white hats is worn. The Isililo elects a committee every year, and has a national organisation which organises conferences. It meets every week to visit "homes" in a section of the mission reserve. The minister usually accompanies the women. Fifteen to twenty-five women gather at a previously decided area, and form a hymn-singing procession<sup>1]</sup>. They visit various houses in the immediate neighbourhood. The minister reads a portion of the Bible and prays. One or two women make a further prayer, and the group moves on. Some houses are passed by, and reasons put forward are "they no longer are with us" (the church), or "their women are not interested in our help". A few houses are also by-passed because the religious affiliation of its occupants is doubtful or unknown. The meetings go on till about three in the afternoon, and most of the leaders of the Isililo are expected to pray. If the route has been properly arranged, the meeting ends at a house where tea and food is offered to

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1] "Jesus Loves Me" was one favourite, and another was one which consisted of the words "Vuma Umoya Wami", (which could be sung with endless variations).

the group. During the tea the women usually gossip. The Isililo provides a very good opportunity for the women to exercise their power as a church group. "If we hear the Isililo is coming, we clean our house, for they have sharp eyes". "It is good to have this organisation, because we know who has sinned, and we must make them see their sins so that they may be washed clean". The Isililo is not meant as a proselytizing agency - it works only among the converted and only among church members. There are no church organisations for men.

### 3. Church Membership:

The orthodox churches no longer proselytize on a large scale. Those people who are listed as members, or who claim to be members, do not necessarily take an active part in church activities. The number of church members who attend church regularly or who partake of communion form a very small part of the congregation.

Full membership of the church can impose restrictions on people which they feel to be "heavy"; and many prefer to keep a link with church that does not bind them so closely. Full membership requires an acceptance of Christian doctrine, regular church attendance, participation in church activities, and severance from all pagan beliefs. Officially converts are forbidden to hold or attend ritual killings when these are connected with the ancestral cult, and they are not supposed to consult (Ukubula) diviners. Furthermore, Christians are expected to refrain from pre-marital sexual relations and they are to be strict monogamists. They are also to speak "clean" language, and not to indulge in the traditionalist habit of

brewing beer. Many nominal Christians, particularly men, do not heed the precepts of the church.

Women form the majority of most congregations, and they are the most active members of church organisations. They accept censure from the church, whereas men who show less interest are not affected by this in the same way. One informant complained that "men don't go to church in the same way as we women. We all go and tell God of our sins and we ask for forgiveness. Men just sit and say nothing!

The inevitable difficulties which flow from the control by Whites has led to one form of protest. This is the creation of Separatist African churches, which are very often small local bodies which provide religious instruction for their members<sup>1]</sup>.

#### 4. The Separatist Church:

The Separatist Churches make an appeal to the conservative, the traditional, and the less educated sections of the community. They introduce Zulu idiom into their services, and encourage such things as the wearing of traditional dress. They often incorporate dancing in their church ritual. One large church makes special provision for chiefs to attend its big festivals. Ecclesiastical power is, however, maintained in

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1] Sundkler, B.G.M., (1948): Bantu Prophets in South Africa: Lutterworth Press, London: p.32.

the hands of the church leaders.

The churches are usually small local congregations who are attracted by the personality of the local leader. Sundkler<sup>1]</sup> distinguishes between Ethiopian churches "which have seceded from White mission churches"; Zionists, which are syncretistic movements believing in the laying on of hands, speaking in tongues, and rites; and lastly, the messianic movements which believe in their own (African) messiah.

The separatist churches show "an inexhaustible capacity for ritualising everything within reach, for transforming any tedious western intellectual concept into glorious, generous, joyous, rite and rhythm<sup>2]</sup>". This includes the wearing of distinctive uniforms, usually white with a blue motif, the removing of shoes before entering the church, the recognition of Isabatha which is very often a Saturday. These churches have elaborate rituals which involve the congregation as full participants. Preachers tend to have an evangelical fervour which excites their congregations into participation by means of hymns or prayers.

Despite their small congregations the separatist

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1] Sundkler, B.G.M., (1958): "The Concept of Christianity in the African Independent Churches"; Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban: p.2.

2] Ibid., p.9.

churches, possibly because many of them have local affiliations, are subject to the discipline of the leader. Far more people are expelled for transgressions from the Separatist Churches than from the orthodox churches, which is evidence of the stronger discipline these churches are able to maintain. One small church, the "Ibhnadla lika krestu", had an active member at Ndwedwe and a bishop at Stanger. The preacher at Ndwedwe had in one year reduced his total congregation from 24 souls to 13 by expelling some individuals and some families for "transgressions".

##### 5. Ancestor Worship:

The worship of the ancestors (Abaphansi) is still an alternative to the church-oriented worship of both the orthodox and separatist churches. When they finally cease to regard themselves as church members, some men claim a belief in the "shades" of the departed. These beliefs are not completely foreign to the Christians, who often attend ceremonies at which the aid of the ancestors is invoked when their kinsmen are taking part. Ancestral spirits are believed to be a power for good, being interested in their descendants and concerned to protect, advise and prosper them. People communicate with their ancestors by sacrificing to them on prescribed occasions. Unless this is done, it is believed that the ancestors will visit disaster (Isidumo) on the descendants.

All sacrifices are regarded as providing food for the ancestors, and should be displayed for them to "lick" in the ensamu of the indlunkulu.

The traditionalist views of Mvelinqagi (the first man), and Nkulunkulu (the great one), can no longer easily be distinguished from the missionary concept of the Supreme Deity. There has been so much contact and overlapping between the traditionalists and the converts that the former have been heavily influenced<sup>1]</sup>. The traditionalists have not maintained a strict vigilance against the encroachment of Christianity and have, in fact, found much common ground with it.

A prayer meeting for rain organised by the Christians was attended by a number of pagans who also prayed (Ukuthandaza) in the Kholwa manner, but invoking the names of their ancestors. Working in town has weakened the belief in the efficacy of the ancestral cult. Only those men who return to the country at regular intervals are still able to maintain their ties with the ancestors. It is too difficult for those who remain in the towns to organise their ritual practices.

In the rural areas where people are still living in groups which have both a residential and a kinship base, the maintenance of these cults is easier. Nevertheless, the difficulties of getting all the agnates together for the celebration of an Ukubuyisa, which serves to integrate the spirit of a man who has recently died, with the other ancestors, often mean that such a celebration is continually postponed. This might provoke the anger of the spirit, and often means the

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1] Vilakazi, A., (1958): "Zulu Social Structure and Its Dynamics Today" : Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis : University of Natal, Durban, Chapter V.

ritual must be performed when many of the close agnates are away. The cost of organising a ritual killing also leads to the postponement.

#### 6. Witchcraft and Magic:

Belief in witchcraft and magic flourishes in both country and town among both Christians and traditionalists. People who are not sure what their religious views are also tend to hold such beliefs. These beliefs play an important role in the life of the people, because they provide techniques for resolving problems in most situations.

Magic makes use of mystical powers to achieve practical ends, e.g. the procuring of a love philtre; protection against the harassment of an Induna; or getting a job, having influenced a clerk at the registration office. Witchcraft is the traditional mode of recognising hostility, and is attributed to a wide range of enemies. Both magic and witchcraft are regarded as benevolent, and are effected through herbalists (Izinyanga) and diviners (Izingoma). Sorcery, which is malevolent when practised by sorcerers (Batakathi), was punishable by death in the traditional society and is illegal under the regulations of the administration. Sorcerers are able to cause the death by medicating parts of the body of the intended victim (either hair, nail parings or some excrement), and planting these on a path where the victim will walk. The medicine will affect only the victim because it will be attracted towards the "body from which it came".



"A.C." was the last person to have seen "M" alive. He passed by her umuzi late one evening and talked to her. She warned him against walking round at night; he laughed and walked out into the night. Later he was found murdered. "A" was arrested with two other men and charged with complicity in the murder. All three were later released because of lack of evidence. "A" came home and heard dogs "scratching at her thatch". She was afraid and went to a local diviner who "threw the bones". He warned her of great danger from powerful places. She became afraid and left her home to live with a brother in town. One day she fell down and started frothing at the mouth, she vomited blood and died. The people know she was killed by an Umthakathi; he first tried to kill her by having her accused of murder and when that failed, he killed her.

"M.N." had been charged with theft and came home before his case was heard. While at home, he consulted (Bula) a famous Inzangoma for a reputed fee of £5. He went and stood his trial and was acquitted because nobody gave "good evidence" due to the "strong medicines" he used. He has incorporated this as part of his praises.

"N.K." had become very ill and her husband was called back from town. He came to see her and was urged by his brothers to consult a diviner. He steadfastly refused because his wife was a Christian, but when he went back to town the neighbours said that his refusal was due to the fact that his mother was jealous of the

wife, and (khuluse) knew that if he called in the diviner there would be more trouble between the mother and daughter-in-law. He hoped that things would "just come right".

People agree that they consult an Inyanga (herbalist) for those medicines which he finds in the veld. He is able to cure people of African diseases, whereas the clinics and medical doctors can cure people of White man's diseases. The roles of the doctor and the Inyanga are regarded as complementary.

The diviner is, however, not made but born. He must have "the blood" and also serve an apprenticeship. Assistants must show that they can "be possessed" (ukuthwasa). One diviner said any aspirant should have a "vision of angels" (imphulo yangelosi) before he could begin his apprenticeship. The number of such people are limited.

Witchcraft and sorcery flourish not only amongst pagans, but also amongst Christians, because they offer an easy explanation of untoward happenings. Magic provides the individual with the means to obtain results which he feels he cannot obtain with his own power.

## 7. Believers and Traditionalists:

The distinctions between believers and traditionalists

described for the Cape Nguni<sup>1]</sup>, where sharp cleavages occur between the "red people" and the "school people", are not found in the district. Probably the situation at Ndwedwe is similar to that in Keiskammahoek<sup>2]</sup> where long contact with missionaries and administrators has meant that the traditionalist element is a minority.

The precepts of Christian teaching and the standards and modes of the Whites have become diffused throughout the district. In many fields it is difficult to make easy distinctions between traditionalists and Christians.

Men and women tend to dress in European clothes, although the skin skirt (isidwabu) is still worn by some traditionalist women. The traditional male attire (ibeshu) is only rarely seen, usually on ceremonial occasions. Houses of both the traditionalists and the Christians are built alike, and furnished as extensively as incomes will permit.

It is in the attitudes of people towards entertainments and the brewing of beer that differences may still be encountered. The tendency is for churches to discourage

1] See Hunter, M., (1961): Reaction to Conquest: Oxford University Press, London, for the International African Institute.

Mayer, P., (1961) (with contribution by Iona Mayer): Townsmen or Tribesmen : Oxford University Press, Cape Town, for the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

2] Wilson, M., et al., (1952): "Social Structure", Keiskammahoek Rural Survey : Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, Vol.III, p.129.

brewing, although many (nominal) Christians insist that their wives brew. Entertainments usually have a functional purpose, and are very often connected with the supplication to the spirits of the departed. Here the Christians ostensibly differ from their pagan neighbours, although both groups make provision for entertainments of this kind. The pagan serves beer and giya in his cattle byre, whereas the Christian may serve tea and cakes and also have a church service.

Christians and pagans, where they live close to one another visit in each other's homes and attend each other's entertainments. In a purely Christian community such as Inanda, however, only Christians attend, usually because they are the only neighbours. In that community people are also invited (formally) to entertainments, whereas elsewhere beer drinks (or the Christian equivalents), are open to everybody, both neighbours and passers by.

The missionaries were the first to insist that people go "decently clad", but as far back as 1854, a colonial ordinance made it compulsory for men within 20 miles of Durban or Pietermaritzburg to be "decently clad from shoulders to knee"<sup>1]</sup>. Very few people in Ndwedwe still wear either the traditional ibeshu of the men or the isdwabu (skin skirt) of the women. No one was ever seen wearing them at either Inanda or Shongweni. Most people wear cheap khaki or second-hand clothes obtained in town. Christians have "best clothes" for church, which usually include a jacket and shoes for men; women

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1] Proclamation 31st January, 1854.

wear shoes and a hat in preference to the "doek" (headdress).

It is only among the younger people that some distinction in dress can still be seen. Young men who go out to shela (go courting), while home on leave, have a uniform of blue serge shorts, blue, white or khaki shirt, (usually a few sizes too big), which is always worn outside the shorts, a cloth cap, and a sling bag (often highly ornamented with buttons and buckles). The more sophisticated young men wear brightly coloured American style sports shirts with a tie, jacket, hat, neatly fitting slacks, and two-toned Italian-type shoes. These distinctive clothes tend to disappear soon after marriage, and people dress as austerely as their parents.

Although houses today are usually built alike, there are still imizi which retain the discrete huts in horse-shoe form round the isibaya. Increasingly, however, a square house (with interleading rooms) replaces the older type of hut. The house may be a wattle-and-daub structure, or it may be built with building blocks made from a mixture of sand and cement dried in the sun. Corrugated iron replaces grass, because it lasts longer and it is often not possible to get enough grass for everybody's house. The finishing of houses depends on the amount of capital available. One disabled man retired from work, and with his compensation money built himself a house with door frames, windows, and corrugated iron roof. As he lived five miles by narrow mountain footpath from the nearest bus terminus, the building of his house had presented some logistical problems. Both he and his neighbours, however, were very proud of the house, which was referred to as "the big homestead".

Furnishings usually accord with the exterior of the house. The old style of umuzi still has no furniture except stools and a big box in which the family keeps its "treasures" (amagugu); these usually include the umumzana's ibeshu (kept for ceremonial occasions), his reference book, and "other papers" which the Administration hand out from time to time (tax receipts, records of customary unions, etc.)

The taste of those people who have money usually runs to heavy florid furniture - usually a chesterfield suite, a display cabinet with the family's best china, potted plants (or artificial flowers made from plastic). Chairs have anti-maccassars as protection; and heavy velvet table cloths and curtains are admired. The floors are either bare or covered with linoleum; mats and carpets are rare. The room is usually dominated by huge oval portraits enlarged from photographs of the head of the household and his spouse. An occasional picture calendar may also be seen. Apart from the sitting room there are one or two bedrooms, usually sparsely furnished, and a kitchen. No house - not even the most modern - has a bathroom.

Strictly speaking, no churches (except the Anglican) approve of beer drinking<sup>1]</sup>. Nevertheless, beer is often considered as important as meat - "a dry throat chokes on the bones". Most men, unless they are staunch abstainers, insist that their wives brew. In homesteads where beer is not brewed,

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1] This includes many Separatist Churches which otherwise pride themselves on being "Zulu".

tea is usually served, or occasionally mahewu. Most wives comply with their husbands' wishes, whatever their personal thoughts on the matter might be. There are some wives who manage to make their religious views triumph. One pleasant but rather insignificant man wandered round drinking beer as a "bachelor", but never invited people to his umuzi because his wife refused to brew. Women have never been known to brew for themselves<sup>1]</sup>.

There is some difference in the manner in which the Kholwa and the binca entertain. In such areas as Inanda, which are overwhelmingly Christian, social activities are more limited and restrained than at Ndwedwe. In the latter community where Kholwa and binca are more evenly matched, one umuzi might have both converts and traditionalists. They visit each other and attend each other's celebrations. This gives the hosts the opportunity to make allowances for the idiosyncracies of "other people". Traditionalist women who still wear the isdwabu are very careful to spread their bandanas so that they do not get oil on their host's chesterfield suites. The occasions for visiting are interesting. Ordinary visits may take place going to or from the store. Feasts are rarely given merely in honour of friends and neighbours - there is usually a functional reason.

The ukubuyisa is a good example of this situation. The feast is held approximately one year after the death of a

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1] This excludes women who brew beer to sell. This is a business matter, and not brewed for social purposes. More will be said about this in Chapter XI below.

person, and is held to welcome his spirit (moya) back to the hearth (ensamu), and to integrate it with the ancestral spirits. The traditionalists undertake this as part of their religious beliefs. Christians cannot defend the practice on religious grounds, but they change the name to udinaphati (dinner party). Nowadays the ceremony is shortened to fit into the weekend; it may last from Saturday midday to Sunday evening. In very strict Christian homes it will be limited to a church service on Sunday morning, and entertainment that afternoon and evening. Food consists for the traditionalists pre-eminently of meat and beer. The meat should be from an animal slaughtered in the isibaya (with an invocation to the ancestors as the animal dies). The sacrifice will be dispensed with if no animal is available. Meat bought at the butchery will have to serve as an unsatisfactory substitute. Christians also slaughter animals, but are not consistent in their invocations. One household could not agree it would be proper to say grace over the dead animal, and decided that it had better be said over the food once it had been prepared. The members of one prominent separatist church sprinkle water over the animal and baptise it in the name of the founder of their church. Once the animal has been slaughtered, traditionalists display the meat with the beer in the ensamu of the indlunkulu. On the day of the ceremony, the meat is offered to the men, who may choose the choice pieces (the foreleg is offered to the chief if he is present) to be roasted for them. Meat and beer are served together. Certain parts of the beast, notably the head (which is specially boiled) and the choicer roasting pieces and the legs are reserved for the men. Boys are entitled to the



lungs and the heart. Women eat separately near the kitchen where the head is cooked. Ideally the meat for the men should be roasted in the isibaya. Christians usually serve a meal with their meat. This includes stewed or roasted meat with rice, potatoes, pumpkin or whatever vegetables are available. The meal is eaten at table from plates. Sometimes Christians do not serve meat at all, but have "entertainments" with cakes, buns, jelly and custard. Paper napkins and glasses of cool drink are also provided.

The informal gatherings on such occasions provide great opportunities for social contact<sup>1]</sup>. These informal pressure groups are important in the community.

On solemn occasions the ihubo (clan song) of the umuzi is sometimes sung, but usually the songs are more pertinent to local conditions, and also jollier<sup>2]</sup>. After the singing, or if the men have eaten well and wish to show their appreciation, they go into the isibaya and giya. This involves mock fighting against an imaginary enemy while shouting a personal war song. The giya provides an institutionalised

1] See Chapter XIII.

2] Walime endleni, walime endleni, walima amabele  
(We ploughed the fields and planted the amabele).

Nkomidhi esiskoleni, sibulswa amakholwa  
(When the committee meets at the school, we are  
troubled by the Christians).

opportunity for a man to make his hopes and desires known publicly<sup>1]</sup>.

Christian entertainment, which usually includes a church service (dominated by women), becomes more secular and gayer when the young people take over. The entertainments tend to carry on late into the evening - a practice which the traditionalists claim to abhor. There is very little dancing, but solos and choruses are popular. The older people sing hymns, but the younger people sing songs straight from the latest records in town<sup>2]</sup>.

At Lindleyville a gathering usually takes the form of an isgethi (literally to get together). Only invited guests should attend. These may include local school teachers,

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- 1] a) Abantu bapelile eschia (The people are dying in Sophiatown)  
 Inja, inja (dog, dog,)  
 Umuzi uphelile (the city is dead)
- b) Ukhumula izinsimbi (the one who undid Shona's  
 sikashona handcuffs)  
 Ngibizwe ngibizwe impi (The impis call me)  
 Inja uhulumeni, inja (the Government is a dog, the  
 mlungu White man is a dog)
- c) Zingakhi izinduna (How many indunas are there?)  
 Zilishumi (They are ten)  
 Njalo (Just so).
- 2] Asihambe asihambe siyomshishi (Come let us go to Johannesburg)  
 sophela sophela mshishi (and find romance in Johannesburg)
- Ayemphamagqiha ayfunateni sabhul'isangoma sishayamathambo  
 Uyelothakathi owabulala abantu bami  
 (Where are the physicians gone, for what have they gone to seek  
 the witchdoctor tells us and throws the bones: "this is the  
 sorcerer who killed my children")

businessmen, and the minister. People from "across the river", (i.e. the people living amongst the Qadi or ordinary people living on the mission reserve) are not invited. The gathering usually takes place in the evening because "the men are away at work all day". Tea and cakes are served. Men and their wives come in pairs, and sit as couples round the room on chairs. The evening is spent in talking, singing and reading poetry.

One gathering began with a prayer by the minister, followed by part singing of two pieces that had been taught to a local choir<sup>1]</sup>. Thereafter a school master read a poem, which later in the evening he "explained"<sup>2]</sup>. While tea was being served people formed small groups for general conversation. Later the younger people took over and sang modern tunes. The older people sat and talked. Talk may cover many subjects, but is more often than not based on the morning or evening papers, or on the Zulu weekly (Ilanga Lase Natal)<sup>3]</sup>. Newspapers are widely read in these circles, and the affairs of Lindleyville are reported in the social columns of Ilanga.

At these gatherings there is an opportunity for people to hear views of their neighbours. The talk is more

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1] The choir had been formed to collect money for the building of a community hall. As far as I was aware it was defunct. One of the pieces sung (in Zulu) was "Vukani Deborah". The other was the "Hallelujah Chorus" sung in English.

2] The poem read in English was by A.H. Clough.

3] Founded by a local man, Dr. J. Dube.

inhibited than that heard at beer drinks in the reserves, and there is general agreement on most matters. Ideas put forward at these gatherings do occasionally have tangible results. There was for example the decision taken in 1947 to commemorate the centenary of the arrival of Daniel Lindley. This was to take the form of building a community hall, which the people could use for their annual shows, parties and weddings. The committee which was elected to supervise the operation included the (then) chief, two local professional men, the minister and three teachers. Each homestead was asked to contribute five pounds towards the cost of the hall, but many of them did not. The ground on which the hall is built was donated to the committee by a local resident. The hall was almost completed in 1960.

Attitudes towards marriage between Christians and traditionalists illustrate the relationship between them. Christians tend to marry Christians, and pagans to marry pagans. 'The ibeshu doesn't like sleeping on a bed' explained one Christian woman. Nevertheless, marriages do take place between the two groups, and it would be wrong to speak of Christian or traditionalist endogamy. I was assured that in the old days a minister would refuse to marry a couple by Christian rites unless both parties were converts. This is still the official attitude of the church, although the minister does perform the ceremony if an undertaking is made to bring up the children as converts. Pagan women who marry Christians generally become converted, whereas pagan men do not generally adopt the religion of their wives, although they do not object to their children being brought up as Christians.

8. Education:

There are 32 schools in the Ndwedwe district with a total enrolment of 7,415 children and 138 teachers<sup>1]</sup>. Ten of these schools are situated in Inanda<sup>2]</sup>. There are ten schools in the Shongweni area with an enrolment of 2,544 pupils and 52 teachers<sup>3]</sup>.

TABLE IX  
EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF AFRICANS IN THE SAMPLES  
FROM THE THREE AREAS

Educational Status	NDWEDWE		INANDA		SHONGWENI Economic Survey <sup>4]</sup>	
	Sample No.	%	Sample No.	%	No.	%
Pre-school children	445	16.1	118	24.0	1,170	15.7
With formal schooling	1,240	44.8	330	67.1	3,456	46.3
No formal schooling	1,020	36.8	44	8.9	?	0.0
Don't know	65	2.3	-	-	2,831	38.0
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>2,770</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>492</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7,458</b>	<b>100.0</b>

- 1] These are 6 lower primary schools (i.e. from the grades to Standard IV), 24 higher primary schools (i.e. from the grades to Standard VI), and 2 high schools.
- 2] Inanda, which is divided by a magisterial boundary, has 9 schools which serve the area but do not fall under the Ndwedwe School Board. There is also one private institution (the Inanda Girls' Seminary which is run by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions).
- 3] 1 lower primary, 7 higher primary and 2 high schools. These figures refer to the returns for 1957.
- 4] The source is the Shongweni Economic Survey Table. The table did not indicate the number of people who had had no formal education. Probably nearly all of the "don't know" class had no education.

In interpreting this table, the "don't know" class is grouped with those who definitely had no formal education, on the grounds that it is likely that Africans who had some education would report it (and therefore a "don't know" response is synonymous with no education).

Excluding pre-school children, 88% of the people at Inanda had had some formal education; the figures for Shongweni and Ndwedwe are 55% and 53% respectively. Most of the schools at Ndwedwe had been started by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. There are a few other denominations, notably the Methodists and the Anglicans, who had also maintained a few schools. Since 1953 all the schools have (with two exceptions) been taken over by the Bantu Education Department<sup>1</sup>. Details about schools are given in Table X.

TABLE IX (a)

DETAILS OF SCHOOLS IN THE THREE COMMUNITIES STUDIED, 1959

Area	No. of lower primary [2]	No. of higher primary [3]	No. of secondary	Total No. of schools	Total No. of classrooms	No. of teachers	No. of pupils
Ndwedwe ) Inanda )	6	24	2	32	184	138	7415
Shongweni	1	7	2	10	?	52	2544

- 1] One of these is the Inanda Seminary, already mentioned, and the other is a Girls' High School at Shongweni, which is still run by the Catholic Church.
- 2] Lower primary schools serve people from the grades till Standard IV.
- 3] Higher primary schools serve people till Standard VI.

Some of the buildings in which schools are conducted are substantial, having been built of stone or brick. A number of churches are also used as schools. The schools in the less settled parts tend to be less sturdy, often being made out of corrugated iron which makes them very hot in summer. Equipment is not very good<sup>1]</sup>. Overcrowding in classrooms makes it difficult to find enough desks for pupils, and many of them have to sit on long benches managing as best they can.

Educational qualifications are admired by the whole community. Teachers, though they may not play an active part in the life of the community, are nevertheless, like ministers, distinguished by their titles. These people who have "had the edges smoothed" set great store by their certificates, which they frame and hang on the wall. The tendency among the Kholwa is to go to school at an earlier age and also to stay longer. The Kholwa also distinguish between hierarchies of educational attainment. The university graduate is a rare and precious phenomenon, ranking higher than the product of a teacher training college, or the person who has only obtained a matriculation certificate. By and large, the tendency is for more Christians to be educated than traditionalists. Not only do more Christians enrol, but they try hard to overcome the obstacles placed in their way, and they stay at school longer than traditionalists.

"A.N." was born in Pietermaritzburg, where his father

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1] One must exclude the Inanda Seminary. This has been in existence for almost a century, and is very well equipped.

was a clerk in the corporation. His father died when "A.N." was a young child. His mother had to go out to work to support the family, (he has two sisters), and he was sent to live with various relatives. During his lower primary education he lived with a malume among the Mapepeteni. This was a Kholwa community, and he had to learn to do all the things the other boys did when they were out herding, which he was not used to because of his town upbringing. After he had finished at that school he lived with his mother at Clermont, but he could not gain admission to the local school, so he was sent to his father's people in Zululand. He completed Standard VI there. Thereafter his mother tried to get him into a high school. She had to give up her job, and work for a local business man at Inanda, so that he could enter Ohlange High School. He finally had to borrow R300 to complete his teacher training at Adams College. The debt was heavy, but was considered worthwhile. He is now a teacher at one of the local schools.

Education is, however, no longer synonymous with Christianity. Older people who are illiterate because their parents did not "let us go to school" have children and grandchildren who were, and are attending school. The vast majority of people desire to go to school because they want to become literate in English. In fact many leave when they are barely literate in the vernacular.

Most people felt that their years at school did not



materially aid them in finding jobs. This is partly because of the excessive wastage - children commencing school when they are fairly old, and often leaving after the grades, or Standard II. The number of people who proceed to high school is small. The possibility of training for white collar jobs is thus negligible - and it is white collar jobs and the professions which the people feel are the only jobs "with money".

Parents who do not send their children to school defend themselves on the grounds that the children have to help round the home, and that once the boys go out to work they will have time to learn at "night school". The tendency is that all children in a homestead go to school rather than a few selected ones. One finds that children with literate parents make a proportionally greater effort than those from homesteads where there was little or no schooling. Schooling is sometimes delayed when there are younger children growing up. In these cases, the older children do not go to school until the younger siblings are old enough to undertake the tasks, (such as herding), which they are doing at home.

If children are late in going to school, they will probably not stay there for very long because there is a feeling amongst young men - (izinsizwe) both Kholwa and Binca - that it is better to "earn money" (i.e. to go out and work) than to sit in school all day. Unless there is considerable pressure from the home, young people (especially youths) prefer to leave school at sixteen in preference to passing a few more standards.

School teachers do not undertake extra-mural activities. Though schools do compete against each other in sports (usually boys' soccer teams), and there are competitions for physical fitness and choirs at the agricultural shows, training takes place during school time. There is no attempt to provide adult education.

There are a few institutionalised groups which are connected with education. These include the school Committee, which controls each "Bantu Community School", and a school Board which controls all the schools in the area for which it is constituted. School Committees, (in rural areas), in practice consist of nominated members representing the parents, the chief, and religious interests. Members are appointed subject to the approval of the Department, and the Chairman is appointed by the Department. The duties of school Committees are to collect and handle school funds, maintain the grounds, buildings and fences of their schools, and erect such buildings as have received the approval of the Department. The school Boards consist of members of school Committees nominated to serve on the Board. The Board has financial control over the payment of teachers (through a subsidy from the Department). The Board is the employer of all teachers, and is empowered to investigate cases of teachers' misconduct. The Board may appoint and dismiss teachers, and there is no appeal against its decisions<sup>1]</sup>. The school Committees and school Boards in

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1] G.N. 841/1955.

their present form have been functioning only since 1955<sup>1]</sup>. The Committees very often function as disciplinary Committees, and are resented by the teachers because they continually call teachers before them to explain their behaviour.

There is only a limited form of public participation in the constitution of these Committees and their work is done in complete privacy, so that the general public is not aware of their existence.

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1] See also Skinner, Joy, (1960): Bantu Education 1949-1959: A Summary of the Development in the Field of African Primary and Secondary Education and Teacher Training over a period of 10 Years: South African Institute of Race Relations, 150/1960 (cyclostyled).

PART III : THE INTERNAL SYSTEM - THE PEOPLECHAPTER VIIIKINSHIP AND TERRITORIAL GROUPINGS - THE MODERN SITUATION.

All three communities - Shongweni, Ndwedwe and Inanda - live on land occupied exclusively by African people, and their social structure is derived from the traditional Zulu pattern. This consisted of a number of exogamous clans, each of which was an association of dispersed agnatic lineages which were corporate groups of kinspeople tracing descent from a common eponym. Lineages within the clan were residential units <sup>1]</sup>. The segments of the lineage lived as neighbourhood groups and were similar to segments in their own and other lineages. These segments held rights in each other's herds and lands, consulted in personal questions and arbitrated in quarrels between members.

Clansmen and residual inheritance rights, could drink milk from each other's cattle, and were not allowed to marry each other's sisters. They had a common clan head and had a sacred clan song (ihubo). Clansmen had common rituals and taboos.

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1] Gluckman, M. (1950): "Kinship and Marriage Among the Zulu and the Lozi", in African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (Eds.), Oxford University Press, London.

Traditionally the people lived in homesteads (umuzi) consisting of a circle of huts round a central cattle byre (isibaya). Each homestead was inhabited by a group of male agnates with their wives and other dependants. The homestead was an economic unit pasturing its own cattle and working in its own fields. Each wife had her own garden, and each house had cattle attached to it, although the main herds were those of the umumuzana of the homestead.

There were also territorial and political groupings. The establishment of the Zulu Nation united (by force of arms) the various autonomous tribes which had previously inhabited Natal and Zululand. Tribes lived in a territory (isifunda), and consisted of various clans who were united under the leadership of a chief (inkosi), who was heir in the direct line from the founding eponym of the clan forming the core of the tribe. The tribe was sub-divided into a number of wards (isigodi), which were under the control of a minor political officer, the induna.

All three communities are still organised, as far as the administration is concerned, on the basis of a chief and his chiefdom (isifunda). The implication is inescapable that all three communities are regarded as directly evolved from the traditional Zulu pattern.

The outward changes that distinguish these communities are the creation of Kholwa communities, and the system of land tenure which obtains. Inanda and Shongweni are both Kholwa

communities, under the leadership of a Kholwa chief<sup>1]</sup>. Inanda and Ndwedwe have retained a communal system of land tenure, while at Shongweni land is held under freehold tenure.

### 1. The Clan:

A clan today is a dispersed body of people claiming descent from a common eponym, sharing the same isibongo (clan name) and practising clan exogamy. Clans still form the core of tribal groups.

Traditionally when the clan consisted of a group of agnatically connected males, there were important clan rituals which had to be performed, especially in connection with the correct ordering of relations with the shades of departed clansmen. Where the belief in the ancestral shades has remained alive, the necessity for performing these rituals is still recognised, but rituals which distinguish one clan from another have disappeared.

Clansmen still practise rigid exogamy towards people with the same isibongo: This applies to both the binca (traditionalists) and the Kholwa (believers). This implies the pattern of beliefs relating to the worship of the ancestors

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1] Inanda has only recently (1956) ceased to exist as a Kholwa tribal community. The change, however, was not to abolish the office of the chief, because the people at Inanda were placed under the jurisdiction of the neighbouring Qadi chief. See Chapter VII.

insofar as a man cannot "marry a child of his shades" (i.e. an agnatic descendant of a common ancestor).

Clanship is also important for the political role it plays in affecting the choice of a chief. The field from which prospective candidates for the chieftainship can be chosen is wider if the clan (and not only the senior lineage within the clan) can be regarded as eligible candidates. This rule applies in the selection of Kholwa chiefs as well.

The ritual unity implied in the common allegiance of the clan to its shade was affected by the advent of Christianity, which denies any need for ancestor worship and thereby weakens the base of many of the extended rights and obligations of kinsmen. The weakening of clan ties can be seen in the changes which people make in their clan names. In a few cases early converts took the name of the missionary who converted them<sup>1]</sup>. It is possible for a man to take a new isibongo but usually he chooses the name of a closer eponym. By doing this, he founds not only a new lineage, but also eventually a new clan. People often change their names for reasons of expediency. One man, for instance, claimed that a distinctive isibongo facilitated the receiving of post. This attitude is in contrast to the traditional society, where the ceremony "to split the gourd" ukubulala igula was performed to denote the breaking of kinship.

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1] One of the famous African politicians in Natal during the thirties, was a leading (and rare) example of this.

It is not only the sophisticated who assume new isibongo. There are many recognised links between such isibongo as the Mabaso and the Khumalo, the Hadebe, and the M'Timkulu. The distinction lies in the strictness with which the rule of clan exogamy is applied. One Chamane, whose grandfather had changed from being a Zama, explained that the Zama people living round him were still "too near" to allow him or his children to marry. The rules of exogamy can thus be extended to cover the cluster of isibongo which recognises one common clan eponym. The Ngcobos in the Ndwedwe district are an example of this<sup>1]</sup>. The various groups which all sprang from Vumezitha practised exogamy towards each other on the grounds that "we are brothers, and may nkena their<sup>2]</sup> widows". These strict rules, are however, being relaxed and exogamy is often interpreted as applying only towards people with a common isibongo<sup>3]</sup>. Previously exogamy could be tested not only against similar isibongo but also against the isithakazelo<sup>4]</sup> of different people. Similar isithakazelo might denote common descent. People tend

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1] See Chapter V.

2] This means to take one's brother's widow under the practice of the levirate.

3] c.f. Vilakazi, A., (1958): Zulu Social Structure and Its Dynamics Today, op. cit. Where it is reported that a Ngcobo chief married a woman whose people were Ngongoma, and whose isibongo was therefore Ngcobo, p.46.

4] An extended clan name containing references of an historical nature.



to change their isithakazelo when they change their isibongo. Nowadays instead of having esoteric and historical references, they list the names of their particular lineage. This will never interfere with their matrimonial plans. A case in point are the Shangase, who in the last generation have been marrying Ngcobo and have as a result, dropped the part of the isithakazelo which they shared ufuza afulele njenganyamzane<sup>1]</sup> - they now refer to themselves as Shangase Kamshiyane Kandaleka Kashuku Kamkeshame. As it is physically reprehensible to "marry" one's own sister, this isithakazelo is safer for the Shangase, and allows them to marry the Ngcobos with a clear conscience. Exogamy can thus be limited strictly to one's own isibongo, and does not necessarily extend to other isibongo which trace a common descent with one's own. This, coupled with the disappearance of common clan rituals, has in fact meant that the acceptance of a new isibongo will in one or two generations mean the creation of a new clan.

## 2. Lineage:

Lineage (usendo) derives from the word "testicle" (isende), and implies descent in a straight agnatic line. Although people distinguish themselves along lineage lines - e.g. the Gcugcwa Zamas distinguish themselves from the Zulula

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1] This particular reference freely translated means they stripped the roofs and then rethatched them just like an antelope. It referred to a quarrel which at one time involved the Ngongoma and Shangase. See Bryant, op. cit., p. 489.

Zamas<sup>1]</sup> - they are not quite clear as to the function of the lineage, except that it is a means of distinguishing between clansmen. Gluckman<sup>2]</sup> describes Zulu lineages as "dispersed agnatic lineages which are corporate groups of people who today trace common descent over a putative patrilineal line over six or nine generations".

Very few people, (including one commoner who had a copy of Bryant in his home), claimed lineages which had a depth of more than four generations. The reasons for this have already been mentioned<sup>3]</sup>. People treat the escape of their agnatic eponym across the Tukela as a new beginning. Prying for information about their antecedents usually elicits the reply that one "may go and ask the people kwaZulu" (i.e. those who remained behind in Zululand). Lineages like the founding of tribal units, date back only as far as the entry of the agnatic eponym into the district. The development of the descendants of this eponym are variously called the umndeni or abantu basekhaya nie. These groups held the key to the present kinship structure.

### 3. The Umndeni:

The term umndeni is sometimes used interchangeably with a term which distinguishes people from "our house" Abantu

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1] See Chapter V.

2] Gluckman, op. cit., p.169.

3] See Chapter IV.

basekhaya nie. This distinction is not always easy to follow; it is sometimes limited to the descendants of one man (albeit living in separate homesteads), and sometimes to the descendant of a common eponym three to four generations removed. I prefer to use the word umndeni to describe a group of agnates descended from a common eponym three to four generations removed<sup>1]</sup>. The umndeni functions today as an effective minimal lineage<sup>2]</sup>. Diagrams 1 and 2 give some idea of the structure of an umndeni group.

Diagram 1 shows the umndeni group of Noziwana Msomi who came to settle in the area with his father Hoqo. As far as I could ascertain this was before the arrival of the Igqoza (i.e. prior to 1856). The Msomi claim that Hoqo came with only one wife and had only one son. Other Msomi in the district claim clanship affiliation with Noziwana's descendant, but say "they are ours but not of our umndeni". Hoqo and Noziwana settled down on land allocated by a grateful chief. The former died soon after he came into the district. The latter, however,

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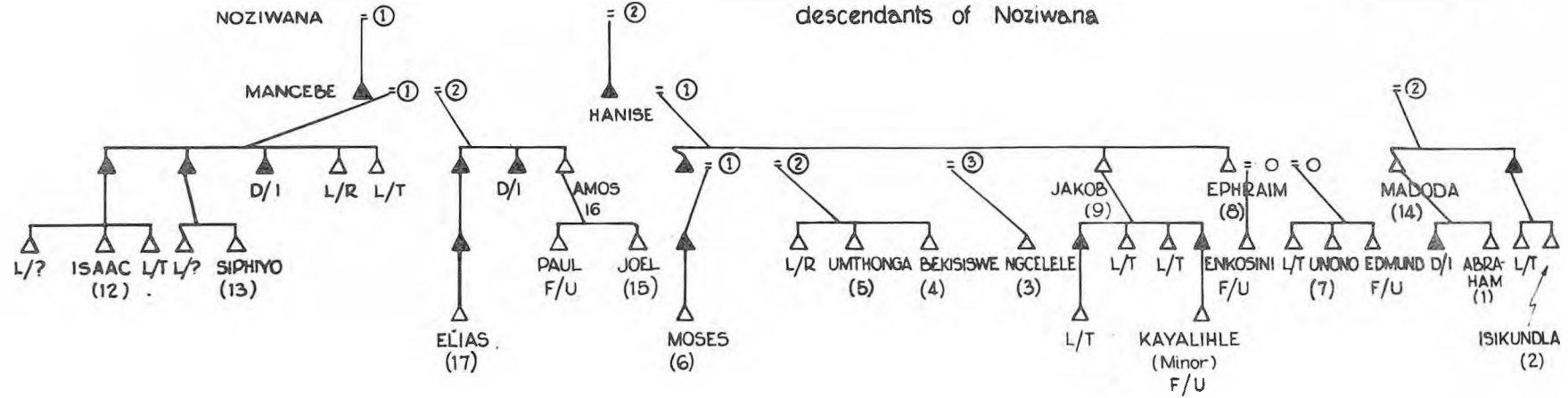
1] Gluckman, op. cit., p.169. "Their lineage segments are cores of villages and a number of segments living in one neighbourhood form a recognised group (umndeni) against other similar groups in their own and other clans".

2] Fortes, M., (1945): The Dynamics of Clanship Amongst the Tallensi: Oxford University Press, London, p.192.  
 ".... the effective minimal lineage ..... the lineage of smallest span which emerges as a corporate unit in economic, jural and ritual activities and is differentiated from other units of like sort".

MSOMI UMNDENI

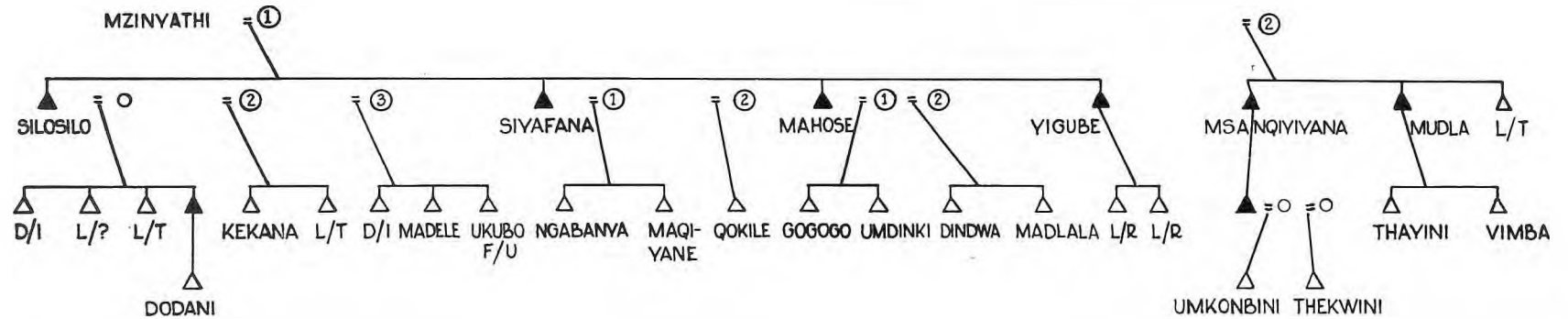
descendants of Noziwana

DIAGRAM 1



NGWANE UMNDENI  
 descendants of Mzinyathi

DIAGRAM 2



KEY

- D/I died without issue
- L/? left whereabouts unknown (deserted)
- L/R left for another rural area
- L/T left for town
- F/U lives in father's homestead

- △ Male
- Female
- ▲ Deceased

Females and minor children are not shown in these diagrams.

took two wives who bore him two sons. These two sons, Mancebe and Hanise, are the immediate progenitors of this Msomi umndeni.

There are in the group 25 adult males who are alive. Of these 14 have their own homesteads, and three live with their fathers and will probably inherit the homesteads. The men who have homesteads, together with other people who have been settled on Msomi land, form a residential local group. This diagram may be compared with Diagram No. 4, page number 210 below, which illustrates the difference between the umndeni and the Isakhi. The head of the Msomi umndeni is Isaac, although his "father" <sup>1]</sup>, Jacob, is the oldest male agnate. All Msomi men (and the women if they wish to attend) may gather to discuss the business of the umndeni <sup>2]</sup>.

Diagram 2 shows the umndeni group of the descendants of Mzinyathi Ngwane, who was one of the Igqoza settlers. These descendants all live within the Isifunda, although they do not (like the Msomi) form one distinct residential unit. The descendants of Silosilo and Siyafana live in one part, and Mahose's descendants live elsewhere. For umndeni purposes, however, they are "all the children of Mzinyathi". They help and aid each other as best they can. The descendants of Mahose, when they want to distinguish themselves from the other descendants of Umzinyathi without denying "our blood", call themselves the group from "our home" - Abantu basekhaya nie.

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1] Correctly father's father's brother's son.

2] See Chapter VII.

They sometimes qualify this by calling even clansmen "people of our blood", but the use of the term implies a common agnate. The use of Wesisu (the womb) is limited to the immediate umusi, and is used to distinguish children of different mothers.

The umndeni acts as a group of kinsmen. Often they are the only close agnates in the neighbourhood, and "we help with each other's troubles". This includes settling disputes of all kinds, and also the alleviation of tensions by discussion; also land disputes, feelings of enmity, or even accusations of adultery ("a brother should look after his brother's wives because he may Nkena them one day"). When the lobola negotiations are begun, the umkhongi (go-between) calls in the parents of the girl, but the umndeni must be represented at the negotiations and must approve them. New brides (makoti) are welcomed into the man's umndeni group. The man she will hlonipha are drawn from this group. At death of an umndeni member, the surviving members should comfort (duduze) the survivors. The men should help with the funeral arrangements and the women with the isipheko. When the buyisa ritual is to be performed, the umndeni members should be well represented.

Umndeni cohesion is affected by members who leave to live elsewhere. They recognise not only a common descent, but also their own common interests. The problems of its absent members rarely trouble the umndeni group, for "a head that has pulled out finds smoke elsewhere" ikhanda okhipayo uzene inthuthu entshe. One does not forfeit membership of the umndeni

by leaving the district. Those members on the diagrams who are marked as having left have a right to be informed of umndeni activities, but the fact of their living elsewhere weakens their contact. An umndeni member, or even his son, who returns, could re-establish his/their claim to membership.

The position of the lone umuzi whose members have come from elsewhere to settle and who have been given ground, raises the question of its relationship to the formal group. The homestead has umndeni connections in the place where it came from, its local connections will be more fully expressed with the group which allocated it land.

(i) The Umndeni at Ndwedwe:

Most imizi at Ndwedwe are still linked to one another not only by ties as neighbours (makhelwano) but also by ties of kinship (ihlobo). The conjunction of kinship and neighbourly ties create a very strong link. The immediate unit which binds people together is the umndeni. This consists of "our blood"<sup>1]</sup>, and is not only a corporate group, but an institution which can deal with disputes which become too big for the constituent imizi to deal with, or which exacerbate the relations between them. This is peculiar to Ndwedwe because the system of land allocation has maintained the umndeni

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1] There is a discussion of the concept "blood" amongst the Nguni in Kuper, H., (1961): An African Aristocracy: Rank Among the Swazi : Oxford University Press, London, p.105 et. sq



as a distinct residential group. An interest in the activities of neighbours is an interest in activities of kinsmen. An example of this is the arrival of the umkhongi (the go-between making arrangements for the lobola), which is a matter of public interest. It is of heightened interest not only to the umusi of the girl, but also to her people.

"Mnuzwi's daughter was being engaged to (cela) a young man from the valley. There were the usual delays and negotiations added to the fact that this was a marriage between a (binca) traditionalist girl and a Kholwa boy. The discussion turned not only to the size of the isibizo but on the problems which the girl would have to face. When the arrangements had been made, the umndeni members withdrew from the public hut in which they had been sitting to discuss the arrangements, which they approved of before returning to drink the rest of the beer".

When two homesteads of the same umndeni cannot agree about something which is likely to cause trouble, the representative of the umndeni should also be called in to help because "an eye on its own cannot succeed" (i.e. it needs more than one eye to give good advice).

"Bekisiswe's dog was accused of having savaged

and killed Isikundla's goat. Isikundla demanded R7-00 damages, and Bekisiswe said he could not pay the money. Isikundla threatened to take the matter to court, but their classificatory father stepped in and brought as many men of the umndeni together as possible. Everything was discussed from the dog's bad behaviour to the age of the goat. The decision arrived at was that the goat should be replaced by Bekisiswe as soon as he could find the money (and the goat)".

The umndeni must also look after those things which belong to its members as well as to each individual member.

"The Khuluses had been having trouble with the Butelezi cattle which used to come across the river during the dry season and use the Khuluse grazing. The man, Mpangindawo, whose umuzi was closest to the spot where the cattle crossed, was first told to see that the cattle were turned back. He, however, complained that his son was too small to herd the cattle by himself, and the Khuluses then decided that a bigger lad should go and live with Mpangindawo so that he could keep a look out for "strangers'" cattle".

The umndeni at Ndwedwe still plays a very important part in the life of the average person, not only because it is an agnatic kin group but also because people still live in spatially distinct units.

The members of the umndeni need not be immediate neighbours. Diagram 2 above illustrates umndeni members who have split into two distinct groups. People who leave their umndeni group are referred to as those people who have "pulled out their heads" (wakhipa amakhanda). They may merely have moved to another part of the same chiefdom where more land was available, as happened to the Ngwanes. It is possible that some individual members, but often also a whole group of potential members, leave when their widowed mother re-marries. They go to live with their mother, and very often settle with their mother amongst the people into whom she has married.

Distinctions are made between those members who are "of us" (bakhiti), and those who are "not of our place" (indawo). Members would be made welcome on such occasions as the negotiations with the umkhongi or the celebration of a buyisa. They are, however, less welcome when pressing local issues, such as the allocation of land are discussed.

In matters concerning land particularly, the umndeni members distinguish between those members who are far away, and those who are nearer but who do not form part of an immediate neighbourhood group.

Persons who cannot claim any relationship (ubuhlobo) with the umndeni group cannot be regarded as members. Thus even if one lives in or close to the umuzi of a prominent member of the umndeni, you cannot claim to have an interest in the "things of the umndeni".

"Jobunishiya had received land from his wife's people and lived close to his father-in-law. He was always present whenever beer was served in his neighbours' houses and was accepted as a member of the community. He was, however, never asked to agree to matters which only affected his wife's umndeni. She could attend all these discussions as a clan daughter, but he attended only to drink the beer and eat the food which was served. He was only a neighbour and did not share the "blood" of the umndeni. It is virtually impossible therefore for someone who was not born of the same blood to become a member of an umndeni group. It is very difficult but not impossible, for someone not of the blood to become a neighbour by being allocated ground and living in close spatial proximity to the umndeni group".

Clansmen who share the same isibongo recognise that there are different imndeni groups within the clan. They recognise that they share kinship with clansmen, but

are not necessarily members of the umndeni. The distinction is one of being "born from the same testicle" (isende), but this is often described as being (endulo) in the old days (before we left Zululand).

The link between the one group of isende and another, however nebulous it may be, not only distinguishes what is in effect one lineage of the clan from another, but also more important, is used by the people to explain the present distinction they make between one umndeni group and another.

The distinction is made, for example, between the Gcugwa section and the Zukula section of the Zama clan. The latter is the senior section and claims to be the "older (i.e. senior) of the sons of Chamane" (clan eponym). The Gcugwa people are often referred to as the Ikhohlo of the Zukula people, but nobody can indicate precisely at which point they are supposed to have segmented. Whenever these two groups of clansmen meet at beer drinks, the Zukula section claim a right to sit closer to the door, because of their senior status. Arguments about this have developed and their senior status has been challenged. The Gcugwa branch have on occasions insisted that in their own isigodi (i.e. in the isigodi founded originally by the Gcugwa section), the senior agnate (who is also induna) should be given the "high seat" (iqwakelo). The problem was solved on one occasion by giving the high seat

to another person of status, in this case the sergeant of police (born in Nyasaland). This averted the argument between the rival claims and of the two Zama sections.

Arguments in such a situation, when two members of the same clan claim senior status, cannot be resolved by referring them to the respective imindeni because clan membership transcends umndeni membership.

There is no recognised forum in which clan members can meet to resolve their differences between clansmen of different imindeni. In the case just cited the action was taken by the host who intervened to stop what might have become an unpleasant situation. The conflict expressed here is between clansmen who can be described as members of a lineage (lusendo). Trouble between lineages is not limited to members of the chief's clan but occurs in all clans. I shall return to this point below.

The umuzi and the umndeni form the context in which much of the activity takes place within the reserve, because the former is the centre of the economic activity in the community, and the latter involves close kinsmen in corporate social activity. Differences between members of the umuzi can be settled within the umuzi by the umnumzane. If this is impossible, they can be brought before the umndeni who will endeavour to effect a settlement. Differences between two member imizi of the umndeni group can also be brought before the umndeni which can try to effect a settlement.

Within the umuzi, and even between imizi, people are expected to interact. People recognise that interaction can lead to "trouble" (umsindo) (lit: "noise") and that people must be able to "look into their troubles". There is some truth in the view that the various imizi which constitute an umndeni are in large part still able to contain their troubles within the ranks of their members - hence the saying that "one does not interfere (enter) in the troubles of the umndeni" (impiyomndeni ayingenwa).

Co-operation or conflict outside the confines of the umndeni does not lend itself as clearly to arbitration or settlement as conflict within the umndeni. This is largely because there are no formalised groups such as the umndeni which can arbitrate in these troubles.

"Mtsheleni Msomi complained to the induna of his isigodi that his fellow clansmen Isaac was aiding and abetting a case of the breach of clan exogamy, and that the induna had better put a stop to the proceedings or he, Mtsheleni, would be obliged to take the matter to the chief. The facts were a little more complicated. A teacher (from the south coast), Gasa, lived as a boarder with Isaac, and in his spare time he had become friendly with a daughter of Mtsheleni. The question of clan exogamy, however, involved the teacher's name (isibongo) which was somewhere connected with that of both Isaac and Mtsheleni. The teacher denied that he still recognised this relationship. Isaac, stating that it was the teacher's business, said

he had nothing to say about the matter. Mtsheleni, however, pressed the claim that Isaac as a Msomi should not tolerate the attentions which a Gasa was paying to another Msomi especially as the teacher was living in Isaac's umuzi. The matter was resolved only when the teacher was transferred. The problem of the relationship of the teacher to each of the Msomis can best be illustrated by showing the lineage affiliations of the two parties.

Mtsheleni gives his lineage as:      Isaac gives his lineage as:

Msomi	Msomi
Hlombe	Gasa
Nyowse	Notabela
Mbigombe	Hlombe
Zungulula	Mbigombe
Singila	Singila
Nomdayi	Nomdayi
Debeni	Hoqo
Notabela	Mancebe
Ukomiyiphi	Jan
Ungothsana	Isaac
Mtsheleni	

Neither side is able to reconcile the discrepancies in their lineage, and both sides are able to vouch with certainty only from their eponyms who entered the district (Notabela in one case and Hoqo<sup>1]</sup> in the other). Though both

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1] See Diagram 1, page 146 above.



Msomis recognised their common clanship, they were unable in a dispute of this nature to find any common context in which they could settle the "dispute". The Gasas had at some stage been part of the Msomi clan but subsequently had broken away. Whether this was a breach of clan exogamy was never decided. Though Isaac's people and Mtsheleni's people are able to recognise the links which bind them as clansmen - the two most important being "we have the same isibongo", and secondly "we cannot marry our sisters"- there was no official machinery which they could use to resolve the dispute between them. In this sense Mtsheleni's move was logical: His complaints were not addressed to the Msomis as a clan but to somebody completely outside the Msomi kinship group. The man who had to resolve this problem was the induna of the isigodi. A matter between two lineages like this becomes a matter for the isigodi, which is not a kinship, but a territorial unit.

(ii) Patterns of Settlement and Kinship at Inanda:

The umndeni, described above, does not exist at Inanda in the same form. It is, for historical reasons, not a spatial unit as at Ndwedwe. The teachings of the Church and the creation of a community of converts, particularly at Lindleyville, has also meant that the homestead rather than the umndeni is the most important kinship unit.

The pattern of settlement for the older settlers (i.e. the descendants of the first converts) is made with reference to the time of arrival of their eponyms to build "near the missionary". Unlike the situation at Ndwedwe, no district pattern of land holdings developed from the first

settlement. Each convert was given land fairly close to his neighbour, irrespective of his connection with them. This method of allocating land precluded the development of the umndeni groups as a residential unit of the type found at Ndwedwe. Even in the few instances where sons have built homesteads close to their fathers, they have been too small to form a residential kinship group. This means that neighbours at Inanda are commonly referred to as Makhelwane (i.e. neighbours) and not ihlobo (kin). There are cases where the children of neighbours have married each other and the neighbours have become affines (abelingane). In three cases where neighbours have become affines, the children have had to build quite far away from the parental home, because of the lack of suitable ground near the parents' home.

Another factor which has influenced the pattern of settlement at Inanda has been the Mission Reserve Advisory Board which distributes land and makes allocations. The Board can be influenced by the people who make the applications, but it has prevented a development observed in Ndwedwe - viz., that a group of agnates from a district or distinct neighbourhood group is instrumental in approving of land allocations<sup>1]</sup>.

The early settlement at Inanda paid relatively little attention to kinship connections and thus accorded with the admonition of the Church, that people, once baptised and "born again", had to start a new life. People say that "when the old people left the valley and came to live here as Kholwa they left our kin behind" (bashiya bakithi). This is not strictly speaking true. The Inanda people do not deny their

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<sup>1]</sup> See Chapter IX.

kinship connections. They recognise their immediate agnates, and recognise the relationships created with their mother's people and also their wife's people. The emphasis has inevitably been on the immediate family - something which has also happened in other areas. To these people it is important that not only kinsmen but also friends should be invited to celebrate. One mother explained that the cards for the wedding had cost over R8-00 to send out, because they had to inform their kins-people, many of whom lived far away. She explained that it was a Kholwa custom to "invite your kinsmen", whereas among the binca they "just come".

The umndeni activity (including settling of conflicts, marriage negotiations, etc.) which was described for Ndwedwe, does not take place at Inanda. This is due to the Kholwa influence and also to the pattern of settlement, which meant that the umndeni never really existed. People at Inanda realise this, because they point out that "everybody (nana) borrows from their neighbours", but "our neighbours are not our kin".

The lack at Inanda of the umndeni as a corporate group of kinsmen who can discuss and alleviate tensions between members does on occasion lead to severe quarrels between neighbours. Members of the church in good standing take their problems to the umfundisi or, if the Church Council can help, to the amadekoni. Failing this, people attempt to alleviate the dispute as best they can, or wait until the trouble "sinks into the ground". Trouble between women can also be settled in the isililo meetings, but troubles between people who are

not church members, or between a church member and a non-church member, are often allowed to smoulder because of lack of comforters (mduduze).

Because at Inanda the umndeni does not play a role in the marriage negotiations, the people expect a prospective groom to make personal contact with the girl's father to arrange the engagement (cela), and to earn and arrange for the lobola payments. To the extent that this happens, marriage has become a personal affair between the boy and the girl at Inanda. By contrast, at Ndwedwe the umndeni still retains the right to intervene.

It is not only in marriage negotiations that the umndeni is not consulted. Such matters as death and burial depend also on the immediate family (and their burial society). The dinner party (udinaphati) in memory of the departed is an occasion to which kinsmen are invited - but neighbours are considered to be as important on these occasions because they "really knew the departed while he was on earth". When the umndeni meets at Inanda it serves only a social function. Its members have no corporative duty to perform.

(iii) The Pattern at Shongweni:

The pattern of settlement at Shongweni is even less clear than it is at Inanda. At Shongweni people settled where they could buy ground. The old Mission Station at Georcedale (where the original Church still stands) does not provide a

nucleus of older settlers as it does at Inanda. The present chief lives in the house of his grandfather (the first chief), about two miles away at Hammarsdale<sup>1]</sup>. One chief lived much further away, right in the eastern corner of the area. The kinship connections of the older settlers at Shongweni are very similar to those at Inanda. The kin-group are invited to attend all functions such as weddings, baptisms and funerals. The preliminaries to marriage, however, as at Inanda, devolve on the individual umuzi and not as at Ndwedwe on the umndeni. People claim at Shongweni that they have made "kin with the neighbours".

This phenomenon applies equally to the tenants (and those landlords who have recently come into the area). Very many of these people have no kinship connections within the area, and when they talk of their kin they invariably add that their kin are at such and such a place (mentioning the place they migrated from). Most tenants still go "home" for the important rituals, or to get married. For all groups at Shongweni there are only occasional meetings with kinsmen. For the landholders this is because they are spatially separated (depending on where they bought their land). For tenants, because they have more recently come from outside. This separation means, as one informant remarked, "that the kin get broken".

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1] Hammarsdale has since become the site for "border industries", developed as a part of the Bantustan "separate development" schemes of the Government. Thus industry is invading the area.

The missionary who founded the Kholwa community at Shongweni is not remembered to the same extent as Lindley is at Inanda. This is because there has been a great influx of recent settlers. There is very little which tends to form a unifying factor for the whole community.

#### 4. The Homestead (Umuzi):

The homestead is the basic unit of social organisation, both in the traditional society, and today. A woman marries into a homestead, which is usually inhabited by the husband and his agnatic kin. She is a stranger to the clan of her husband, and as such must be integrated into his lineage and kinship group, but she retains ties with her own blood throughout her life. Her children are "one blood" with herself and her husband, though they automatically belong to the husband's umndeni and clan. The homestead is thus perpetuated by recruiting the women, (who bear its children), from outside the clan to which the members born in the homestead belong.

The homestead is the only institution so far discussed that has retained not only the name, but also the function, which is served in the traditional society. It was an economic unit in the traditional society, and it is still an economic unit today. To retain its economic and jural character the homestead has been subjected to change more than any other formal institution. The changes which have enabled it to retain its functional role are important.

The traditional umuzi consisted of a number of houses

(izindlu) built in a horseshoe formation round the cattle byre (isibaya). It was based on the concept of polygamous marriage. It included the wives of the umuzi head, his adult sons, their wives and their children. If he was particularly powerful (or wealthy) it could include other agnates or even strangers.

Ideally, full marital and social status (isibalo) was accorded to at least five wives within the umuzi (subsequent wives being added to existing houses). Each house had its own cattle and fields, and provided its own food. The chief hut (indlunkulu) in the umuzi would be occupied by the umnumzana's mother (if she were alive), or by his chief wife (inkosikazi) if the mother had died. The principal heir (inkosana) was born from this house. Failing an heir in the indlunkulu, one could be supplied from the houses on the right hand side, which essentially complemented the indlunkulu. The houses on the left hand side (ikhohlo) could not supply principal heirs to the indlunkulu but they were the point at which the lineage would usually segment. This meant that they would break away to form separate independent imizi while the other houses remained behind in the parent umuzi.

The Natal Code<sup>1]</sup> mentions the four sections which it recognises. These provide for a simple pattern of indlunkulu, ikhohlo, iqadi, and a fourth section for "poor relations and strangers". The simplified pattern allowed for by the code is not really applicable today. The great majority of homesteads now consists of simple families, and are very rarely polygamous.

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1] Proclamation No. 168 of 1932: Section 100.

The status of houses falls away if there is only one house, but the position of the main heir (inkosana) remains. He is the first born son of the chief (or only wife). Do younger sons acquire the status which would normally have rested in the heirs to the various sections within the umuzi (e.g. of the ikhohlo or iqadi)? As regards house property they do not, largely because the concept of house property has undergone a change. There are barely enough cattle<sup>1]</sup> to give to individual houses, and in a few cases the allocation of fields is left vague<sup>2]</sup>. The concept of personal property has become much clearer. Property bought with the wages of a person belongs specifically to that person. The question of inheriting the parental umuzi indicates that it is the 'inkosana who will continue the seed of his father'. His younger brothers (if there is not room for them) will leave and build their own homesteads. However, if the inkosana does not wish to remain in his father's umuzi, or if father and son cannot live in peace, it is possible for the son to leave the homestead and for a younger brother to inherit.

The discrete umuzi separated from its neighbours is still the universal rule. Each umuzi is still placed adjacent to the fields it may plough (however small these may be and however few of them are eventually ploughed). Imizi are built much closer together today than they were in the past;

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1] See Chapter X.

2] See Chapter IX.



this is due to pressure of population. The decline in agricultural practice which has made it possible to have more residential land is an effect, and not a cause, of the high population density. Nevertheless, the concept of discrete scattered imizi has been maintained despite the fact that the functional reasons for this type of homestead have long since vanished.

The arrangement of the homesteads varies. There are still homesteads built round a cattle byre. The usual type of house in this instance is a wattle and daub rondavel with a conical thatched roof. There may be a simple square structure, also made from wattle and daub, or a house made from the new building blocks (made from a mixture of sand and cement), or on occasions even of burnt brick with plastered walls, doors and windows.

(i) The Size of Homestead:

I found that at Ndwedwe the median size of the homesteads in my sample was 7.2 persons. (For practical reasons, all persons who had gone out to work were classified as adults, while in most cases this would be the true position, it has possibly biased the estimates slightly in favour of the adults). The estimated median size of homesteads in Inanda is almost the same as for Ndwedwe at 7.3 persons. However, at Shongweni, the figure was lower at 6.3 persons as the median size of homesteads<sup>1]</sup> In this case the reason is probably that the Shongweni population

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1] This Shongweni figure, as well as additional figures below, are from the unpublished Survey of the area conducted by the Department of Economics, of the University of Natal, Durban.

TABLE X

SIZE OF HOMESTEADS IN THE SAMPLES FROM THE THREE AREAS<sup>1]</sup>;

No. of Persons in home- stead	NDWEDWE SAMPLE		INANDA SAMPLE		SHONGWENI SAMPLE	
	No. of home- steads	Popula- tion	No. of home- steads	Popula- tion	No. of home- steads	Popula- tion
1	6	6	-	-	30	30
2	14	28	2	4	51	102
3	17	51	9	27	128	384
4	22	88	8	32	178	712
5	66	230	6	30	174	870
6	48	288	7	42	170	1,020
7	29	203	7	49	144	1,008
8	35	280	11	88	113	904
9	31	279	3	27	81	729
10	11	110	5	50	52	520
11	12	132	2	22	34	374
12	9	108	1	12	32	384
13	9	117	2	26	12	156
14	12	168	2	28	5	70
15	9	135	-	-	5	75
16	6	96	1	16	4	64
17	2	34	1	17	-	-
18	3	54	-	-	2	36
19	1	19	-	-	1	19
20	4	80	1	20	-	-
21	4	84	-	-	-	-
22	1	22	-	-	-	-
23	1	23	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	1	29	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	1	33	-	-	-	-
34	1	34	-	-	-	-
TOTAL:	355	2,731	68	490	1,216	7,457

The figures for Ndwedwe and Inanda were collected during the course of my fieldwork in 1959/60. It must be appreciated that the total population of the district at that time was officially computed as 34,507 divided into 4,407 homesteads. The Shongweni figures are from the Economics Department Survey which covered 90% of the population of the area.

consists largely of tenants who have moved into the area to settle. Under such conditions it is extremely rare to find more than just a simple family living in a homestead.

Table X above gives further details of homestead size.

The size of homesteads is far smaller than it used to be. For instance, in his evidence to the 1852 Kaffir Commission, the Reverend Lewis Grout stated that the average homestead in the Inanda Location in 1852 consisted of 20 souls. By 1881 the figure had dropped to an estimated 14.3 souls. Thus, even in those days, there was apparently a drop in the size of homestead. This suggests that the shrinkage in the size of homestead has been going on for many decades.

The Administration of the Ndwedwe district, in computing population, uses a figure of 5 persons per umuzi; this is lower than the figure I obtained.

It is not clear from its methods of computation whether the Administration counts the absent wage earners as part of the umuzi population or not. In my figures the wage earner was counted as part of the population. I found that there was a median of 1.1 wage earners per umuzi, and this would mean that the effective day-to-day population of the umuzi would be 6.2 persons.

To get some idea of the locus of jural authority, I

classified homesteads into three groups: simple, expanded, or compound. A man who lived in a homestead that had only one kitchen was the head of a simple homestead. The importance of "having a fire" will be dealt with below. Where other persons were living with this family unit (e.g. mother or a sister and her illegitimate children), the important criteria were whether they contributed to the upkeep of the homestead at all, and, if they did make contributions, whether these went into one kitchen or two. A man living with his wife (or wives) and children, or with his adult children who had married and settled in his homestead, was the head of an expanded family. The essential test was once more how many separate kitchens were contained in the same homestead. The test for a compound homestead was the same as for an expanded homestead, except that, in this case, the head of the homestead was a brother, and not a father, to the other married men living in the homestead. This happens in cases where the umnumzana dies and his position is inherited by his eldest son (inkosana). In the Ndwedwe sample 60% of the imizi were simple homesteads, 27% were expanded and 13% were compound<sup>1]</sup>.

It is increasingly difficult for a son to take over as umnumzana from his father and to maintain his authority over his brothers, especially as most households in a homestead depend far more on their wage earners than on their fields for

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1] Reader, D.H. (1954): Makhanya Kinship Rights and Obligations: Communications from the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, pp. 1-2 for a brief description of homesteads in a similar situation.

food. One informant expressed it thus, that "the authority (amandla) comes from above", (i.e. the father), and "not from alongside" (i.e. the brother).

People said it would have been impossible for old people to live alone in the old days. They would have been "put in" to the umuzi of some agnate, but in the sample, 32 imizi (7.2%) had no visible means of support. They received no money from a wage earner and had no incomes from pensions - they eked out a living as best they could. These were usually homesteads of widows or women whose husbands and sons had deserted. Kinsmen and neighbours do occasionally help but the continued separate existence of the umuzi precludes very much financial aid being given to them.

"Pauline Msomi had met her husband in Johannesburg, where they married and set up house. She had subsequently agreed, with some reluctance, to come and live with his people. Her life as a makoti in a strange country after having had her own home in Johannesburg, was not easy. When her husband was killed in a street accident she was left without a breadwinner, with four children and an aged father-in-law to support. She lives on what little she can earn by doing togt labour, and also on the credit the local storekeeper (her husband's classificatory brother) is prepared to give her."

(ii) Homesteads and Households:

The number of households per homestead in the Ndwedwe

and Inanda samples is shown below - no data were available on this point from the Shongweni Survey:

TABLE XI.  
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PER HOMESTEAD IN THE  
NDWEDWE AND INANDA SAMPLES.

Households per homestead	NDWEDWE SAMPLE			INANDA SAMPLE		
	No. of homesteads	%	No. of households	No. of homesteads	%	No. of households
1	184	53.3	184	62	91.2	62
2	93	27.0	186	5	7.4	10
3	39	11.3	117	1	1.4	3
4	12	3.5	48			
5	8	2.3	40			
6	3	0.9	18			
7	3	0.9	21			
8	1	0.3	8			
9	2	0.5	18			
TOTAL:	345	100.0	640	68	100.0	75
Mean No. of households per homestead			1.86			1.10

This table shows that in the sample from Inanda nearly all the homesteads contained only one household. The homestead here usually consists of a man and his immediate family. No cases of polygamy in this area were encountered during the fieldwork,

and this reflects the predominant influence of Christianity. A widespread tendency of a married couple to prefer to set up their own homestead was observed. By contrast, at Ndwedwe almost half of the homesteads contained two or more households. This in part reflects the higher incidence of polygamy, and also the more traditional way of life still practised amongst the people in Ndwedwe, even though here too there is a tendency for married couples to want their own homestead.

The subdivision of the homestead into households is still made in terms of the number of kitchens, (lit. fires)<sup>1]</sup> which exist. Traditionally, a wife was accepted as independent when she had her own house (indlu), her own field (insimu), and her own kitchen (umlilo). Crops from fields are so meagre that the cultivation of fields (and even in some cases the allocation of fields) no longer is important as a source of food for the household. What is important is that the wife be given a kitchen. This implies that she has a source of money with which to buy food. The wife expects, and is entitled to receive, a regular portion of her husband's wages.

The basic unit of organisation at Inanda and Lindleyville is, as it is in the reserve at Ndwedwe, the homestead. In general size and composition the homesteads at Inanda do not

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1] Cf. Wilson, M., et al., (1952): "Social Structure": Keiskammahoek Rural Survey : Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, Vol. III, p.122, for a discussion of the kindling of one's own fire among the people of the Ciskei.

differ much from the homestead in the reserve, but there is a slightly higher proportion of people who go out to work. There is some correlation between the number of wage earners and the number of households within the homestead, or the number of homesteads which consist of a single monogamous family. It seems that there is a tendency for a separate kitchen to be established soon after a man marries. The people have recognised this, because they talk of the makoti casting "longing eyes" at her husband's money.

There has been a decline in the number of households in the homestead, probably indicating in part a decline in polygamy. There is no information on the incidence of polygamy in the traditional culture. Only 24 (5.8%) of the imizi recorded at Ndwedwe were polygamous. There were a total of 44 men who had contracted polygamous marriages, the great majority (66%) having two wives and a further 25% having three. The polygamists tended to be elderly men, 80% being estimated to be 50 years or older. The great majority (88%) were, as could be expected, traditionalists. Two Christians were recorded as polygamists. Neither of them had left their church although their later marriages were customary unions and not contracted according to Christian rites. I could get no information on the attitude of the Church to their polygamous unions<sup>1]</sup>.

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1] No cases of polygamy were reported from the Kholwa at Inanda. A few doubtful cases were encountered at Shongweni, but these involved no marriage ceremony of any kind, and could be more correctly described as concubinage.



The rules of exogamy which are binding on the people at Ndwedwe, are also binding on the people at Inanda. The relaxation of the rules in favour of persons whom "our grandfathers would have called kin" are also observed. This means that people who a generation ago may still have shared the same isithakazelo now marry each other without being unduly worried. Marriage is still viri-local but there are exceptions. A son settles as close to his parents as possible. This is becoming increasingly difficult as ground in Lindleyville is particularly scarce.

(iii) Relations Within The Homestead<sup>1]</sup>:

The interesting and important factors in the composition of the modern homestead are the relations between the head of the homestead and other adult male members who are wage earners. If a man breaks away as soon after marriage as possible to establish an independent homestead of his own, there will be no problem. Usually, however, there is a breakaway only when the tensions within the homestead mean that the inhabitants can no longer live at peace under one roof - "a man must respect (hlonipha) his father but he has to live with his wife" (i.e. the wishes of the wife will override the filial obligations of the son). The crucial relationships in the setting up of a new umuzi are those between the unumuzana of the old, and his son

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1] For other interpretations of relations within the homestead see Gluckman, M., op. cit., Reader, D.H., op. cit., Vilikazi, A., op. cit. The last two give comparative and corroborative data on neighbouring people.

(or brother) who will be the umnumzana of the new homestead. Very often it is the women who crystallise the issue when the relationship with the mother-in-law, or between sisters-in-law, becomes too strained. Then the men have to take action. Arguments and accusations of witchcraft by the women lead to accusations of stubbornness by the men; but people know that the "umuzi with headstrong people will break" (umuzi wezichwaga uzocithaka). It is the men who have to make the decisions; they will have to take the steps to find a new site, and to "build up" a new umuzi.

The relationships between the head of the homestead (umnumzana) and his sons (or if it is a compound homestead), his brothers, was analysed from the sample of homesteads at Ndwedwe. I found that 281 (48%) of those recorded as sons, were adults, still living in their father's umuzi. There were fewer recorded as brothers (136), but of these, 82% were recorded as adults.

a] The Ummuzana:

The umnumzana must be a "man" (indoda); it is not a position for "boys" (abafana). When people say this, they imply that the umnumzana must not only be the genealogically senior male, but he must have personality (isithunzi) and authority (ngemandla).

Even these minimum requirements cannot be met today. Twenty-three (7%) of the imizi were not even in the charge of a male, they were headed by females. It was always carefully explained (usually by close male kin), that such women would

come to their close male kin for advice if they needed it. This is not always so. The Zulu woman in her male dominated society has probably never been without her wiles, and has been able to exercise her power behind the "closed doors" of her house. In some cases these doors have been opened, and the woman's authority is now openly displayed. Men remark that "when women cry, men will have to listen", which is an admission that the wife was never completely helpless. Some women have made use of their position as heads of homesteads, and taken decisions which they should normally have referred to their closer male kin.

There is one outstanding case of a woman who reputedly rejected the idea that she should be nkena'd after her husband's death. She makes an adequate (perhaps ample) living brewing beer and distilling liquor. She has had several lovers of her own choosing, and is bringing up her growing family with advantages which many other homes do not possess.

Apart from the change in the sex of the heads of some homesteads, there have also been changes in the age and marital status. Eight per cent of the banumzana were single men, and a few were in the process of completing marriage negotiations. It is possible for relatively young men to achieve the status of head of the homestead. There were a few men under 20 who had achieved this status. In most cases where youngsters have become heads of homesteads, or where they are unmarried, they have succeeded to their father's position. I found no case of a

bachelor who had set up his own homestead<sup>1]</sup>.

Most heads of homesteads are wage earners (some have retired and some are temporarily out of work). The greater majority, however, are working.

Another interesting and important aspect of the position of the head in relation to the homestead is that he is no longer the sole arbiter of the activities of the homestead. It is not possible, for instance, to correlate the number of professing church members with the religious affiliation of the heads of the homesteads. Roughly 57% of the population claim (as individuals) to be church members (of either Separatist or Orthodox Churches), while 60% of the heads of the homesteads claim to have no religion and are classified as traditionalists. It is mainly women and children who are church members, and it does not seem to be compatible with the dignity or status of the head to claim to worship his ancestral shades while his wife and children are members of a church<sup>2]</sup>. The authority of the head is perhaps explicitly

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1] There is a general feeling that marriage does convey adult status on a man. This feeling can be used to advantage or ignored, depending on the particular situation. I found that in discussing men in terms of (tribal) political office, this was one of the factors always mentioned; but there are occasions when attempts are made to ignore it. The rule no longer has general unchallenged application.

2] This happens in other areas where the distinction between traditionalists and Christians are not clearly drawn. See Wilson, M. (1952): et. al., op. cit., p.134.

challenged in a situation like this, although people do not see the challenge in these terms. They recognise that there has been a change in the relationship to the unnumzana in the imizi; his children, for example, no longer pay as much attention to their father as they used to. Children who have grown up have "hardened teeth" (amazinyo esenginile), and they wish to lead their own separate lives.

More than two-thirds of the adult sons living with their fathers are unmarried, approximately 13% are negotiating marriage; this means that only 31% of adult married sons still live in their father's umuzi.

There are comparatively fewer adult brothers sharing an umuzi with an elder brother. The great majority of brothers who do share are adults, of whom two-thirds are unmarried. The absence of brothers who are minors is more significant. It seems that few married brothers with younger children continue to live in an umuzi of which a brother is the head. They prefer to set up an independent homestead. This accounts for the relatively few compound homesteads encountered.

b] Relations Between Brothers:

Relations between brothers are friendly and convivial - "he is my closest blood who will go with me when I sheia" (go courting). Even where there is a difference in age between brothers, the respect expected of a son is not expected of a younger brother.

A man will have closer relations with a brother he

describes as umtwana wakhwetu (a child of "our house", i.e. from the same womb), than with the man he calls brother (umfowethu). His relations with the brother who is regarded as mfowethu nkulu (big brother), even if that brother is the main heir (inkosana), are still that of a brother and not of a father. The property of a man devolves on his inkosana on his death, and the inkosana in succeeding to the position of umnumzana of the umuzi, is responsible for the allocation of property not only in his house, but also in the homestead. He is guardian of the women and minors. Where it is possible to devise property by will, and where much house property in any homestead is regarded as belonging to the purchaser, the main task of the inkosana who becomes umnumzana is to aid his brothers in retaining their land or in helping them to get new building sites. The elder brother is not regarded as having the same authority as the father, and the tendency (even in the father's umuzi), to break up into smaller units is accelerated when the inkosana has succeeded his father.

### c] Other Relations in the Homestead:

The relationship between different categories of people in the homestead was closely circumscribed in the traditional society. These were inculcated in children as part of the process of growing up. There are still many attitudes which society would like to see its members hold. I shall list these to indicate what people expect within the homestead.

#### I. Relationship Between the Spouses:

The relationship between the husband and wife in

the umuzi represents the point at which the affinal relationship between the man's clan and the woman's clan make contact. The wife is recruited from a different clan, but in many respects she is assimilated to the agnatic line of her husband. She calls her husband's parents baba (father), and mame, and uses the same terms as her husband uses for his other agnates.

The wife never really severs the connection with her own agnatic kin. She visits them continually, and her mother comes to visit the ulingana (the affines), especially her son-in-law (mkwenyana). There are still some intermittently performed rules which can be used to introduce the makoti (new bride) "to the shades" of her husband's people. These include the rules of hlonipha, which demand of the young bride that she avoid the names of the male agnates of her husband, that until she is given special permission, she does not drink the milk from her husband's cattle (ukudliwa amasi), and that she observe other food taboos (ukuzila); she must also go "covered" (ukuhiza), as a mark of respect. This usually means that she ties a scarf diagonally across her breasts.

In practice the rules of verbal hlonipha are most strictly observed. These are observed even in Christian homes, although English words are often substituted for traditional circumlocutions. Attitudes on the part of wives to their husbands' cattle are ambivalent. In theory people adhere to the rules of avoidance, but in practice the women may have to work with the cattle, and this may even include milking them.

A husband, (whether he is head of the homestead or not),

should act as legal and social guardian of his wife. Her acts and her behaviour are as much a reflection of his household as of her upbringing. He must provide her with a house and food (which means giving her money or sending her groceries in lieu of money); she must be given her own kitchen (as soon as possible), and perhaps her own fields. He must provide her with clothes, furniture and linen (if they have adopted a Western pattern of life). He may discipline her, but should be circumspect - "she is not a child that he can beat all the time". He must support her in her disputes (especially with neighbours, or more probably their wives). He should be careful of his relationship with his wives if he is a polygamist, and not spend too much time with the favourite wife (intandakazi).<sup>1]</sup> He must look after her when she is ill, and call the doctor (or consult a herbalist). He will also be responsible for the debts of his wife; and he should listen to her complaints and pay heed to them if only because "women can cry longest". He will also (although this is only implied) pay attention to the privately expressed opinions of his wife, because she has a clearer idea of the needs and problems at home.

A wife is a stranger to the home of her husband, to his clansmen and (unless they are staunch Christians) to his ancestral shades. She should respect the husband's kin, and co-operate with them; she should accept whatever position she

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1] One informant explained that a polygamist who does this "always coughs", i.e. he can never be sure that his wives are not putting something in his food because he is neglecting them.



is given as a new bride (makoti), but when she is given her own kitchen, she should cook for her husband, clean his house, cultivate her garden, gather imfino (relishes), fetch firewood and water, and nowadays buy her food from the store without getting into debt or spending her money all at once. She should reserve her sexual services for her husband exclusively, bear his children, and nurse him if he is ill. She should brew beer for him and his guests (or make tea in the homes where beer is not brewed). She should have everything prepared if guests come, but be unobtrusive while they are there; she should wait for her opinion to be asked, but this does not exclude her thinking aloud in her own kitchen. She must be jealous of her children, and protect them and the property of her house.

## II. The Obligations of Parents Towards Children, and Children to Parents:

Children born of a legal union are under the immediate care of their mother and the ultimate authority of their father. Parents should feed and clothe their children; teach them the accepted pattern of behaviour; they must care for them until they are old enough to go out to work; they must treat their children well and not neglect them. A father or a male relative should discipline their children - in practice this must often be done by the mother; a mother must be careful through pregnancy and babyhood to see that no physical or magical harm comes to her child; children must be protected either by doctors, izinyanga or izangoma; the decision to consult rests with the father. A mother must adjust the problems between her children - it is a disgrace for the noise (umsindo) from one house to disturb

the homestead. The father should provide for the uniform, books, and school fees of children who go to school. The mother is usually responsible for the religious instruction of her children. A mother is also responsible for teaching her daughters the basic facts about menstruation, but leaves overt sex instruction to the peer group. The father is responsible for the actions of minors in his homestead; he may be held responsible for the action of children when they are adults; parents should be willing to "lend" their children to brothers or sisters, and must be willing to "accept" children from their siblings; parents are not responsible for helping with the payments of their sons' lobola and what help they can give is nowadays in the nature of an unexpected dividend; a father must help with (but need not provide) for he often cannot, ground for the umuzi of a son who wants to set up on his own, otherwise he must give the son some fields to be utilised by his wife; parents should maintain appropriate relations with their affines (abelingane) i.e. people with whom their children marry; a woman should always maintain her interest in her children, and be a welcome guest at the home of her son-in-law; a mother is also responsible for the preparations of the wedding and she must see that the neighbours help with the feast (izipheko).

Children, during their minority, are trained and disciplined in the household, and they are dependent on their parents. They should obey their parents, and recognise their authority; boys should herd cattle from their sixth year onwards (if they go to school they must look after the cattle when they come home); boys (bafana) and young men (insinsizwe) should

carry out orders given by the parents or elder people in the homestead; they should help their fathers at home with the ploughing. They should not be obtrusive and may often be sent away when a ceremony is performed. Girls should assist their mothers in looking after the house and the children, and they fetch water and wood, and help with the cooking. Orders from close agnates, whether from the umuzi or not, should be obeyed. When they grow up and go to work, boys should save their money (for lobola). It is not considered necessary for them to hand over their money to their parents; girls very rarely give wages to their parents unless they are supporting an illegitimate child. Even after marriage the eldest son (inkosana) should continue to live in his father's homestead, which he will inherit.

### III. Relations Between Siblings:

The people whom a man calls brother (mfowethu) can be any category of clansman who can trace a common agnatic eponym, and are of the same generation as himself. A circumlocution is needed to distinguish the children of a "house" (i.e., of one mother) from other brothers. One either talks of children of the womb (wesisu), or children of our mother (abantwana bakwetu).

Children are expected to co-operate and work together, except for the eldest brother who will inherit the father's property. The child who can "show he is a bull" (inkunzi uzibeka), i.e. demonstrate his prowess, will generally be the leader of a group of his siblings (owethu).

Children are expected to have quarrels, but they are expected to settle their differences without worrying their elders unduly. The older children of a house (indlu) should protect their younger siblings.

The bonds formed by the sibling groups are expected to endure through life. They do, however, become weaker when people move away, not only in the case of sisters who marry out, but also among brothers who leave to live elsewhere.

#### IV. Distribution of Wage Earnings:

Details were obtained from fieldwork in Ndwedwe and Inanda of the persons within homesteads to whom wages were distributed by wage earners. (It should be noted that wage earners themselves were very often away working in urban areas). Table XII below gives the data in tabulation form:-

TABLE XII  
DISTRIBUTION OF WAGES WITHIN THE HOMESTEAD -  
NDWEDWE AND INANDA SAMPLES.

Wages are given by Wage Earners to the Following- (in the homestead)	Ndwedwe Sample		Inanda Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Nobody <sup>1]</sup>	138	19.8	30	20.8
Self or wife	292	42.0	73	50.7
Father or mother	224	32.0	29	20.1
Brother	11	1.5	2	1.4
Don't know	33	4.7	10	7.0
TOTAL:	698	100.0	144	100.0

1] Includes people kept out of work by influx control.

It will be seen that both in Ndwedwe and Inanda in the greatest single number of cases, the wages went to either the wife or the earner him/herself, or to a lesser extent, to the father or mother of the earner. Other relatives do not figure to any important extent in the picture. A point worth noting is that relative to Ndwedwe, Inanda has a lower percentage of cases where a father or mother receive the earnings, and a correspondingly higher percentage where the earner or his wife get the earnings. This is related to the lower incidence of multi-household homesteads at Inanda, where married couples are more likely to form a separate economic unit. This can be taken as another index of the less traditional way of life at Inanda when compared with Ndwedwe.

One reason for the emergence of the smaller unuzi has been the need to supplement food production with wage earnings. The distribution of wages is an important aspect of life in the homestead. At Ndwedwe slightly less than half (42%) of the wage earners give money to their wives, and less than one-third (32%) give money to their parents<sup>1]</sup>. In the case of married wage earners, about three-quarters (72%) give money to their wives as against one-twentieth who give money to their parents<sup>2]</sup>.

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1] Wages and money in this context mean regular payments; the occasional gift was not considered as a regular contribution to the family budget.

2] The following comparative data were obtained from the factory workers in Durban: Single men sent money to mother and father in 84.6% cases, to brothers in 7.2% cases. Married men sent money to wife in 64.9% cases, to parents in 28.8% cases, to brothers in 1.8% cases.

Table XIII below gives further details of the pattern by marital status.

TABLE XIII  
DISTRIBUTION OF WAGES BY MARITAL STATUS OF CONTRIBUTOR.  
NDWEDWE SAMPLE.

Wage Earner gives his wages to the following in the homestead	MARITAL STATUS OF WAGE-EARNER								Total No.
	Married		Single		Betrothed		Widower		
	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	No. of cases	%	
Nobody	64	16.4	27	11.4	47	71.2	-	-	138
Self or wife	279	71.5	13	5.5	-	-	-	-	292
Father or mother	21	5.4	189	80.1	8	12.1	6	-	224
Brother	7	1.8	4	1.7	-	-	-	-	11
Don't know	19	4.9	3	1.3	11	16.7	-	-	33
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>698</b>

\* Too few to percentage.

As one would expect, single (unmarried) wage earners usually give their earnings to their father or mother (four-fifths of the cases follow this pattern). By contrast, most (71%) of the betrothed earners do not share their earnings with others in the homestead.

The obligation to provide primarily for the wife is created when a man marries. He is responsible for his immediate family - "a man listens to the crying of his children". It has an important effect on the homestead. Wives achieve their independence when their husbands send them a regular remittance with which to buy food from the stores. Whereas co-wives or women living in the same homestead still help in each other's fields and may still be rewarded with produce from those fields, it is unusual for them to share either the man's earnings or the food bought with those earnings. "A woman must be careful of her money or her husband may stop sending" is a warning which buttresses the general frugality of the housewife. The pressure to set up an independent household is often crystallised by the difficulties experienced by daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law. These difficulties centre round the control of the money which is sent home, especially when both women feel they have a right to receive it.

#### V. The Peer Group:

The children in the homestead combine with children from other homesteads to form local peer groups. The tendency is for boys, when they reach the age of herding, and girls when they are old enough to help the mother in the house, to form groups. This sexual distinction is very clear in the traditional society, and is still maintained today except schooling tends to throw boys and girls more closely together.

Nowadays there is a tendency for sexes to mix freely at school. One of the important functions of the peer group is

to instruct younger members on attitudes towards the opposite sex, and also on sexual matters. In practice this instruction is not very successful. Among Christians the Church disapproves of discussing sexual matters, and it naturally disapproves of pre-marital intercourse<sup>1]</sup>. Even the traditionalists are no longer taught the permissible forms of pre-marital contact such as ukussosoma and ukuhlobonga<sup>2]</sup>. The increase in the birth of pre-marital children is directly ascribed to the fact that "children no longer learn as they used to".

The emphasis on relationship nowadays falls on the immediate family (bakwethu). There is a tendency to think in terms of a smaller and not a wider span of kinship<sup>3]</sup>. Economic obligations (except possibly for the debts of a wife) are looked upon as the responsibility of the individual. Help in paying lobola, hospital fees, taxes or fines, depends on the goodwill of a man's agnatic kin. Financial help is not expected unless a man "would like to help".

Because the umuzi today is small and consists largely of a single household the rights and obligations derived from the kinship system have remained concentrated within the umuzi, and are consequently applicable to a smaller range of people than they were traditionally<sup>4]</sup>.

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1] Cf. Vilakazi, A. (1958): op. cit., Chapter III.

2] These were institutionalised forms of inter-crural intercourse. Bryant, A.T., (1949): The Zulu People : Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, p. 569.

3] Cf. Reader, D.H. (1954): op. cit., p.1.

4] Reader, D.H. op. cit., has discussed this for the Mkhanya.



## VI. The Position of Women and the Division of Labour:

The role of women in the traditional society, which was a male oriented world, allowed for institutionalised methods<sup>1]</sup> of challenging this role, notably in the ceremonies. Despite the outward symbols of male dominance and the pressures of the Administration<sup>2]</sup>, women are showing an increasing independence. Women can go out to work and some have become heads of homesteads. For those who have not gone out to work, or who are only temporarily in charge while their husbands are away, there has also been greater independence over the years.

The absence of men from the district, due to the system of migratory labour, means that women are often left in sole charge of the homestead while their husbands are away. It is also generally accepted that when the man does return home, it will only be for brief periods in his working life. This has meant that the division of labour within the home has to be adjusted because "the wife must have strength while the man is away". This refers not only to the need to fortify herself against the temptation of other men's advances, but also to attend to things at home while the husband is in town.

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1] Gluckman, M. (1935): "Women in Hoe Culture Rituals", Bantu Studies, Vol. 9, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.

2] The marriage ceremonies, for example, still lay stress on the wife coming over to the husband's clan. Marriage is still in the majority of cases viri-local. The Administration regards African women as perpetual minors, and generally holds the view that they are not competent to act on their own initiative. Commissioners in Natal were forbidden to receive deputations of women in 1959 on the grounds that the proper people to make these representations are "the recognised Bantu Authority, the Tribal Chiefs, and the responsible male leaders of the community". W.W.M. Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, in a press statement ("Natal Mercury", 21st August, 1959).

The male in the traditional society built and repaired the umuzi; attended to the cattle; prepared virgin land for cultivation and attended on the induna and chief. Women were tied to the home, which they cared for and cleaned; they looked after their children and prepared the food. The division today is no longer so clear cut. Women work with cattle, often because there are not men to help. They plough, and do work around the house which would normally be left to men. The preparation of food, the task of the woman in the traditional society, still largely devolves on them.

One quarter (26.5%) of the wage earners said that they bought most of the family needs in town "because it is cheaper". The shift in emphasis is significant: the husband, while neglecting some of his own duties in the home, has taken over some of the wife's duties. The changes in the composition and function of the homestead are not limited to one community or one area. They have been noted in all three communities in which field work was done, and they have reported from studies done in neighbouring communities<sup>1]</sup>. The changes have not all been uniform, but they have followed the same pattern. Because it has remained a basic economic group, the homestead has had to adjust to the money economy and to migrant labour.

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1] Vilakazi, A. (1958): op. cit.,  
Reader, D.H. (1954): op. cit.

VII. Territorial Groups:

Territorial grouping is another aspect of the traditional structure which has, in some instances, been retained. There are two territorial groups: the Isigodi (a ward), and the Isifunda (a chiefdom). A third division Isizwe (the nation) does not exist for any practical purpose. In practice a number of isifunda would make up the isizwe, and a number of isigodi comprise the isifunda. The isigodi can (though it need not necessarily) be sub-divided into smaller sections; such a section is known as an umfula (a river) where it exists.

(1) The Isigodi:

The isigodi is a territorial unit which unites members of a common territory under the leadership of the induna or umnumzana wesigodi. The number of isigodi within a chiefdom varies from as few as four to as many as eleven. The size of the chiefdom is a factor, but local pressures may make it politic to allow new isigodi to be established quite independently of its size. An isigodi may comprise anything from 36 to 200 homesteads. The average number of homesteads forming an isigodi is approximately 97<sup>1]</sup>.

The isigodi may be established because the undabuko clan "plants" a senior clansman as induna in a hitherto sparsely populated section of the isifunda, and thereby extends its own influence. It may, on the other hand, be established because

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1.] These computations were made with the aid of aerial photographs taken of the district.

people not of the umdabuko clan who are settled in a section of the isifunda, choose their own induna and thus form a new isigodi. The creation of the Noganga isigodi was a direct result of the Gcgugcwa lineage of the umdabuko clan wishing to maintain their distinctiveness vis-a-vis the chief's lineage. The creation of the Ezimpondweni isigodi was, however, due to the pressures which the local Ntshangase people brought to bear. The Ntshangase wanted their own induna, and say the Shrangase agreed to the request because the new isigodi would protect the Shangase from their neighbours at Cibane.

The boundaries of the isigodi are defined by various natural features such as rivers and mountain tops. It binds together a number of homesteads in a territorial unit, and cuts across ties of kinship and descent. It is, for example, possible for members of one umndeni to live in two separate isigodi. It is not, however, possible for a local neighbourhood group to live in two separate isigodi. The isigodi therefore consists of a number of homesteads, which in turn are moulded into a local group.

The induna of the isigodi is sometimes referred to as the representative of the men (othumelayo yamadoda). He has the power to arbitrate and, if he feels powerful enough, to adjudicate disputes. Problems and disputes which can no longer be dealt with by the umndeni or which it is powerless to deal with, can be brought to the induna. He must arbitrate (ukulamula) the problems. If they cannot be settled by "talking to the induna" they may be taken to the chief's court. This is the only court in which judgement (isigwebu) may be given according to

Native Law<sup>1]</sup>.

Thus the induna is the first institutionalised point of contact between imindeni. He represents his isigodi at the Chief's court. His office is partially recognised by the Administration, but it is not remunerated. His duties are vaguely defined, and often he has the advantage over the chief in that he does not undertake administrative work (such as issuing new instructions) which falls to the chief. In this way he is able to escape some of the obliquity to which the chief is subject.

(ii) The Isifunda:

The isifunda consists of a number of isigodi and it is the unit recognised by the Administration as a "tribe". This recognition extends to the chief (nkosi), who thus exercises jurisdiction over the isifunda. The chief is paid a stipend by the Administration. The followers of a chief are all those people who share the name of the isifunda, and who pay allegiance to the chief, i.e. those people who live within the boundaries of the isifunda.

VIII Voluntary Associations:

There are formal institutions which are not based on

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1] Chief's courts are the only courts recognised by the Administration. There is an important difference between arbitrating (ukulamula) and giving judgement (ikugweba). This matter is dealt with in some detail below where the differences between disputes (izindaba, imibango) and cases (amacala) are discussed

traditional institutions and which, because they are formed on some voluntary basis, cut across kinship and territorial loyalties. Such groups result from membership of the same church; by having had school education; by having a common taste in recreation, or by economic inter-dependence. Such voluntary associations cut across family and kinship ties, and may even extend beyond the immediate locality.

The nucleus of all the activities is usually a group of people living fairly near one another; since the basis of common interests can normally only be sustained by personal contact. Where these activities result in permanent institutions such as church congregations, schools and their committees, or associations formed to protect the land rights of people, or even "stokfels", (which are savings clubs), they form part of the social structure of the community.

CHAPTER IXLAND TENURE

Traditionally the chief controlled the allocation of all tribal lands, which he allocated to his followers. When someone was allocated land it meant that he paid allegiance to the chief by serving him in war, bringing to him disputes to settle, and observing all the rituals which surrounded the chieftainship. Once the allocation had been made the land could not be taken away again except for misdemeanour. It entitled the tribesman to build a homestead, to plough fields and to protect his allotment from encroachment by neighbours. Land could pass in the agnatic line from one generation to the next. The people were pastoralists and practised shifting cultivation. They belonged to unstable units bound by ties of kinship which would segment when one section moved away with their herds<sup>1]</sup>.

1. The Situation Today in Ndwedwe:

People still live in tribes on land which has been expressly reserved for them, but the land which has been set aside is limited, and they are subject to strict control by the Administration. The history of these reserves in Natal has

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1] Gluckman, M.: (1958): "An Analysis of the Social Situation in Modern Zululand": Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 28, Manchester University Press.

already been recounted<sup>1]</sup>. The whole of the Ndwedwe district falls into an area which is held in trust exclusively for African occupation. The trustee is the State President and the land is administered by the South African Native Trust. Apart from the reserve at Ndwedwe there are also three mission reserves (Inanda, Thafamasi and Umsenduze) with Mission Glebes attached to them.

The Administration's attitude towards the allocation of land is the same as its attitude towards the recognition of the chief. It recognises 'traditional institutions' but it subjects them to control. The Administration allows a chief or headman to allot to 'each married Native resident' within his jurisdiction sufficient land for arable and residential purposes<sup>2]</sup>. The Commissioner retains the right to 'direct' that further allotments be made<sup>3]</sup>; to reduce the size of allotments already made<sup>4]</sup>; or to re-allocate to the heir the allotment of a deceased 'Native resident'<sup>5]</sup>.

These three broad categories of land recognised by the people themselves - the chief's land (today usually steep inhospitable slopes), the land allocated to an umuzi (whether built on, or virgin land), and grazing land. The one possible and rather typical exception to this is the flat land which can sometimes be found on the top of hills. This is often

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1] See Chapter IV.

2] Proclamation No. 123 of 1932, Section 3.

3] Sections 4 and 5.

4] Section 7.

5] Section 8.



inaccessible, and for this reason (there is also usually no running water) it is also uninhabited. Sometimes people use these mountain tops for grazing, but there are often accidents in getting the animals up to or down from the grazing.

a) Communal Tenure:

All land in the district is held under a system of communal tenure. In practice this means that a man is allocated a piece of land on which he is to exercise certain exclusive rights. He must build a house and he may cultivate the fields; the crops from the fields belong to him and to his homestead. No one else may exercise these rights without his express permission. He can challenge the right of an unauthorised person (including the chief) to be on his land. After his death the land devolves on his heir, following the agnatic line. His widow, in practice, can live on his land during her widowhood. The people regard this as an immutable right and are not aware that the Commissioner technically has to re-allocate each site.

The limitation on the very real rights of the recipient are that he may not 'dispose' of the land by selling it; nor may he without the approval of the community, transfer it to a stranger; nor may he lend part of his homestead (although fields may be temporarily lent). Once the land has been allocated the community retains only such rights as a right of

way<sup>1]</sup>, the right of access to water and natural produce, and a general right to protect its land from alienation. Natural resources such as potclay, sand for building, reeds for mats, etc. are common property (but one should tell the umnumzana that one wishes to collect). The rights which an individual acquires over the land are lost only if the allocation should be abandoned.

Where in the modern situation land has to be 'alienated' for such purposes as schools, roads, churches or dips, the transaction is controlled by the South African Native

1] Paths and footpaths are more numerous in the reserves than roads. An established footpath is for 'all people' (bonk 'Abantu) to walk on (but walking about at night can arouse suspicion and accusations of trespass). Footpaths link one umuzi with the next, and link all imizi with the store and the bus terminus. They lead up into the mountains where women collect firewood, and they lead down into the valleys where they fetch water. Most paths bifurcate as one approaches an umuzi, so that it is possible to bypass the homestead while one crosses its ground. A person using the footpath has the choice of slow gossipy (ogavugavu) progress, or he may just 'hurry past' (ukuthwaluza). New footpaths, if they are made to replace older ones which are eroding away, are usually made without any notice being taken of them. A completely new footpath, especially if it crosses someone's fields, is likely to cause trouble, but community pressure, if persistent, will win in the end:

'Vika Mhlongo objected to people walking across his fields to the new store which had just opened. He first warned people who walked across his lands. Then he assaulted a young boy whom he found, and finally he put up a fence of thorn bushes. All his protests were to no avail: it was shorter to go to the store this way, and eventually a path was made.'

Trust. This land is never sold but only leased to the holder by the Trust in return for an annual rent. The Trust is in all cases able to transcend the rights which an individual or community may have on a specific piece of land.

b) Limitations of Community Rights:

The reserves by their very nature are limited areas of land which were set aside for occupation. Though they may have been extensive areas when they were first demarcated, they have not been substantially added to for a century<sup>1]</sup>. The result is that with the increase of population land has become scarce<sup>2]</sup>. There is still unused ground, but it is considered to be part of an existing allocation. Thus it is not only the chief, but the people to whom the ground 'belongs' who have to agree to a new allocation. Within the reserves, tribes were settled and remained in one place. There was no room to continue to practise the traditional shifting cultivation. Thus the Zulu pastoralist remained either a herder of cattle, or became a migrant labourer, but did not become a peasant farmer subsisting on a cash crop<sup>3]</sup>.

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1] Brookes, E.H. and N. Hurwitz (1957): op. cit., p.11.

2] See Chapter IV.

3] Cf. Redfield, R.(1956): Peasant Society and Culture : University of Chicago Press. The distinct economic 'fields' of the peasant are on the whole less distinct and less disruptive of the local life than are those which affect the tribesman. The more primitive man is the one more likely to enter modern industry when it is established in his country. The land-owning peasant, with a way of life already in stable adjustment to many aspects of civilisation, is more resistant to industrialisation. p.59.

The results in Ndwedwe have been not only an increased pressure on the land, but a general preference for labour (which leads the population to regard the land not as a source of income or even a source of food, but as a place to build a home).

c) The Chief and Land:

In this situation the position of the chief and the allocation of land have been altered by the conditions which obtain in the reserve. Despite the wording in the regulations, the chief does not have the power to allocate land which has already been allocated, or which is regarded as having been already allocated. The density of 160 persons per square mile means it is virtually only the inhospitable mountain sides which "belong to the chief" (indawo yenkosi). Consequently allocation has now become a matter of adjustment between the chief and those people who are regarded as having rights over the land. Gone are the once liberal land allocations<sup>1]</sup>. Land is, however, never allocated without reference to the chief, because he is

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1] The Rev. Lewis Grout presented figures in 1852 which indicated that each individual in the Inanda Location was entitled to about 14 acres of land. He computed that a family of six (in his terminology this was a house (indlu) and not a homestead (umuzi)), was entitled to 85 acres. At the time he contrasted this 'extravagant grant' with the 'normal' grant of 6,000 acres to each immigrant farmer. (Evidence 1852 Commission, 28.12.1852). It is difficult to gauge the size of original allocations as they have expanded as more ground was needed, but a rough calculation today allows roughly four acres per head of population, and approximately 20 acres per homestead of six. Much of this is of course quite uninhabitable, and some must also be kept for grazing.

recognised as the head of the isifunda. Membership of the tribe is a basic requirement entitling a man to receive an allotment, from the community through the chief.

d) Importance of Land to the Individual:

The fact that no peasant farmers have developed is significant. The acceptance by the people of the system of migratory labour has meant that men leave the district to work in the towns. Their wages are the only source of income (and food) for their families. They do not attempt to farm their land but regard it primarily as home (ekhaya). The importance of having a home cannot be underestimated. It is the place where a man leaves his family, aware that the alternatives may be the slum conditions he sees in Durban<sup>1]</sup>, or the overcrowding and high rents which he hears of when he passes through the freehold area of Inanda on his way home. 'Home' makes a man settled; he is a man who comes home (ingoduka). 'A man without a place (to build) will eat while he runs' (onindawo uhlafuna egijima), i.e. will never settle down.

e) The Landholding Group:

As noted in Chapters V and VII, the umndeni, where

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1] Cato Manor (Mkhumbane) was, until the Durban Corporation started clearing it and resorting people elsewhere, one of the bigger shack areas in Durban. Country people generally are contemptuous (or frightened) of such places: women are all flighty (onchongwane) or prostitutes (izifeba) and if one is to believe the stories, liquor is so plentiful and strong that it burns holes in the streets where it flows. Today (in the mid 1960's) there are very few African-occupied shacks left in the Metropolitan Area of Durban.

it functions as an effective minimal lineage, is still an important institution in the social structure. In Diagrams 1 and 2, pages 146 and 147, I showed the limits of what might be called an umndeni. It is important to understand the growth of these groups. The entry into the area (Chapter IV) of small groups of clansmen or even of individuals continued over a number of years. As each clan group arrived its members had to khonza to the local chief, who usually sent them to an umnunzana (i.e. the head of the umuzi), so that they might 'look round'. Eventually these people asked for, and were given, an allotment of land. By existing standards the allotments were very large. As these clansmen married and had children, the umndeni groups as shown in Diagrams 1 and 2 developed.

It was possible, because of the size of the allotments, for a man to find land for his sons as they grew up and broke away from the old homestead. It was, as the people explain, 'a good thing that a son will stay near his father'. There grew up on each separate allotment the nucleus of what today constitutes a residential group - a group of agnates who live as neighbours.

It was not, however, only agnates who grew up and needed land. People were always coming into the district from outside, and many of them asked for land. The people explain that 'it was right that they should ask for land and that we should give it, for were we ourselves not given land when we asked for it?'. So over a period of time one would find that in a piece of land which was referred to as kwamsomi or kwangwane there would be not only Msomis or Ngwanes living. Sometimes

(see Diagram 2) a whole group of agnates would leave. Younger sons left with their widowed mother when she married elsewhere, or perhaps one section of the umndeni would find new land for itself in another part of the isigodi or the isifunda. While there was still land available, people moved round 'looking for newer places from which to watch the sunrise'.

The groups of neighbours shared common interests, because they had received allocation of land from a common source, whereas the groups of agnatic kinsmen shared a common descent because 'we came from the same testicle' (isende). Thus, though the umndeni, which was continually expanding and developing, remained in all local situations the dominant group in any neighbourhood, it shared its interests in the land it occupied with the people who were neighbours (makelwane), but not kinsmen. When I asked people from whom they received land they gave many different answers. Some people said they received it from the chief because this is 'all his land'; others answered by naming the umndeni group; and some answered by mentioning the name of a specific person. This last would be the person who actually had land, who because it was 'not built on' (i.e. not being used), allowed it to be allotted to someone else. When the people talk amongst themselves they accept that the 'land is the chief's', but they also know that this place (indawo) was given to the Msomis or Ngwanos, and that the boundaries (ncele) between 'our place' (indawe ethu) and the place of others are defined in terms of the land which was once given to the eponym of the dominant umndeni.

People are explicit about the land which forms

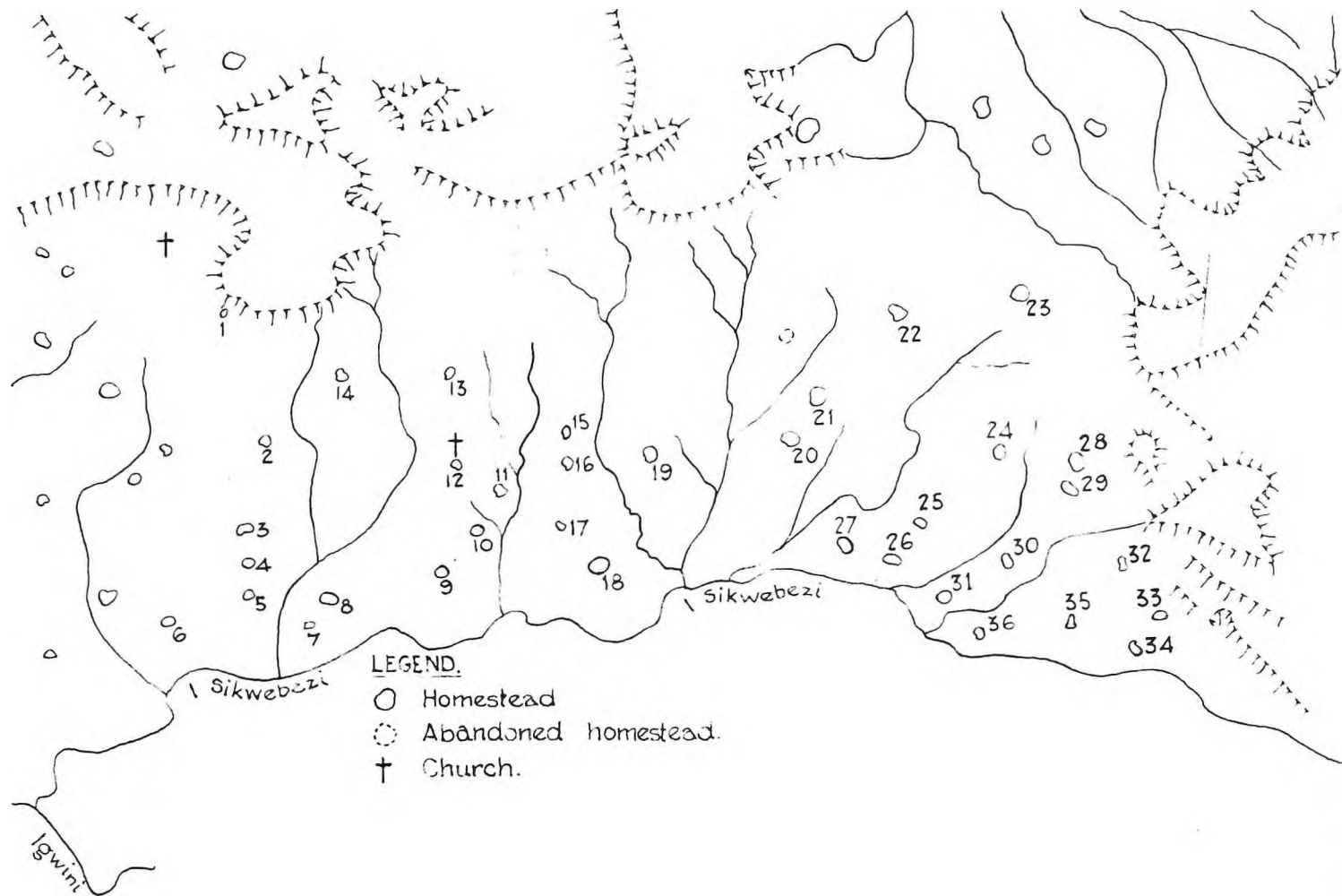
'our place', not only because ground is scarce today, but also because 'everybody must know from where the ground comes that he builds his house on'. The people from 'our place' can be distinguished from 'people of our blood' (bakithi), by reference to the person or persons in 'our place' who helped them to get land. Once a man has been allocated land he becomes a member of the group who 'build their houses together' (literally, near each other) (isakhi).

Diagrams 3 to 6, with Maps 3 and 4 below show how such an isakhi group is related, and how its members are distributed on the ground which forms 'our place'. The groups consist of approximately eighteen homesteads each. Only one group felt that it still had sufficient land for expansion. Out of a total of seventy-three homesteads, thirty-one (42%) are not members of the dominant umndeni. There are altogether ten imizi which claim no relationship with the dominant umndeni group; of these eight have moved into the district from outside. Other non-umndeni members who have received allotments are mostly people to whom the dominant umndeni groups stand in the relation of malume (Table XIV), although this relation may have been created two or sometimes three generations ago.

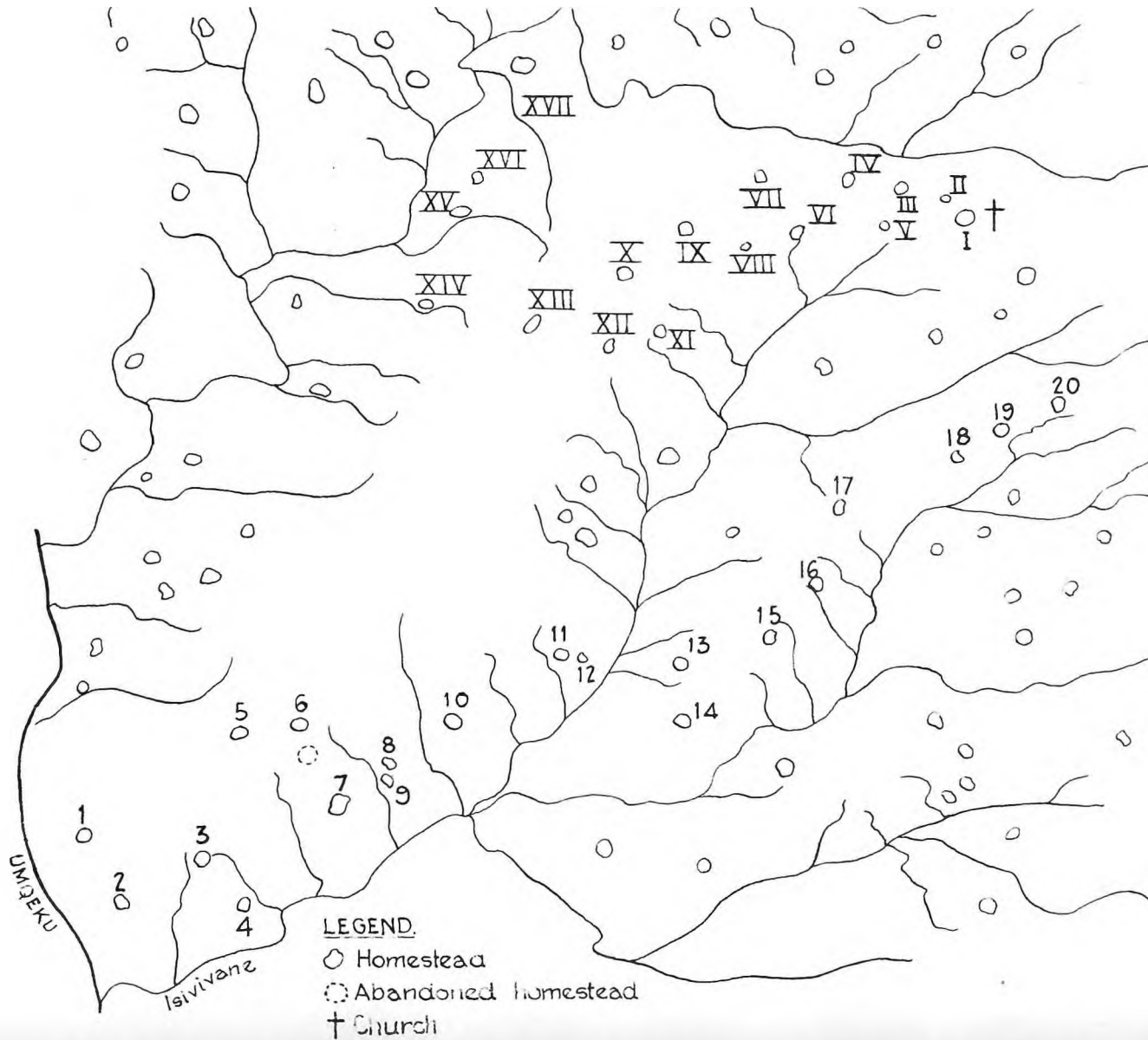
In a few cases land has also been cela'd (asked for) on the flimsiest kinship connections. No. 18, Nxumalo, in Diagram 4 was given land by his wife's people. He left his own people who live over the hill in the same isigodi because there was 'trouble in the home' (umuzi omubi). He came and asked his father-in-law for land. His father-in-law was aware that the applicant was an isangoma and, having decided that he



# MAP 3



SKETCH MAP SHOWING LANDHOLDING GROUPS  
MSOMI AND MSOMI



SWAZILAND SAMPLE SURVEY - 1960

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SECOND PRELIMINARY REPORT

(URBAN, PERI-URBAN  
AND BORDER AREAS)

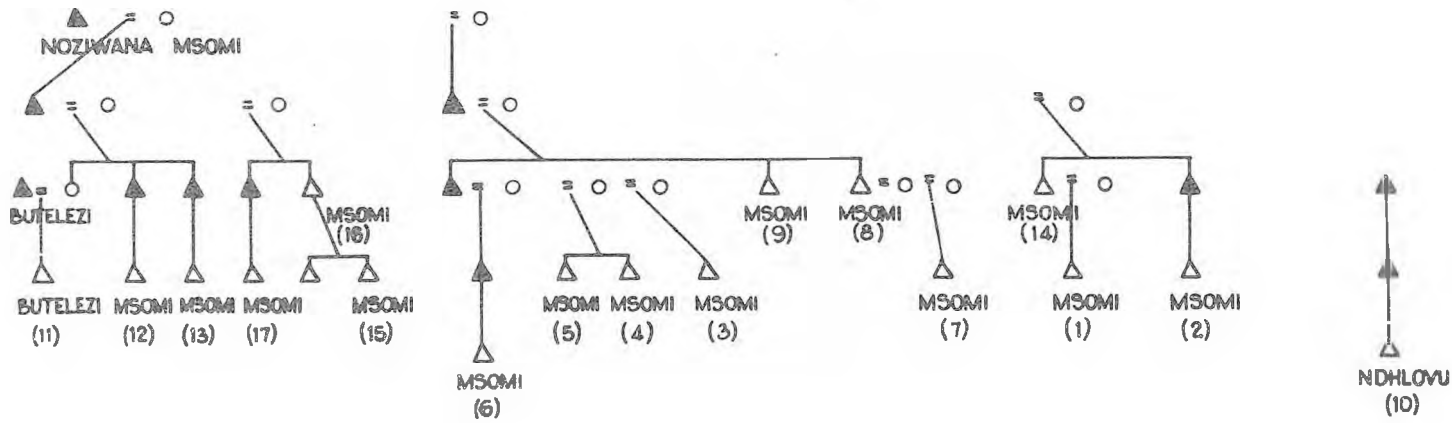
FOR I.S.R. AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE  
CIRCULATION

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UNIVERSITY OF NATAL - INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH  
IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE SWAZILAND ADMINISTRATION.

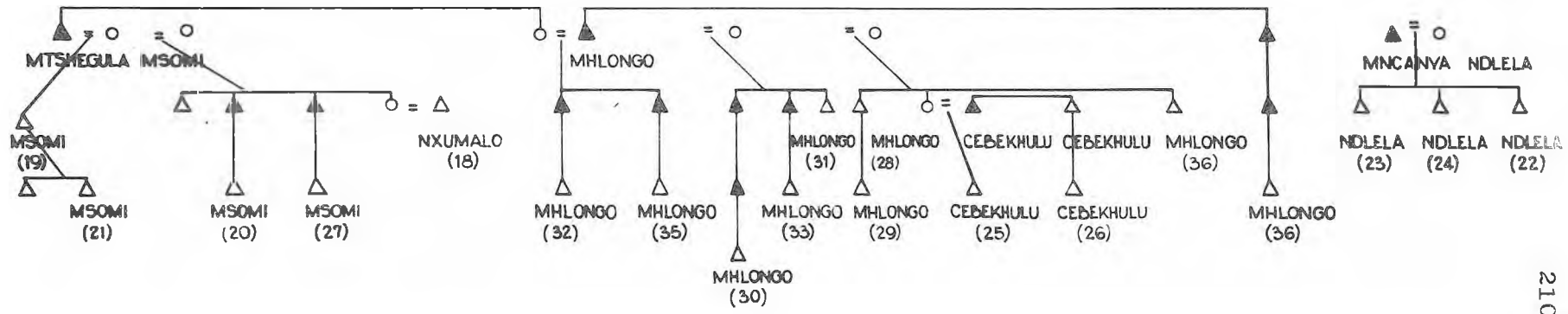
Local Group  
KWA MSOMI

DIAGRAM 3



Local Group  
KWA MSOMI

DIAGRAM 4



Local Group  
KWA NGCOBO

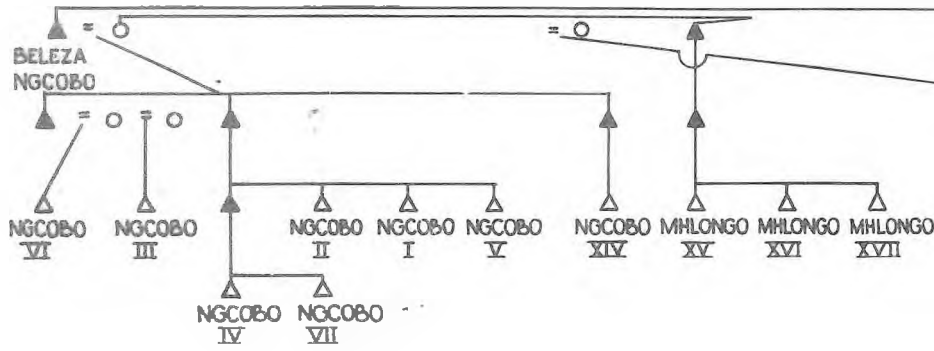
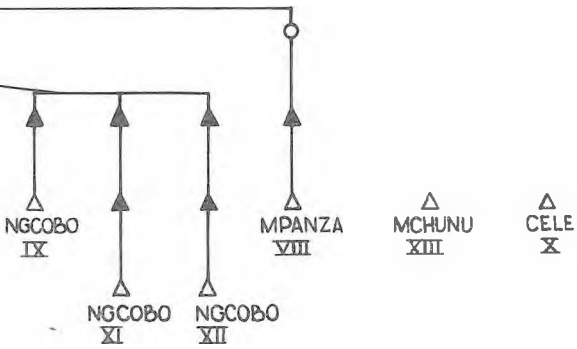


DIAGRAM 5



KWA GOQO

DIAGRAM 6

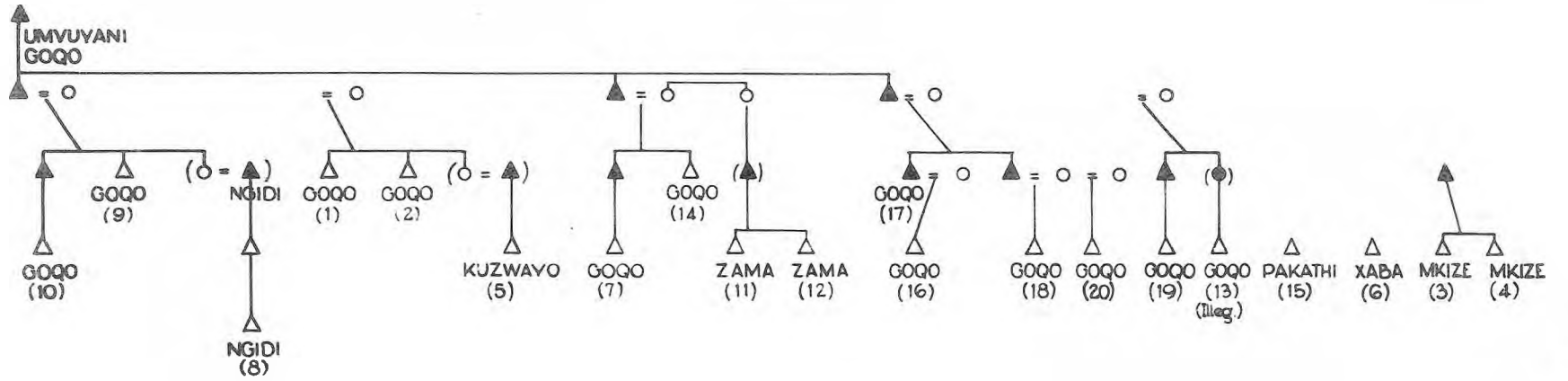




TABLE XIV

## Relations Between Homesteads in Four Local Groups.

Isibongo of dominant Umndeni group	Number of imizi in group	Number of imizi occupied by dominant umndeni	Number of imizi occupied by others <sup>1</sup>	Dominant Umndeni's relationship to others	From where others came before being allocated ground	How many generations back
Msoal <sup>1</sup>	17	15	2	11 Maluse 10 No relation imizi relation- No. ship	neigh. isigodi Another district Umvoti same isigodi Zululand Camperdown Grootville	1 3 1 3 2 2
Msoal <sup>2</sup>	19	4	15	18 Son-in-law 28-36 Father (Malu-Maluses ngo) 25-26 Maluses 22-24 No relation		
Mgcobo <sup>3</sup>	17	11	6	15-17 Fa Pa Sis married 8 Fa Maluse 13 No relation	Neigh. isifunda Zululand Another isigodi	2 2 1
Gogo <sup>4</sup>	20	12	8	10 No relation 8 Fa Maluse 5 Maluse 11-12 Fa No 15 No relation 6 No relation 3-4 No relation	Camperdown Neigh. district Neigh. district Neigh. Isifunda FNBurg Neigh. isigodi same isigodi	1 1 1 1 1 1 2
TOTAL	73	42	31			

1] See Diagram 3

3] See Diagram 5

2]

4]

See Diagram 4

See Diagram 6

should be given land, he and his fellow isakhi members placed Nxumalo on a piece of land between two streams. There was some argument as to the boundaries involved, but these were eventually settled and Nxumalo was given his land.

In Diagram 3 imizi Nos. 16 and 17 were given ground on the strength of their father's father's sister having been the chief wife of the eponym of the dominant umndeni. The allocation was actually made to their father, and it is not clear what pressure he was able to exert. Umuzi 5 is occupied by the present regent of the tribe, but the allocation took place long before he became regent.

Diagram 4 illustrates the varied growth which can take place within the local group. The father of the head of the present umndeni, No. 19, had a sister who married one of the Igqoza settlers<sup>1]</sup>. Since that marriage the Mhlongos have become a far bigger group (in numerical terms) than the original dominant umndeni. The group is, however, still referred to as Kwa Msomi. The Mhlongos have themselves been responsible for the introduction of further 'strangers' (No. 25 and 26). They first gave land to their sister's husband and later to the husband's brother's son. The local isakhi group in each case consists of an amalgamation of dominant umndeni and other elements, and is not regarded as a purely umndeni unit.

f) The Distribution of Land Within the Local Group:

The individual homestead in a local group knows the

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1] See Chapter IV.

boundaries of the land allocated to it, and therefore the extent of the land belonging to a local group is known by its members. This does not mean that all land is fully occupied, or that a claim to a certain piece of land is recognised either by the man's neighbours or by the chief. The people accept that arguments about boundaries are the 'affairs of men' - in other words that there will always be arguments about boundaries, whether between homesteads, local groups, or even isigodi. If boundary disputes are 'in the nature of men' (isimo sobantu), it follows that no local group is always absolutely sure of the area which it regards as its land. There is no doubt about land actually held by its members, but there is some doubt about land which has not yet been built on.

People regard virgin land as belonging to the surrounding imizi to whom the ground was 'shown' (beka or dabula). There is very little land, except the chief's land mentioned above, which has not been 'shown' in the last 100 years. Despite the fact that an unuzi has some preference right on the virgin land which surrounds it, this ground cannot be allocated without the concurrence of the local group.

'M. was the eldest son of his father's second wife, and was given far more land than he could use (the allocation was made before 1906). He has already provided his son with land, and has provisionally earmarked land for his grandsons. He has also received a request from his sister's (illegitimate) son for an allocation of land. The child, through his mother, is a member of M's lineage

and clan, and though he has land available, he is 'waiting to talk to our people' (owethu) about it. 'Our people' will in this case be the local group who will decide on the advisability of admitting the claim or not. Though the land in question is recognised as being in M's allotment, he cannot dispose of it without this approval.'

g) The Establishment of an Umuzi:

The establishment of a new umuzi, with its own name, its own house, its own fields, must be preceded by the allocation of ground to the umnumzana of the prospective umuzi. Table XV<sup>1)</sup> reflects the answer to a question from whom the ground allocated to the umuzi was received.

Seventy-seven percent of the people claimed to have received ground from their father or some member of their immediate agnatic kin. Only 21 homesteads claimed no kinship with the people who had allocated them the land. Fourteen homesteads (4%) claimed that the land had been allocated by the

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1) When the figures in Table XV are compared with those in Table XIV there is an apparent discrepancy in the number of persons who received land from male agnates. However, it will be noted that in the table derived from the diagram several people have held the ground for one or two generations, and though their grandfathers may have come in from outside to supplicate for ground, they themselves received ground from their fathers.

chief<sup>1]</sup>. Ten imizi (3%) claimed to have been given land by their wife's people or because of some affinal relationship. In cases where the people claimed that the chief had been the instrument of allocation, versions differed as to what the actual procedure had been.

TABLE XV.

SOURCE FROM WHICH LAND WAS OBTAINED FOR  
BUILDING SITES IN 345 UMIZI AT NDWEDWE.

From whom land for building purposes was obtained	No.
Chief	14
Mission Reserve (Nkomidi)	7
Glebe	4
Mother's brother	16
Wife's father	10
Brother	35
Father's brother	25
Father's father	10
Father	197
Not kin	21
D.K.	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>345</b>

1] The two categories of Mission Reserve and Glebe reflected in the table refer to the situation at Thafamasi which is in many ways atypical. I shall deal with the methods of allocation and land rights in a separate section below.

"Mchunu came across the river from another isigodi, and asked the chief for some land. He explained that in his old place the 'eyes of the induna were turned away', and he had been asking for land in vain, so that he felt that he should ask the chief. The latter (Diagram 5 No. IX), listened to Mchunu's request and sent him with a message to the head of the local group (No. VI), who when he heard what the chief wanted, looked round for some land. Mchunu was eventually settled and is a member of this local group (No. XIII). The head of the local group said that it was the chief's duty to look after his people and that if someone came and asked for ground he should give it. This was the first request of this kind the chief had made to the local group.'

'Govin Shangase and his local group had had a request from a member of the Mbatha clan for an allocation of land. The site was allocated. Mbatha never settled on his allocation and he left for another district without having built a house or planted a hedge for an isibaya (cattle byre). A few years later another request was made to Shangase, this time by a clansman, for land. The original Mbatha allocation was 'shown' to the clansman 'because Mbatha had gone away'. The chief who is called upon to approve of all allocations of land refused, because the ground which had not been built on could no longer be re-allocated by the local group. The chief came to investigate the matter, and eventually pronounced that it was satisfactory to him if the clansman who had made the request was 'placed' (ukudabula) on the land. The man in

question, when asked from whom he received his land, said without hesitation that it was from the chief and explained the circumstances. The local group said that the man who had received the allocation was still a member of the local group because he is 'our kinsman' (bakithi).'

'A well-known case where the ground was allocated by the chief occurred in the chiefdom of Simangenduku. He was approached by K., a famous isangoma, for ground. The chief, as was proper, spoke to the various izinduna about possible sites on which to place K. He heard reports that G., a clansman, still had empty lands, and asked for details. G. refused to allow the settlement, mainly (it is rumoured) because he is himself a famous inyanga, and he felt that there would be trouble if K. were allocated land in his isigodi. The chief pressed his claim and actually made a demand for land which was controlled by one Shibela Ndhlovu. Ndhlovu supported his induna against the chief, and refused the chief's request on the grounds that he himself needed some of the ground, and that the rest had been 'asked for' (cela) by some of Gwabzi's sons. The chief was unable to persuade the induna or Ndhlovu to change their minds, and eventually he brought the matter to a head by referring it to a 'meeting of the men' (a tribal ibandla). His argument to the men was that there was ground available, and that K. needed the ground immediately, whereas the people whom Ndhlovu wished to keep the ground for could look for some 'later'. He is also reported to have threatened to take the matter to the Commissioner. The ibandla made no decision,

merely stating there was land and that the induna and Ndhlovu should 'talk with' the chief. The induna looked round his isigodi and found another site which was then offered to K. The offer was accepted by K., and K. was then placed on the ground. This is regarded by the local people as a victory for the chief, particularly over the great diviner G., and as such it has been incorporated in the chief's praises<sup>1]</sup>.

h) Receiving Ground from the Wife's People:

Marriage is still virilocal and the allocation of land is largely controlled by a group of agnatically related men. Under what circumstances is it permissible for a son-in-law to be offered ground? I have already noted one case of a man who received land from his wife's people. In his particular instance it was a wish to get away from his own people (where

1] Imbabla Ebomwu yawo Hletswayo

Eyala ukubanjwa Ngamandlebe ezansi komuzi kalethiwe  
 Uthe eyibambe ngamadlebe yamshay a phansi ugwabazi  
 UmtakaMakhafula uteku lwabafazi bakwashibela  
 Obele behlezi betekula bethi usimangenduku negeke abeyinkosi.

The red buck of Hletwase

Who refused to be trapped by its ears below at the unuzi of  
 Lethiwe

When he attempted to catch it by the ear it  
 threw him on the ground Gwabazi

Child of Makhafula the jest of the women of Shibela

The women who sported said Simangenduku will not always be  
 chief.



there was bad feeling in the family). This seems to be the most common reasons for forsaking one's own locality to go and live with one's wife's people.

'Ndoda Zama made arrangements to give his son-in-law an allocation because the couple had already lost three children. They feared that it was the people they were living with, and it would be 'safer' for them to come and live with the wife's people.'

'A variation of this was reported by the Gumedes. They have no sons of their own, and their last child 'the child of their age' was very much their favourite. When she got married, G. offered his son-in-law some land so that he could build and settle there. G. explained to me later that they would always be able to 'look after their daughter' well when she lived close by.'

It was my impression that requests from sons-in-law are listened to in situations where either the homestead has no sons of its own, or where the sons have been provided for. It is considered 'difficult' to live near one's in-laws because it encourages women to 'cry at their father's umuzi'. Despite this stricture there are a number of men who have been granted land by their fathers-in-law.

i) Allocation in the Agnatic Line:

The most usual method of allocating land is through some male agnate, usually the father. Most of the cases recorded bear this out:

The most usual procedure is for a son, when he feels that he wishes to have his own umuzi, to make the requisite approaches to his father (sometimes using a go-between). In most imizizi this step is not suddenly or lightly taken. The timing of the break will depend on relations between the father and son on the one hand, and the daughter and mother-in-law on the other. There is an increasing tendency for a man to assert his independence by sending his wages home to his wife. This usually crystallises the decision to build a new homestead<sup>1]</sup>.

The most important problem facing a prospective umuzi head is not how to leave the parental home, but to find land. If there is land which is not built on attached to his father's allocation he is entitled to receive it; this should be almost a formality. His father will inform the local group that his son wants to 'pull out his head', that he has such and such land available, and they may all come and inspect the new site. The father should inform both the chief and the induna of the move. A day will be set for the actual placing (dabula). Beer and food will be served, the chief is expected to attend and he is paid a fee 'for his bag' (isikwana). The chief should attend on the day of the placing because 'then he knows where his people are living'. It is also one of the few occasions on which the chief will be able to visit the homes of his followers. Chiefs who send deputies are criticised for not

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1] The effect of wage earnings on the homestead are discussed in Chapter V.

'looking after their own people'. If the chief does attend, it is an honour to the homestead, which will be as hospitable as possible. If for some reason they are not able to provide food they will pay the chief some money (for the goat which is not there'); this will be over and above the fee paid.

Nowadays a man is shown with some exactness what ground he may occupy. The site of the proposed isibaya is indicated (usually by sticking a few branches of the umsimsi tree into the ground as the beginning of a hedge), and also a site will be indicated for the house. After that the party, led by the leaders of the local group and accompanied by the chief or his deputy, walk round the perimeter of the ground being allocated. Special attention is paid to the fields of neighbouring imizi so that the new umusi will 'know where its boundaries lie'.

The ground which I observed being 'shown' in this way rarely left much land for future expansion. This was recognised, but people pleaded that there was already a shortage of land and that the children of people at present receiving ground have to see 'where they could get ground when they need it'. The placing of sons is thus a simple matter if land is available, and if all parties to the allocation are in accord. There are, however, occasions when there is no agreement between members of the local group, or between the local group and the chief. In these situations the allocation becomes more complicated.

'The Msomis (Diagram No. 3, Page 209 above) were asked to approve an allocation to the son of E. (No. 8). E. had

been married once and had an heir (Inkosana) who was going to inherit his father's homestead and fields. E. had, however, while he was working in Johannesburg, contracted a liaison, and after the death of his first wife brought the other woman and two sons to live at home. He had managed to find a site for the eldest of these sons (No. 7), by making some of his own fields available to him. The local group agreed to this at that time because 'they were his own fields' that he was using. Trouble followed, however, when he tried to find a site for the second son. He could not take any further fields away from his own homestead because his Inkosana protested against giving up the land he was to inherit. Nevertheless, E. hoped that by offering a small field he could persuade the local group to agree to the allocation of additional fields. He suggested that some fields which belonged to his 'brother' (No. 14) which were at that moment lying fallow would make an excellent site for a new umuzi. There was, however, no agreement between members of the local group. Publicly, they objected to E.'s whittling away of his Inkosana's birthright. Privately, they objected to these 'illegitimate' children of their brother being given land. When he could get no support from his kith and kin, E. decided to make an appeal to the chief, ignoring the local induna of the isigodi in this move. Possibly he banked on the enthusiastic support of the chief because there had for some time been trouble between him and some members of the local group. The chief came down to investigate the matter one miserable wet day. He looked over the site perfunctorily, and retired inside to have some beer,

announcing after a while that it was perfectly proper for E. to place his son. The local group, through their spokesman, objected then and stated that they would appeal the matter to the Commissioner. The case was appealed; the Msomi not only objected to the 'overcrowding', but got the local induna to give evidence on their behalf that it was an unsuitable allocation. (The induna had not been uninfluenced by the fact that E. had ignored him). The Commissioner eventually upheld the Msomi appeal, and E. was not successful in getting his son a site<sup>1]</sup>.

'A slightly different case illustrates the ways in which the local group can be persuaded to agree to something which it at first seemed reluctant to do. Muzwempi K. had continued to live in his father's umuzi even though his brother had succeeded as umunzana. Rumour had it that he had been committing adultery with his brother's wife - the brother had in any event threatened Muzwempi with expulsion. M. stated his willingness to leave if he were given some land on which to build. There was no land available in the immediate neighbourhood of the homestead, and M. went off to invoke the aid of the induna of his isigodi. The induna was aware of the problems of the homestead and, urged on by members of the umndeni to

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1] Though the case as it was explained to the Commissioner was a straightforward dispute over allocation, the people read far more into it than that. The verdict of the Commissioner was regarded as a victory for the local group and induna over the 'influence' (isithumzi) of the chief.

prevent worse trouble, he looked round the isigodi for vacant land. He eventually approached Mbambo, a clansman of the chief, who had some land which he and his neighbours used for grazing. Mbambo refused to consider the request, stating that the grazing was not to be built on. The induna, however, was insistent and was probably instrumental in getting a younger 'classificatory brother' of M. to be put on 'probation' as a tribal constable. The brother announced at the same time that he was considering setting up his own homestead, and he thought that part of the grazing could be spared for this purpose. Faced with this request from one of their own number, the local group of Mbambo were no longer united in their opposition. The final result was that not only the younger brother but also M. were finally given an allocation of land.'

j) The Chief, the Induna and the Local Group:

From the figures in Table XV it is clear that in the actual matter of land allocation it is the agnatic relatives who are the most likely to give a man his land. There is a clear understanding that the 'neighbours' (i.e. the local group) must be 'happy about who is given land'. This would expressly mean that should they object to someone being placed, they would refuse to accept the person as a neighbour.

The key to the problem of land allocation therefore rests with the local group. The chief may in several cases make requests to the group (as we saw in the case of Mchunu). He may even appeal over the head of the group to the tribal ibandla

(as happened in the case of Khumalo). Nevertheless, there is a definite feeling that the people of 'our place' can, if they have real objections, prevent a new neighbour from being given land - the Msomis are a case in point.

Where the local group can maintain its unity, there is not much likelihood of unwelcome people being settled on its land. If the chief is faced with a situation like this he cannot order (ukulayeza) people to place someone. He may, as the induna did in the case of the Khuluses, probe for weaknesses in the local group and by exploiting these, manage to achieve his objectives.

The people hold conflicting attitudes on the right over allocation of land - one informant explained that he must have a say in allocating because the 'ground is mine' (owami). Whereas a chief, while not denying people's rights over land, claimed that his requests were always acceded to. The people would 'listen' to their chief in these matters. One chief explained that he had very much trouble with people who were always fighting in 'the family' (impi yasikaya). His solution to the problem was to separate people from their kin when placing them. Whatever his intentions were in this respect, he has not had a single success in the six years that he has been chief. Diagrams 5 and 6 are two local groups from his isifunda. Since his accession four new imizi have been placed in these two groups (Nos. XIII, X, and 13 and 14 respectively). Of these all except XIII are people who are of the family.

Even where the chief has been the instrument by which a man was placed, his intervention has merely requested the local

group to consider the man's application.

The relationship between the local group and the chief is not always strained. In fact it is often quite cordial. It is possible for members of the local group to claim that when the chief speaks 'we listen, then we look to see how things are with us': e.g. in the case of M. serious consideration was paid to the chief's request, and the matter was satisfactorily settled.

Similarly, it is expected that the induna knows what ground is available in his isigodi, because he must always 'throw his eyes' to see what people are doing. He often acts as an honest broker in helping those members of his isigodi who are having difficulties in finding ground elsewhere. He should also be ready to help the chief with advice about vacant ground within the isigodi, should the chief ever wish to know.

k) Strangers' Rights to Land:

The proportion of strangers who are given land is not very great. In the analysis of the four local groups only 12% of the imizi were allocated to strangers, and of these only 7% came from outside the district. A stranger who wishes to qualify for land allocations has two hurdles confronting him. One is administrative, and the other is the necessity of being accepted by the local community, so as to qualify for an allocation. A man may not leave the district of his birth permanently and settle elsewhere without obtaining the permission of the Commissioners in both districts. A man should also 'take leave of' (ukuvalelisa) his chief, and he should konza to the chief of



the isifunda into which he will be moving.

In practice it is more important to accept the new chief than to take leave of the old because, unless a man can show that he is willing to 'turn his door' he will probably not become a member of the local community, and will not qualify for an allocation of land. It is also important for a stranger to 'know people' in the area. The creation of kinship ties plays an important part in acceptance as a member of the local community.

The extension of the concept of brother or father to all clansmen can be of some help in aiding a stranger to become accepted. If one has no kin in the district one must rely on a friend (umhlobo):

'Joseph M. had worked for many years with a Shangase man. They had lived together in the same barracks and worked in the same factory. When M.'s wives complained that the place they lived in in the Camperdown district was 'bewitched', after the death of several children, he was forced to look for a new place to live. Eventually he was, on the recommendation of his friend, able to get an allotment and build a new home. The help extended to strangers in this way is no longer viewed in a very favourable light by many local people, and in at least one chiefdom the chief has tried to discourage the settlement of strangers. In many cases the concept of strangers has not been limited to those from outside but has been applied to local people about whose paternity or origins there has been some doubt.

The case of the Msomis who objected to the (supposed) illegitimacy of their members has already been quoted.'

'George M. grew up with his mother's people; not, he claims, as an illegitimate child, but because his parents (though they had negotiated the lobola) were never properly married owing to the early death of his father. Though he had grown up with his mother's people and was known by their isibongo, George was not allowed to register (as a taxpayer) with his isibongo. He had to take the name of his father (Mokoena). On these grounds the Mhlongos also refused to give him a building site out of the Mhlongos' allotments. Eventually his mother's brother accompanied him to the local induna with a request that ground be found for him elsewhere. He was eventually allocated an old abandoned site some distance from the Mhlongos. Though everybody knew Mokoena had grown up in the district with his mother's people, nobody criticised them for failing to allocate him ground. It was felt that the Mhlongos were justified in protecting their ground for their own forthcoming generations (isizukulwane).'

## 2. Land Tenure at Inanda:

Land at Inanda is held under communal tenure. No individual freehold title is issued, and the land rights are similar to those described for Ndwedwe.

At Lindleyville, the Missionary made the original allocations. Today, allocations are made by the Mission Reserve Advisory Board. Inheritance follows the agnatic line and the

Board does not interfere with inheritance. The length of settlement and the encouragement which since the early missionary days has been given to people to build brick houses, has accentuated a phenomenon observed at Ndwedwe. People value their allocations and have a heightened sense of possession. They spend money on their allotments; they fence them, and in many ways stress their individual rights to the exclusion of community rights. Trespass is more strictly interpreted than at Ndwedwe. Speakers at Inanda, when referring to their 'property', used the word indiscriminately to indicate their ground in the Mission Reserve, or the property they had purchased elsewhere. All the older houses are fenced off, often including not only the house itself but the fields attached to the house.

The system of land tenure in the rest of the Mission Reserve depends on who keeps the 'amafolios' (i.e. whether the Advisory Board or the Qadi Chief makes the allocation or not). Where the Advisory Board does not make allocations the situation approximates to that at Ndwedwe<sup>1]</sup>. Across the Magisterial boundary in the Inanda Magistracy, land in the 'released area' is held under freehold tenure and there has been a great influx of tenants. The land rights are similar to those at Shongweni, and

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1] At Thafamasi which, as I have explained, was always heavily influenced by the Shangase, the pattern of settlement differs little from the pattern elsewhere in the Reserve, although Nkomidhi makes the allocations. The Shangase chief himself lives on Mission Reserve land, but the Board claims to have no jurisdiction over the chief's land holding.

will be discussed later<sup>1]</sup>. There are cases of people continuing to live in the Mission Reserve, despite the fact they have bought land in the released area, because they feel secure in their tenure of land in the Reserve.

Inanda has a heavier density of population than Ndwedwe. This applies to both the scheduled and released areas<sup>2]</sup>. The density is partly the result of a general population movement into peri-urban areas, of which Inanda is one. People have even moved into the scheduled areas, (where it is not easy to get an allocation) because 'it is closer to town' or because they are Kholwa, and wish to settle in the community.

The emphasis on land at Inanda falls, as it does everywhere else, on the necessity of being allocated a building site - a place to build a home.

a) Land Allocation on Inanda Glebe:

The Glebe which adjoins the Mission Reserve is approximately 550 acres in extent; approximately 351 acres of which are let out to 97 tenants. Plots vary between 2 and 4 acres depending on size of family. Rent is R1.00 per acre per annum. Applications to live on the Glebe are made by formal letter. The conditions for becoming a tenant are that all

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- 1] Conditions were very unsettled amongst the tenants while I was in the field. The Administration had charged 400 with allegedly being illegal squatters. It was impossible to enquire into these matters too closely.
- 2] The density, estimated from aerial photographs, is over 200 people per square mile.

children shall be sent to school; all applicants be married by Christian rites; no beer may be brewed; tenants must be members in good standing of the Church. The official letter of notification adds inter alia that building should begin within a year, and 'before many years have passed you will have a well-built house with surroundings and gardens well kept, so that you may be proud of the Inanda Glebe'.

Land allocation is strictly controlled by the Glebe agent, and the conditions of entry are strictly enforced. Those people who violate them are expelled from the Glebe. People living on the Glebe may, if their parents are residents, make application for residential sites, but these will be allocated when and where the Glebe agent has opportunity. No adult children may remain living on their parents' plots.

There is no question of any local kinship grouping, although the older members of the Glebe form an important group in both Glebe and Church affairs. Glebe residents describe themselves (correctly) as abamgashi Bamfundisi (tenants of the Mission), and they do not feel that even over a period of years they acquire any rights to the ground. Most of the older people are 'sure' that their children will be allowed to inherit their homes. If someone leaves the Glebe (or is expelled) he may take away the materials which he has put into his house, but the more usual course is to sell the building to a successor.

b) Land Allocation at Lindleyville:

As pointed out above the missionary at Lindleyville made the first allocations to converts irrespective of their

relationship to one another. The umndeni as a residential group never formed, and this automatically precluded the growth of the isakhi group.

The land-allocating function at Lindleyville is today exercised by the Mission Reserve Advisory Board (Nkomidhi). The Board has little land at its disposal for allocation in the immediate vicinity of the school at Inanda - it has not allocated a site for over ten years.

Applications for sites must be made 'in writing' to the secretary of the Board. Applicants should be practising Christians; they should also undertake to send their children to school; and they must undertake to build a house. Not very much attention is paid to these conditions. One member explained that if the Board received a letter, the members presumed it was from a 'school man' and were not very worried about his church. He explained that any outsider who wanted to come and live at Inanda would have to go and speak to the Commissioner first, and this was the 'same' as changing his chief.

When it places people, the Board is very careful about the reaction of the neighbours. 'People should like their neighbours, or they will only fight and bring their complaints to us'. Its usual approach is cautious; it enquires of all applicants who request sites which one he has in mind. This, as a member explained, means 'if a man wishes to help a friend by giving him a site, the Board does not have to find one'. Local people are able to influence the decisions of the Board, but they

do not form as cohesive a group as the local group at Ndwedwe. The community is sensitive to the allocation of land to outsiders, and the Board has to preserve a balance between the people who 'cela (ask for) land for a friend', and 'our people who cry for land for their children'. The Board members had no clear idea of what criteria they would use to decide whether or not an outsider should be given ground. Some felt that as they were a Kholwa community, 'school people' should be given preference 'because they belong to us'. Local people, however, (or their children) have preference over strangers.

'Weavers Ngcobo had, because he was a widower, allowed his married son to live with him. The father and son could not, however, agree, and Weavers in a rage ordered the son to leave. He was so angry that he made arrangements for a very distant kinsman from elsewhere to ask for, and be granted, land which had once been earmarked for his sons. There were protests to the Advisory Board when this became known. People said that the land was not Weavers to do with as he pleased. The people did not condone the behaviour of the son, and if Weavers did not want him living close by it was a matter for the family, but if the Board was going to re-allocate the land it should be to a local person. The Board agreed, and actually allocated the land to the newly married son of the man who had protested. Weavers this time objected, because the neighbour was not of his choosing, but the Board was adamant and the allocation was made.'

The Board does not, however, always show such

pertinacity in the face of local opposition:

'Simon Ngcobo had been shown a building site, and had over a period of fifty years cleared much of the surrounding land and had put it under sugar cane. He and his son work on the 'farm'. When he heard that the Board was considering placing someone on ground next to one of his cane fields, he told the Board that he would burn the house down if it were ever built. He claimed that he would need the land for future expansion and that the Board had no right to limit this. The allocation was never made and Simon had not yet cleared the land to plough'.

In cases where there are disputes about an allocation between neighbours the Board can attempt to mediate.

'Showu Masinga had married a woman from town, and she wanted her brother to have some land. There was land available near Showu's umuzi. One field had been ploughed a few years previously, but had lain fallow. When the application was made, the Board agreed. They soon heard that a neighbour of Masinga's was objecting to the allocation because the land 'had been ploughed' and therefore 'belonged' to the person who had ploughed it. The Board ruled that the objection was not valid, but Shangase raised further objections. It was plain that there was enmity between the two neighbours, and the matter was solved by asking the local minister to approach the Glebe Authorities to find land for Masinga's brother-in-law.



This was done. The fields are still unploughed and the land remains unallocated'.

The Board also listens to disputes which arise out of allocations and land disputes.

'Shandu had hired a field out to his neighbours. The Board objected to his doing this because he was not making 'proper use' of his allocation. Neither he nor the person who had hired the field paid any attention to the remonstrations of the Board'.

The Board has in fact no powers to intervene in disputes where the parties are not amenable to arbitration. These cases are usually referred to Ndwedwe, and not to the chief's court. (See Chapter VI ). The Board has never exercised its powers to re-possess land. Even where orders are being disobeyed, it goes no further than making complaints. It claims the right to allocate any land which is lying empty. This is defined as any land which is not being used or has not been ploughed for over two years. This claim is, however, modified in practice by the attitude of the immediate neighbours (as we saw in the case of Masinga above).

### 3. Freehold Land Tenure - Shongweni:

The terrain at Shongweni is not as rugged as that in the Valley of a Thousand Hills at Ndwedwe. It is, however, not flat land. There are two big streams which bisect the area, and smaller streams feed into these. The soil seldom accumulates to any depth and is readily leached, so that the hillsides tend

to be chemically poor as compared to soils nearer the river banks. The rivers have, however, cut deeply into their banks, and land can be cultivated only in small patches.

a) Types of Land Tenure:

Land at Shongweni is held under freehold, and about 60% of the area is owned by Africans. Not all people in the area are landowners. It was computed that only 36% of the homesteads in the area owned the ground on which they lived.<sup>1]</sup> Fuller details are as follows:

'Clarry Shanyase grew up in a Kholwa community on a mission reserve. It was far from town, and he came to buy land at Shongweni so that he could build a house 'near to town'.'

'Ernest Gwala came from Inchanga, because his allotment was small and stony, and he could not get land anywhere else. He bought ten acres and settled down to live.'

'Elias Ntombela left his birthplace when he was elderly, because he wanted to be sure that the ground he lived on would not be given to 'other people' before he died.'

Land is still bought and sold at Shongweni. There are, however, limiting factors. The total 'released area' is not very large, and people dislike parting with their ground. The Administration has also prevented the sale of holdings that

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1] Some people have specifically moved to the area to buy land.

are smaller than 5 acres.

TABLE XVI.  
CLASSIFICATION OF HOMESTEADS AT SHONGWENI  
ACCORDING TO TYPE OF LAND OCCUPATION<sup>1]</sup>.

Type of Land Occupation	No.	Cases Grouped	%
Registered full owners	300 )	438	36%
Unregistered owners	130 )		
Joint owners	8 )		
Tenants	590 )	633	52%
Caretakers	37 )		
Others	140	146	12%
TOTAL:	1217	1217	100%

b) Inheritance of Land at Shongweni:

Another way to acquire land is to inherit it. Because land is immovable property, problems arise when it is inherited. It is possible to devise the property by will, which entitles the beneficiary to take possession of the land, and to register it in his name.

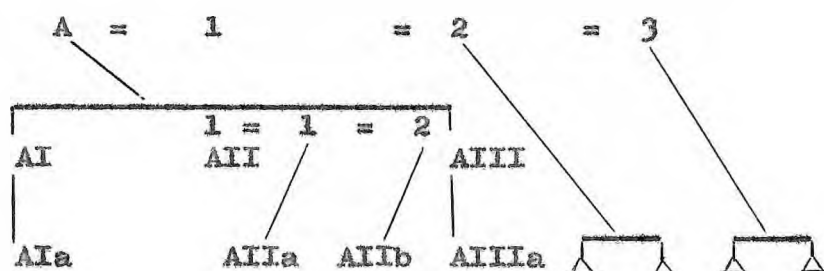
If, however, the owner dies intestate, the position is more complicated. The property of people who are exempted from the provisions of 'Native Law'<sup>2]</sup> will, if they have died

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1] The figures are from the Economic Survey by the Department of Economics, University of Natal, op. cit.

2] See Chapter XIV.

intestate, devolve according to Roman Dutch Law<sup>1]</sup>. Where people are not exempted and they die intestate, the property devolves according to 'Native Law and Custom' if the parties were married by Christian rites or customary union. This usually means that the senior son (inkosana) inherits. Land is not often subdivided. It is, however, possible for land, once it has been transferred into the name of the heir, to be subdivided by him. The following case illustrates what happened when a polygamist acquired land.



'A. had been very successful as an isangoma, and came into the area to buy land so that people could come and see him 'from all over'. Title was registered in A's name. He gave three sons by his first wife land, 'showing' (ukudabula) them the sites where they might build. On his death his principal heir AI inherited the whole piece of ground (the title was actually registered in his name). The ground was, however, only kept for yakwethu (children of one mother). The other widows and their children had to move off the land. The land which their father had shown them was retained by each son despite the fact that the title was vested in the

1] Section 23, Act. No. 38 of 1927 as amended by Act No. 9 of 1929, and the relevant regulations Government Notice No. 1663 of 1929 and No. 939 of 1947.

eldest brother. The sons of both AI and AIII inherited their fathers' imizi when they died. AII who is himself a polygamist, gave two sons (AIIa and AIIb) land from his own allotment on which to build. He had not been able to find ground for his third son.

Since the death of AI, the land has not been re-registered, although it should be registered in the name of Ala. AII who is the senior male agnate said that, as things had hitherto been, they had not had any trouble. He did not expect trouble when the property had to be re-registered, but claimed that his ground, though his brother held title to it, was his own because his father had 'given' it to him. He did not think that his brother's son would take it away from him. If he did, he would go to a lawyer and ask him to tell the Commissioner how to set things right. There was some fear that this arrangement (which accommodated the system of freehold tenure and the traditional system of allocation) might not work now that the third generation was about to inherit.'

c) Size of Landholdings:

The size of landholdings (Table XVII) which have been acquired shows a median of just over six acres per landholder. This is above the limit of five acres which the Administration now sets, and 36%, or over a third, of the holdings are below this limit. A median of 2.3 acres is cultivated by landowners (Table XVIII). Tenants have a median of less than one acre to cultivate.

TABLE XVII<sup>1]</sup>.DISTRIBUTION AND SIZE OF LAND AMONG LAND-OWNERS AT SHONGWENI.

Acres	No. of Landowners	%
Under 1.00	8	1.8
1.00 - 1.99	35	8.0
2.00 - 2.99	52	11.9
3.00 - 3.99	27	6.2
4.00 - 4.99	35	8.0
5.00 - 5.99	59	13.5
6.00 - 10.99	109	24.8
11.00 - 15.99	31	7.1
16.00 - 20.99	24	5.5
21.00 - 30.99	17	3.9
31.00 - 40.99	12	2.7
41.00 - 50.99	9	2.0
51.00 - 100.99	13	3.0
101+	6	1.4
Don't Know	1	0.2
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>100.0</b>

1] Source: Table 18, Department of Economics, op. cit.

TABLE XVIII <sup>1]</sup>.

SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF CULTIVATED LAND AMONG  
LANDOWNERS AND TENANTS AT SHONGWENI.

No. of acres cultivated	Landowners <sup>2]</sup>		Tenants <sup>3]</sup>	
	No.	%	No.	%
No cultivation	15	3.4	8	13.4
Less than 1.00	80	18.3	288	45.5
1.00 - 1.99	101	23.1	136	21.5
2.00 - 2.99	75	17.1	85	13.4
3.00 - 3.99	57	13.0	14	2.2
4.00 - 4.99	50	11.4	12	1.9
5.00 - 5.99	28	6.4	3	0.5
6.00 - 10.99	23	5.3	-	-
11.00 - 15.99	4	0.9	-	-
16+	3	0.7		
Don't Know	2	0.4	20	1.6
TOTAL	438	100.0	633	100.0

1] Source: Department of Economics: Shongweni Survey, op. cit., Table 26.

2] This includes registered and unregistered full owners, and part owners.

3] This covers tenants and caretakers.

(d) Problem and Cost of Title Deeds:

One of the big problems connected with the buying of land is the necessity of having land surveyed and transferred into the name of the owner. Land sells<sup>1]</sup> at R14 to R18 per acre; the cost of a five acre plot is thus a minimum of R70.00. However, to get the title deeds transferred often costs twice as much as the original purchase price. Even the most sophisticated local people regard the high expenditure in regard to registration as an attempt by the Whites generally, and the Government in particular 'to turn away their face', i.e. to put unnecessary obstacles in people's way. The reasons given for not having the property transferred are that the heir has not yet found the money to complete the task; that purchase price is still being paid; or, that having paid the purchase price people are saving to get the money to effect the transfer.

Many people are not unduly worried that they have not got title deeds. They claim that everyone can see they are living on the land, and therefore people know to whom the land belongs. Disputes between landowners are taken direct to the Commissioner's Court. The expenses involved are usually not commensurate with the results.

'Maria Mchunu, a widow, claimed that her neighbour was ploughing across the line of her boundary, and she complained to the Commissioner, who told her to charge the man with trespass. Before the case was finished she had to engage a lawyer and a surveyor, so that the property could be transferred, and then they found the

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1] 1958.



man was not ploughing on her land. She said that playing with boundaries (at Shongweni) was just 'another form of taxation' (i.e. 'the Government takes all one's money'.).

Because of the great expense and resentment on the part of the people at this expense, registration is often neglected. For the same reason disputes are very rarely taken to court.

e) Few Communal Rights:

The landowners at Shongweni recognise no communal rights on their land, except access to water.<sup>1]</sup> Paths are not necessarily an unrestricted right of way<sup>2]</sup>. 'The land is born with the purchase price'. This means that when one buys land, all rights of previous owners cease. Occasionally one finds

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- 1] Springs which flow strongly all the year round and the rivers are regarded as belonging to the community, and access to them is unrestricted, no matter on whose land they occur. The Economic Survey 'computed' that just over two-thirds of the homesteads (67%) got their water from such common sources. Thirty per cent of homesteads, however, got their water from private wells or springs. A small spring on a man's property that is likely to dry up if there is only irregular rain is considered to 'belong' to him. There have been instances where he has actually placed a guard over the spring to chase away unauthorised people looking for water. Tenants often have to walk some distance to fetch water.
- 2] Land occupied by tenants is criss-crossed by paths. Apart from these, there are also public roads which give the community right of way over the land. A path should not cross land which has been fenced off. When people put fences across existing paths difficulties are raised. One landholder wished to plant wattles, and this meant that three separate paths were closed. The people ignored the fence and continued walking across his land. He eventually complained to the South African Police who investigated some of the complaints. A resolute owner would force the people to make new paths which did not cut across his land.

the purely commercial aspects are not fully appreciated.

'Bhakaliphi Mcoyi bought a plot of land and sold it within a short while, having made a handsome profit. The person from whom he had originally bought the land came to ask Bhakaliphi for some more money when he heard of the sale, because he felt he had been underpaid. Bhakaliphi refused to accede to the request. The businessmen in the district accepted that Bhakaliphi was an astute businessman and had made a quick profit. The request had, however, been serious because the man felt aggrieved that he had no share in the good fortune.

f) Tenants and Landlords:

Attitudes towards land can most clearly be seen in the rights tenants acquire on the ground they rent. In return for a rent which varies between R4.00 and R10.00 per annum (the median is R5.50), the tenants receive a residential site and if they wish, they can turn part of this into a field. The sites they are allocated are usually about an acre. (See Table XVIII above). Once they have built the house very little land remains for cultivation. Rents for the small sites which allow a tenant to build and cultivate a small garden vary from one landlord to another, but each landlord charges the same rent for his plots irrespective of size. The exceptions are large plots - there are very few of them, only 4% of the tenants' population have plots over four acres for which rent is paid according to size.

Rents for larger plots vary between R8.00 and R22.00<sup>1]</sup>.

A prospective tenant usually 'hears' about land and approaches the landlord directly<sup>2]</sup>. If ground is available, the tenant will be shown a building site by the landlord. Where the landlord already has other tenants he will show the newcomer the boundaries which have been set for the other tenants, and the newcomer will be expected to keep within his own boundaries. Having been shown the site, the tenant is expected to pay his rent in advance. The usual practice is for rents to be collected in June, and any tenant coming in during the year pays only part rent until June, whereafter he pays on the same basis as his neighbours.

Landlords allow some leeway in payments of rent, but they have put people off the land for non-payment. The rent is something which people usually manage to have money for. Tenants explain that it is the landlord's land, and if they did not pay he would 'chase them away'.

The tenant has to level his own site, and make arrangements for his own building. He can decide what part of his

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1] These figures refer to 1957 when the Economic Survey was conducted. In the following year when the Administration planned to take action against 'squatters', some landlords put up their rents to provide money for the 'tax' on squatters. The whole tax was thus passed on to the tenants. While I was in the field in 1958 rents had been rising, and were probably higher than the figures quoted.

2] Two tenants claimed their husbands read an advertisement in 'Ilanga Lase Natal', the local Zulu language newspaper.

allotment will be used for fields. He will also have to see that these get ploughed. The right to build a house and the right to plough continues only as long as the tenant pays his rent. If he leaves he loses his allotment; he acquires no further right over the land. Both landlords and tenants agree that the land always belongs to the landlord; the tenant never refers to the land as 'mine' in the sense that the holder of an allocation at Ndwedwe or Inanda does.

Though the tenants realise the overriding rights which vest in the landlord because the latter has title to the land, they do not think that the landlord can deprive them of their tenancy without good reason. 'This ground is his but while my house is here I will live in it'. They said it would be unthinkable for a landlord to order them to move their home from one allotment to another. Once a tenant has settled and has built a home, a landlord very seldom interferes and there is some truth in the assertion that a tenant is not moved.

There were some instances, however, where the landlord forced people to leave the land, on one occasion even going so far as to have his sons carry the people's belongings out of the house and place them in the road. The people left and have settled elsewhere. Tenants have seen this happen, but claim that a landlord would do it only if he 'had not received his money'. There were few comparable cases where a tenant had an allotment cancelled by the landlord. One instance cited involved the enlarging of the landlord's store. To effect this he had to move a tenant. He offered the tenant an alternative site,

which was accepted. The tenant had to move his own house.

The materials which the tenant uses in his house belong to him. If he leaves he may take them with him. The produce from his field is also used exclusively for his own homestead.

Tenants do not always like the life they lead at Shongweni. They stress that this is not the place they originally come from. Sometimes their views are stronger: 'This is like death, it is like a location, it is only my husband who says we must live here'. Women particularly feel the difficulties which life as a tenant involves. Sites are allocated in such a way that tenants have to build close to one another, hence the allegation that it is like living in a location in town.

Once a site has been found the house has to be erected. The men make a frame or pay for it to be put up, but the women have to fill in the walls with daub and make the house habitable. To most wives who have just moved into the area, this means tackling the job alone, because it is not possible to organise an ilimo amongst people one does not know.

Being a tenant means that one has to adjust to new neighbours who live very close by, and whom one hardly knows by name. This is in contrast to the situation at Ndwedwe or Inanda where all the personal details of neighbours are known before they are allocated land. Tenants visit each other often; they are always in and out of each other's houses; they are

also critical of their neighbours, complaining that they speak 'like amathonga' (i.e. people from the Portuguese border), or that they behave like 'town women' (unohongwana). Many of the women refer to these things when they attend the services of the many separatist sects and 'bear witness'.

The tenant's life also means great hardship in finding firewood and fetching water. Neither are plentiful, and where landlords have many tenants the lack of water becomes acute.

Visiting between tenants very rarely extends beyond the immediate neighbours, and for women it is usually limited to gossiping or occasional help in the fields. Women do not eat in each other's houses, and they very rarely drink. The men, when they come home over the weekend, usually drink beer. Men visit separately, and have a wider circle of homes they visit than their wives have. Apart from visiting each other, and occasional trips to the store, and rarer trips to town, women are occupied mainly with their household tasks. The services of separatist sects (which are active in the district) are the most distinct form of communal activity in which these people indulge.

The relationship between landlords and tenants is a purely business one. Landlords say 'if he does not live here on my land where else would he live?' Tenants realise that there are advantages in living in the area. These are the security of dealing with an African landlord 'who only wants money and not my time' (e.g. labour), and receiving a site where the family can stay while the man works in town.

The majority of tenants are labourers who have left the European farms where they were domiciled. In many cases they have moved from a place where they were allowed to run cattle and they grew ample staple crops; but they were also expected to perform an annual period of labour service for the farmer. They have had to move to a place where they cannot run cattle, and grow no food. The annual rent they pay is, however, preferred to the labour obligations of the farms. Some people had very little option about being tenants. They had been ordered off the land which was being put under wattle or sugar cane, and they had to find alternative accommodation. Because the landlord-tenant relationship is a business one, there are very few cases of kinship ties between tenants and landlords. This is deliberate policy on the part of the landlords, who wish to escape the consequences of being asked for land by kinsmen when they may not have land available, or might feel diffident about charging rent to kinsmen. In the few cases where kinship does exist, the kin are treated as ordinary tenants. One man complained that he had been trying to see his malume for a long time, but was always evaded because the malume thought he would be asked (cela) to give this man land.

There are few other reciprocities between landlords and tenants. They do not visit except to collect rent, or to listen to complaints. Landlords vary in their attitude towards complaints from their tenants, either refusing to listen to them or in some cases giving advice. One landlord not only adjusts such matters as encroachment on land, but advised one of his tenants not to follow his employer (who had been transferred to the Transvaal).

Many landlords also have trading licences and small stores, but they do not expect tenants to trade at their store. Tenants shop wherever their 'book' is kept (i.e. where they are given credit), or they do their shopping in town. They owe their landlord no obligations other than his rent.

#### 4. Land, the Community and the Individual:

Land for Africans in the rural areas is scarce. The fact that both Ndwedwe and Shongweni lie close to large industrial centres may have affected people's attitudes towards agriculture, and the incentives to leave home and work in town may be stronger than elsewhere. What information we have on other rural areas not so fortunately placed does not appear to bear this out. The result is that land scarcity is expressed in providing residential sites for people and not for purposes of producing food. Rural areas are not food producing but food importing<sup>1]</sup>. The average person does not consider the possibility of becoming a peasant farmer - he expects to become a migrant labourer.

Land means a place on which a home can be built, where the family live while the breadwinner is away. It is the place to which he can return for holidays, for illness, and when he retires. Though land is valued in these terms, not everybody has been provided with land. Some migrate permanently into the cities; others find places, like Shongweni, where African landlords provide the security of land without asking many questions.

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1] Houghton and Walton, op. cit., p.159.



The right to acquire land on communal holdings is tied up with relationship to a local group. Here the chieftainship is still the guarantor (but not the source) of the allocation. To this extent there is a common interest between the chief and his followers. Each recognises the limitation in the relationship, and both are aware of the possibility of administrative control and approval. While this balance is not disturbed the present system maintains an equilibrium.

In freehold areas where administrative intervention has been invoked, leadership vests in those organisations which are concerned with rights to land. At Shongweni the chief does not exercise the leadership, but this comes from the landholders' association. The leadership, however, still reflects the basic need for, and the need to, protect land.

CHAPTER XAGRICULTURE. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE  
TO NDWEDWE.

Mention has already been made of the fact that the agricultural significance of land in the 3 areas under examination has dwindled to the point where land now mainly serves the function of providing space for a house. The economic significance of agriculture in the life of most homesteads is small. There is no restriction on the sale of produce, but very few have any to sell.

(1) The Allocation of Fields:

In the more traditional Ndwedwe area, it is still unthinkable to allocate ground without also allocating land to be cultivated. One of the reasons why the Nguni pattern of discrete homesteads scattered down the backs of innumerable ridges is still adhered to, is because 'every umuzi must have its amasimu' (fields). While the fields are not of great importance in the economy or structure of the homestead, they are still an integral part of the conception of an umuzi.

'Ndoda's son-in-law was being allocated ground on the mountainside. Ndoda remarked that his wives had once refused to have these fields, saying that they were not goats. He added that the makoti of today was not so particular, because she no longer worked in the fields 'as her mother did'.

Sites are allocated with far more stress on the residential complications than on the agricultural advantages which may be derived. To have one's door looking straight into another umuzi is considered lacking in respect (ugungahlonipha) for one's neighbours. Far more attention is paid to details of this kind than to the fertility and disposition of fields. It is possible to allocate fields which in the past would have been considered 'too small', because people explain today 'we can buy at the store'. The women in every homestead, however poor its soil, and however small its allocation, are expected to till the fields. It is a matter for critical comment by the neighbours if they are 'lazy' (ubuvila), and do not work in the fields. This is still the view which the community holds, although the yields from the soil are such that they give little encouragement to continue with agriculture. There is no sanction that can be applied to a homestead which does not work its fields, except that the umuzi lays itself open to the criticism of its neighbours.

The allocation of fields within the homestead, like the allocation of houses, is an internal matter. The unnumzana must see that the fields which he has at his disposal are adequately distributed, so that each wife who feels she is entitled to a field may be 'shown she is no longer a makoti (new bride). It is still regarded as a rule that each field in a homestead should have its own mistress. I found in the sample which I conducted that twenty-one fields (16% of the total), had been left unallocated, that in fact they were shared by the women in the homestead. In these homesteads there is usually a senior wife or a mother-in-law who is able to organise the

women to work in those fields. The following descriptions of imizi show how fields are divided.

'Macakeni Nkumalo lives with his wife and three adult married sons. Each daughter-in-law has her own kitchen. The umuzi thus consists of four households. Each wife has a field which has been allocated to her, and for which she is responsible, but one big field is talked of as belonging to the 'mother'. The latter, however, said that this was 'our field' (insimu 'ethu), because we all work there together. Anyone who needed mealies from that field could go and pick them.'

'Bryant Dhlamini's umuzi consists of his family and those of his two brothers. His wife and her sisters-in-law each have their own fields, for which they made individual arrangements for ploughing. Two other fields were, however, ploughed 'for the umuzi'. These fields belong to 'all the wives' who all contributed seed and did some work in them. The little that was reaped from one of the fields was divided between each of the households.'

'Robinson Shangase lives with his wife and four married sons. Thus far his wife and two daughters-in-law have been allocated fields, although each daughter-in-law lives in her own house, buys and cooks her own food. There are two fields which belong to the umuzi. Both the daughters who have no fields, and the daughters who have a field, work in them. 'We pick food from the fields when we need it'

Normally a woman who has been allocated a field by her

husband is left in sole charge of that field. Her husband should make arrangements to see the field is ploughed, but she must see that it is planted, weeded and reaped. Whatever aid she gets from co-wives will either be repaid in kind, or be repaid in produce from the field. It should be noted that in most cases the produce was eaten long before harvest time, so that the problem of dividing the harvest is not usually very pressing.

(2) Inheritance of Fields at Ndwedwe:

The inheritance of fields does not always follow the same pattern as the inheritance of dwellings. An umuzi in terms of the buildings of which it consists is an indivisible unit. Sections of the umuzi may segment off, but they have to go elsewhere to build their own umuzi. It is possible, however, for an umuzi to segment, and for the section that breaks away to be given the fields cultivated by the mother.

(3) No Communal Fields in Ndwedwe:

There are no communal fields in the Ndwedwe Reserve, that is, fields which are owned by the isifunda and in which the subjects of the chief will work, and the produce of which will go to the chief. No produce from the individual fields of each umuzi is payable to the chief (or to anybody else) as tribute.

(4) Types of Fields:

There are three categories of fields which are recognised. These are izala (literally ash-heap), which are small kitchen plots usually near the house of each wife; and

then there are isife, which are small plots some distance from the house; and the insimu (garden) in which the main crops are grown. The izala (kitchen plot) is used to grow such things as pumpkins and a few chili bushes. The isife, when it can be distinguished from the insimu, is a small field in which the wife can grow other things which she can use in her kitchen. The isife can also be used to plant mealies after an early ploughing (late August or early September). The people say that the isife attracts the mealie borer which will not attack the main crop when it is planted later in the year.

The isife can also be devoted to plants intended as a delicacy for the head of the household. In one case the wife was dutifully tending a plot for a husband who had developed a taste for onions and also for an illegal plant which would have caused serious trouble if the authorities had discovered it.

The main crops are planted in the insimu (amasimu). These are mealies, madumbi, sweet potatoes and amabele. There are no objective criteria which can be used to distinguish an isife from an insimu, either in terms of size or of the crops that are planted. These are just two names which the people use if they wish to make a distinction.

(5) Organisation of Agricultural Activities in Ndwedwe:

The traditional division of labour in Zulu society was clear. Men herded and tended their cattle, while women hoed and produced food from the fields.

A distinction is still observed between those who

plough, (ukulima) and those who plant (sow) (ukutshala) and weed (ukuhlagula). Men always undertake the ploughing if they are available. They also clear and plough virgin land. Men very rarely or seldom help with weeding or planting. Where the situation demands it today, and where men are not available, women undertake the ploughing. They help to inspan and lead the oxen, and in fact have contact with cattle (which they were formerly forbidden to have).

a) Planting:

A woman does not decide alone what crops she is to plant; the husband should be informed, because he is the 'umnumzana' of the whole umuzi, even of his wife's fields'. If the fields have been allocated to her (this does not always happen) she plants in consultation with the husband. Seeds for the more common crops such as madumbi and mealies are usually kept from the previous season. Mealies are still hung across the cross-pole of the house so that the smoke from the fire will kill off the 'imphela' beetle. There is little or no attempt to change the variety of crops planted or to improve the strain.

b) Crops planted:

Table XIX gives an overall picture of crops grown in the reserves of Natal. The greatest area of land is under maize, and I have accepted this figure as a guide to the percentage of maize planted.

The madumbi, a potato-like tuber, is probably more widely cultivated in Ndwedwe than the table would indicate. It has, however, been omitted from the table because the madumbi thrives really well only in the coastal belt and is not included

in general agricultural census reports<sup>1]</sup>.

TABLE XIX  
AREA UNDER CULTIVATION IN NATAL RESERVES -  
1952/53<sup>2]</sup>.

Crops	Morgen	% of total area
Maize	212,016	69.1
Kaffir Corn	52,804	17.2
Legumes	23,784	7.8
Root Crops	15,238	5.0
Fruit & Vegetables	1,403	0.4
Other Grain Crops	772	0.3
Fodder Crops	439	0.1
Other Crops	306	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>306,762</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Fruit and vegetables are grown in the district with varying enthusiasm and success. When they are available, they form a welcome addition to the daily diet. The prejudice against fruit trees, because they are perennials and 'sap the strength of the earth and make men die young' is dying out. Very few trees are deliberately planted and cared for, but trees which sprout of their own are kept and prized. Fruit (particularly peaches and plums) is eaten when it is still so

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz, Natal Regional Survey, Vol. VII, op.cit., p.107.

2] Ibid.



green that I was unable to eat it when it was offered to me. Bananas and pineapples are popular, probably because both are cultivated by Indian market gardeners at Inanda, and plants are bought by people travelling in and out of the reserves.

Cash crops, which in the coastal region would mean sugar cane and wattle, do not play a significant part in farming in the district. The Administration has forbidden the growing of sugar cane in the reserves because of transport problems. There are no all-weather roads or railways so that a crop such as sugar cane, which needs rapid transport to the mill, would be wasted. The capital expenditure involved in wattle growing (a delay of seven years before a return on capital can be expected) is too high for people to contemplate.

The people show an inherent conservatism toward new crops and plant only well-known crops. Nothing will convince them that their staple crops should be abandoned because of poor returns. 'Our parents and shades showed us this way'.

The heaviest task after planting is weeding. This is the only care which crops are given. Weeding is part of the household duties of a woman, and must be fitted in with her other household tasks of child-bearing and rearing, fetching of firewood and water, and the preparing of meals. The use of communal working parties (ilimo) to help with weeding has died out almost completely. Occasionally ilimo may still take place when the walls of a house are to be finished or for some urgent large job, but not for routine agricultural jobs such as weeding and harvesting. There has been a tendency to replace

the working party with employment (for cash) of casual daily (togt) labour. Almost one-third (33.6%) of the imizi use cash labour for weeding. The normal procedure is that young girls (very often the daughters of neighbours) contract to work. They usually work for a day. Piece work is rarely done, as employers know how much to expect from a day's weeding. The fees vary from 15 to 25 cents per day. A day begins very early, soon after sunrise in summer, and should last till sunset. The fee includes a midday meal but not an early morning meal; and breaks in between for food and/or beer (if available) are regarded as extras. People explain that they prefer employing togt labour for agricultural work because an ilimo gives 'much trouble' and it is also easier to supervise someone who 'gets money for her work'.

Reaping is also the woman's work. The woman to whom the field 'belongs' is allowed to, and does, use whatever produce comes from the field. She may, however, allow other members of the imizi to pick mealies or dig for madumbi. This is either for the same rights in their fields, or in return for some other service.

I was never able to discover what a woman would have done with money earned from the sale of crops, as I never encountered a case in which the wife bartered produce from the fields with the local store for either money or goods. Though most people agreed that the money would belong to her spouse (to the ummumzana of the umuzi), there was a general feeling that a wise man would 'keep his eyes out of these matters', and would leave her to spend it as she chose. The same attitude prevails in regard to a woman's cash from other sources.

A woman would be justified in using money from produce to pay for the weeding of her fields, but she could also take the money out of her housekeeping allowance.

c) Ploughing:

Ploughing is 'a man's work', if he is available. Here also, as with the weeding, recourse is being had to cash payments for ploughing, or failing that, people plough on a co-operative basis. Most ploughing (46%) is still done by the individual umuzi, although almost one-third (32%) are prepared to pay someone to do the work. The remaining 22% was done on a co-operative basis. There is some indication that people (especially male workers) still try to take their leave during the ploughing season - notably during October and November. For many people this is not possible, and they either hope that the woman will be able to manage, or they make another arrangement. In many cases alternative arrangements mean paying someone because there are no cattle in the homestead.

"Co-operatives" for ploughing are formed by pooling resources and labour. A person with a plough but no draught animals will co-operate with someone who has animals. There is no apparent pattern of starting a co-operative. The co-ops usually last for only one ploughing season, and 'brothers' (i.e. clansmen) usually co-operate, mainly because they are neighbours, and not merely because they wish to work with cattle of fellow clansmen. Imizi which do form co-operatives have very few or no cattle at all. The general rule is for the person who supplies the cattle to have his fields ploughed first. Ploughing for cash is a purely business transaction between the

person whose lands must be ploughed and the person who has animals and equipment available. The basis of payment is the skof (Afrikaans: shift). A 'skof' is a period of time and not an area, although one sometimes hears fields described as 'one or half-skof' fields. A skof lasts from 2 - 2½ hours depending on the condition of the animals. As a general rule it begins early in the morning and is finished just after eight o'clock. If a second skof is needed or contemplated, it will take place after midday, from about three o'clock onwards.

On ground which has been ploughed before, (i.e. is not being turned for the first time), two oxen with a plough (usually size 00) should complete approximately an acre per skof. This figure varies enormously depending on the terrain. One of the reasons for many of the peculiar shapes of the fields is the difficulty of ploughing on steep slopes.

Ploughmen are entitled (over and above their fees) to at least one meal, and they are given beer (umhlala phanzi, i.e. to sit down) or money in lieu of beer during their work. The fees vary between R1.00 and R1.25 per skof. There are no special categories of people to ask when one wants ploughing done. Having decided to pay for the service 'you ask someone who has got good cattle'. Animals which have to be driven a long way before they are inspanned are less likely to plough as well as animals living nearby.

Although ploughing for others can provide an income for the man who has animals and equipment, the oxen are often in such poor condition that one man cannot undertake much work.

It is a common complaint of those who have ploughing done for cash that their fields are neglected and ploughed only very late in the season.

It is considered the husband's task to see that the necessary arrangements are made to hire a man to plough, who is also paid by the husband.

(6) Details of Cultivation and Yields:

a) Ndwedwe:

Each household renews the 'struggle with the soil' annually; the cultivation undertaken does not make a very real contribution to the food of the inhabitants. Every household has to buy from the store at some stage. 'We eat the mealies till they are finished, then we go and buy them'. Some start buying as early as April and have to buy all their food until the following February. Some manage on their own until June. Those people who claim to be full-time farmers also buy some of their food. This, however, is because they find it more profitable to grow and sell foodstuffs, such as vegetables; and to buy staples with the proceeds, and not because their returns are low.

From the sample of forty-four imizi<sup>1]</sup> it was possible to make an analysis of agricultural returns. The survey

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1] Sample 'B' (described on p.267).

consisted of checking the size and disposition of fields ploughed either in the 1958-59 season or the 1959-60 season. Both seasons were hot and rather dry, as the rains were very late. I investigated the returns on staple crops, but obtained figures only for maize production. Other staples such as the madumbi were left as a crop in the ground and eaten only when needed. It proved impossible to estimate the yield in madumbis. Crops were also planted in a haphazard fashion. The irregularly shaped fields made measuring complicated. Ropes marked off in sections were used for measurement.

The median size of the homestead in the sample was 7.0 persons. Details are given in Table XX.

In the forty-four homesteads there were altogether 135 fields. Both isife and insimu were measured (they were generally referred to as amasimu). It was not practical to measure izala. From the sample a mean figure of 3.07 fields per homestead was derived. The total area cultivated amounts to 132.5 acres. The size and distribution of fields is shown in Tables XXI to XXIII below. A median of 2.225 acres is cultivated per homestead<sup>1]</sup>. The mean size of fields is under one acre (about .98 acres, which is undoubtedly small).

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1] Fair estimated that each homestead in Ndwedwe cultivated between 3 to 6 acres. See proceedings Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas (Tomlinson), Vol. IV, Stuk 145, Houghton and Walton, op. cit., p.155, give a figure of 3.25 acres per homestead in Keiskammahook.

TABLE XX.PERSONS PER HOMESTEAD (SAMPLE 'B') IN NDWEDWE.

No. of Persons	Homestead
1	1
2	-
3	-
4	3
5	9
6	8
7	1
8	4
9	1
10	2
11	3
12	1
13	2
14	1
15	1
16	1
17	-
18	-
19	-
20	1
21	2
22	-
23	-
24	-
25	1
26	-
27	-
28	-
29	1
30	-
31	-
32	-
33	-
34	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>44</b>

TABLE XXI.  
THE DISTRIBUTION AND THE NUMBER OF FIELDS  
PER HOMESTEAD IN A SAMPLE FROM NDWEDWE.

No. of Fields	No. of Homesteads	%	Total number of Fields
1	3	6.8	3
2	16	36.5	32
3	13	29.5	39
4	6	13.6	24
5	3	6.8	15
6	1	2.3	6
7	-	-	-
8	2	4.5	16
TOTAL	44	100.0	135

TABLE XXII  
SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL FIELDS CULTIVATED BY A  
SAMPLE FROM NDWEDWE.

Size of Fields in Acres	No. of Fields	%
1 acre and less	94	69.6
1.1 - 2.0	27	20.0
2.1 - 3.0	10	7.4
3.1 - 4.0	2	1.5
4.1 - 5.0	-	-
5.1 - 6.0	2	1.5
TOTAL	135	100.0



TABLE XXIII.

TOTAL AREA CULTIVATED BY EACH HOMESTEAD  
IN A SAMPLE FROM NDWEDWE.

Size of Fields in acres	No. of Homesteads	%
1 acre and less	8	18.2
1.1 - 2.00	13	29.5
2.1 - 3.00	8	18.2
3.1 - 4.00	4	9.1
4.1 - 5.00	4	9.1
5.1 - 6.00	2	4.5
6.1 - 7.00	3	6.9
7.1 - 8.00	2	4.5
TOTAL	44	100.0

To estimate the mealie yield I collected figures for each umuzi of the harvest reaped. I treated each umuzi as a single unit for the purpose of computing yields. Where no harvest was reaped because crops had been eaten before the harvest, I estimated the amount eaten. Table XXIV shows the estimates of the mealie harvest.

To estimate the size of the crop that was eaten I tried to ascertain in which months people ate mainly from the fields, and in which months they began buying mealies from

the store regularly. I then estimated how much had been eaten by each person in the umuzi, making due allowance for the workers who were away most of the time, and usually were home for weekends at regular intervals.

TABLE XXIV.  
YIELDS OF MEALIES PER HOMESTEAD, NDWEDWE  
SAMPLE.

No. of 200 lb. bags reaped/ eaten.	No. of homesteads reaping mealies	No. of homesteads eating part or all of their mealie crop	No. of homesteads distributed by est. total of crop produced per homestead.
None	12	-	-
Less than 1	1	3	1
1 - 1.9	13	26	9
2 - 2.9	9	7	11
3 - 3.9	5	3	9
4 - 4.9	-	3	5
5 - 5.9	1	-	1
6 - 6.9	1	1	3
7 - 7.9	1	-	2
8 - 8.9	-	-	-
9 - 9.9	-	-	1
10+	-	-	1
TOTAL	43*	43*	43*

\* One homestead in sample planted no mealies but had planted other crops.

The amount of mealies allowed for each adult was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. per adult per week<sup>1]</sup>. On this basis I computed that 52.6% of the mealie crop was eaten before it was reaped.

From the table it is calculated that the average (mean) number of bags of mealies reaped per homestead was 1.85 bags, while a further 2.06 mean number of bags of mealies were eaten from the fields of each homestead. This gives a total mean yield of 3.91 bags of mealies produced per homestead in the sample.

The 43 homesteads reaped an estimated total of 79.5 bags, and ate a further 88.5 bags total, giving 168 bags of mealies produced.

Taking the figures in Table XXV as a gauge, I computed that 70% of the cultivated land would be under maize; this meant that 92.75 acres yielded 1.8 bags per acre. The agricultural officer for the district thought this yield was low. Two separate estimates for the area give different data for comparative purposes. Hurwitz estimates a yield of two bags per morgen, which is lower than my figure<sup>2]</sup>. Fair, in his evidence before the Tomlinson Commission<sup>3]</sup>, claimed that the yield was two to

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1] This was based on a figure prepared by the National Nutritional Council. Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit., Table XLVII.

2] Ibid, p. 103.

3] Fair, op. cit., (evidence to the Tomlinson Commission).

three bags per acre and that a 'family of six' could produce sixteen bags per season.

b) Inanda:

The amount of land cultivated at Inanda is smaller than that cultivated at Ndwedwe (i.e. approximately 1.75 acres per umuzi.) Most of the homesteads are single family units, and the wife is invariably given charge of the fields. Women, unless they are working in town, still work in the fields. It is usually the more educated women who have jobs in town, and they employ other women to work in their fields. Ploughing is usually on a cash basis. There are two tractors available to the local people; one belongs to the Qadi chief, and another to an Indian farmer in the released area. These are hired out at a cost of approximately R6.00 per acre.

c) Shongweni:

The unpublished survey of the area undertaken by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal estimated that land owners at Shongweni cultivate an average of 2.86 acres. Tenants by contrast cultivated about 1.09 acres. The variety of crops grown "is very limited. The commonest is maize, which is grown by 99% of the 1,073 households engaged in agriculture, followed by beans grown by 54% of the householders. Pumpkins and potatoes (mostly sweet potatoes) are each cultivated by 12% of them. Other produce grown are kaffir corn and cabbages, and there are a few trees, mostly fruit trees".<sup>1]</sup> This figure is far higher than the one I obtained. In Keiskammahoek the yields

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1] Shongweni Survey: op. cit., p.8.

were five bags in a good season, and just over half in a bad season<sup>1]</sup>.

Most people do not get an economic return from animal husbandry or crop production. It is possible, however, to make an economic living from the land. There is a small group of African farmers who do. At Inanda, where the reserve ends and the 'released areas' begin, Indian market gardeners and African neighbours live side by side. The market gardeners cultivate their small plots intensively because their livelihood is derived from the produce, whereas the Africans go out to work and look upon their plots as residential sites. There are few incentives to become a full-time farmer; not only are the plots small, but returns are not regarded as better than wages earned in industry.

(7) Cattle and Other Livestock:

The Nguni are a pastoral people. Hoe culture, which is of minor importance, is left to the women; cattle are the province of the men. This situation, however, is changing and many isizi no longer own any cattle. Traditionally, cattle were regarded by the Zulu not only as a form of wealth, but also as an important link binding a man to his ancestors. Cattle were the accepted medium of exchange for a bride, whose primary function was to produce children to maintain her husband's agnatic line. Cattle were valued for the status they gave their possessors, and meat and milk were of secondary importance.

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1] Houghton and Walton, op. cit., pp. 61 and 62.

TABLE XXV.  
HOLDINGS OF LIVESTOCK.

Area	Year	Cattle	Horses	Mules	Donkeys	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Poultry
Ndwedwe	1937	35,192	276	6	1,824	1955	6148	345	41,566
	1943	30,711	-	-	-	2134	8244	876	-
	1956	21,890	151	9	1,224	2456	8647	326	37,471
Inanda	1937	4,647	30	1	170	275	1476	162	5,128
	1943	3,596	-	-	-	229	1190	129	-
	1956	2,247	13	-	124	128	545	45	-
Shongweni <sup>1]</sup>	1957	1,315	2	-	134	123	528	45	1,957
Natal	1946	1106217*	33000**	-	75088**	41774*	100524*	63165**	1000000**

\* Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit., p.119, Table 42.

\*\* Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit., p.119, (1950).

1] Source: Shongweni Survey, op. cit., Table 34.

Table XXV above gives figures for livestock in the three areas studied.

Ndwedwe grazes approximately thirty head of cattle per hundred morgen. Though there has been a marked decline in cattle holdings, the number of cattle is regarded as high<sup>1]</sup>. This is in contrast to the cattle holdings in reserves generally, which have remained constant<sup>2]</sup>. The decline was helped by bad droughts in 1946/47, and also by the Red Water Fever epidemic which has made the district a restricted area since 1957. The district, in common with other districts on the coastal hinterland, is not particularly suited to ranching, and can provide natural feeding only in summer. The decline in cattle holdings is continuing; returns from two dipping tanks in 1958/59 show a further decline in overall holdings. Over one-third (33.9%) of the imizi at Ndwedwe had no cattle at all. The figures reported from<sup>3]</sup> Shongweni were that 61.4% of homesteads had no cattle at all. Seventy-two percent of homesteads in Inanda had no cattle. Commercial aspects of ranching have not been actively pursued. The Administration's attempts to introduce cattle markets have failed, and the restriction due to the Red Water Fever have further limited movements in and out of the district. There is little incentive to sell, and people like to 'hear the cattle in the isibaya', and consequently do not sell them to the butchers. Some cases where cattle had actually

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit., p.112. The 'true' carrying capacity is one head per ten morgen.

2] Ibid., p.113.

3] Shongweni Economic Survey, Table 34.

been sold for cash were recorded. In many instances the sale was to realise money with which to pay 'fees' which buy permission to seek work in an urban area<sup>1]</sup>.

The Administration has also attempted to get people to improve stock. These attempts have been concentrated on the local betterment scheme, where a bull is kept for stud purposes. Feelings about the betterment scheme are uncomplimentary; its fencing and neat housing is described as being 'just like a compound', and the substitution of a better breed of cattle has been unsuccessful. 'Zulu cattle (i.e. the sanga type) live better with us than cattle from Vuma Farm'<sup>2]</sup>.

Meat is eaten when cattle (or goats) are sacrificed; but this happens only on ritual occasions. The decline in cattle holdings in the district is not, however, due to more cattle being slaughtered - disease has taken a heavy toll. During one week in May 1959 five cattle in the immediate vicinity of my camp died. Figures from two dipping tanks show that over a period of twenty months (August 1958 - March 1960), there was a nett decrease of 357 cattle at one tank. This represented 33.1% of the cattle holdings. In a fifteen month period (December 1958 - March 1960) there was an overall loss of twenty-three head at another tank; this represented only 4.7% of the total.

I could find no rational explanation for the vast

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1] The 'fees' were R20.00 and R25.00 respectively.

2] Vuma Farm is one of the demonstration farms of the South African Native Trust in Zululand.



difference between the losses at these two tanks. People at both tanks complained about the umbendeni (Red Water Fever), and the only conclusion is that it must have been more virulent at the first tank. The amount of sacrificing that took place could not have been responsible for the discrepancy. If an animal dies (i.e. not sacrificed) the women of the homestead are allowed (in the absence of a suitable male) to cut up the beast and dispose of the meat. This is very necessary in the hot weather when the meat is not likely to be edible for more than two days. One test of the number of deaths due to disease is to find how many women had recently cut up and eaten meat. Women are never invited into the isibaya when an official sacrifice (umhlabelelo) takes place. They only handle the meat after it has been sacrificed and offered to the ancestors, and then they only receive it 'as women' to do the cooking.

Replies from women on the number of times they had cut up meat could not be quantified as the questioning extended over a period of almost a year, and the answer would only refer to very recent happenings. It was not, however, a complete rarity. The money which was obtained from the sale of this meat was kept for the husband. It was not spent by the women.

Whatever milk is produced is used for domestic consumption. Generally people do not pay much attention to the milk production of cows, and are amused by people seeking information on it. The few figures I was able to collect indicate that the yield is much lower than that for Pholela<sup>1]</sup>.

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit., p.123, Table 45. This indicated a yield at Pholela of 2.9 pints per cow per day. The figures I obtained were closer to a pint per cow per day.

In former days, when the population was much smaller and there was more grazing, milk must have been more plentiful. The Thafamasi Mission Reserve was originally granted to the missionary by the Shangase chief because, according to its original name, the cows were full of milk (thapa amasi).

Goats, though never as plentiful as cattle, have increased and not declined over the years (Table XXV). Goats are acceptable as beasts for ritual slaughter (and for lobola payments). Goats are often sold by itinerant goatherds, and are much easier to move about than cattle. A few are reared and sold locally, but not as a serious proposition. Most of the goats in the district are imported from outside.

Horses are used for transport. At Ndwedwe, where there are still long distances to be covered without roads, the number of horses seems to be very small. The valley is supposed to be unhealthy for horses, and they are kept by only a few people. The horse is the commonest form of transport for the chief and induna, (unless of course the chief can afford to run a car<sup>1]</sup>).

Donkeys are less valued than horses and easier to obtain. People use them as pack animals. Women hire (tsheleka) donkeys at 25 cents per day, and make trips to the stores "where our money looks bigger". They load their merchandise on the donkeys. Donkeys are also sometimes used for ploughing;

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1] One informant, remarking on the relative status of the horse and the car, said that 'when a car hoots the horse jumps out of the way'.

though the need for this is realised, people are derisive about it, referring to donkeys as 'Indian cattle' (izinkomo zikandiya).

(8) Grazing:

At Ndwedwe, most local groups control land on which their cattle are supposed to graze. Thus people talk of the Msoni's or the Gogo's grazing. Closer investigation reveals that whereas some groups have adequate or extensive grazing, other groups have none or very little. Partly this is an index of seniority; those groups with more grazing are likely to have arrived with or soon after the umdbauka peoples. Partly it is also a reflection of the pressure on the land. Despite administrative warnings, grazing is continuously being allocated for residential sites. Despite an overall decline in both human and animal population, the district still carried a high density of population, and it is to be expected that residential sites would take precedence over grazing.

It is inevitable that herds of cattle from different homesteads and different local groups will graze together. Hence any disputes which occur are usually taken to the induna and settled at the isigodi level. There is no real attempt made to protect the grazing of a particular group from use by outsiders. This attitude is aided by the fact that schooling tends to remove a number of herdboys from circulation. The remaining herdboys find it easier and more pleasant to herd in groups which do not coincide with homestead, local group, or umndeni lines.

As long as herdboys keep their cattle from breaking into fields, or polluting domestic water supplies, there is not

likely to be an undue amount of trouble over grazing. People are not likely to ask too many searching questions about the presence of strangers' cattle. Even at the end of the season when cattle are allowed into the fields to eat the stalks people do not mind whose cattle eat their stalks.

Grazing for the people on the Inanda Mission Reserve is on a special tract set aside by the Advisory Board. This serves the whole Mission Reserve. There are fewer cattle at Inanda than there are at Ndwedwe (approximately 2.2 per morgen). Lindleyville people very seldom keep livestock. The Lindleyville people have, in some cases, been in occupation of a house (or at least a building site), for over three generations. They have come to regard the land they live on as belonging exclusively to the family. The older residents deny that the Advisory Board had anything to do with their allocation, and they do not recognise the right of the Board to intervene.

The number of cattle in the Shongweni district is lower than the number at Ndwedwe. On the basis of figures from the Economic Survey, there are about 1.7 head of cattle per morgen. However, only 39% of the homesteads in the area own any livestock at all. Animals are grazed on the owner's land in 62% of cases. Alternatively, animals are grazed for a fee on other people's land. The fees normally amount to a charge of 50 cents for cattle and 10 cents for goats or sheep. Sometimes a flat rate of R2.00 is charged, and no questions are asked about the number of animals which graze.

There is also land at Shongweni which people call

'commonage', which is used for grazing. In practice land which lies empty, and the owner of which does not charge for grazing, is called commonage by the people, irrespective of to whom the ground belongs. Tenants, unless they have been settled for some years and have larger plots than usual, run no livestock.

(9) Fencing:

One way of protecting fields and property from outsiders is by making a fence. Fences are made by planting hedges for an uthnago, or by using brushwood, and also barbed wire if it can be afforded.

At Ndwedwe people say they use fences because herd-boys are scarce and cattle stray very often; they also say they must be able to distinguish their own homes from those of their neighbours. Once a man has gone to the expense of making bricks, importing corrugated iron sheets, doors and windows, it is natural for him to protect his 'house' by putting up the fence. It is a matter of pride for a man to be able to afford the money to buy fencing.

The right of landholders to fence their land is clearly understood at Shongweni. Most landlords fence their homes but very few fence all their fields. If they wish to protect something, usually a young wattle plantation, they fence that part off. The South African Native Trust have also erected a fence on the southern border of the area to protect trust land from encroachment by the freehold area.

The reasons for fencing are the same as those given at Advedve and Inanda; it not only protects a man's property, but distinguishes it from its neighbours. This distinctiveness has been carried such further at Shongveni, because people have title to their land.

#### (10) Miscellaneous:

##### a) The Burning of Grass:

If people have grazing they burn the grass to aid the growth of 'new grass'. The burning of grass in the old days also covered the area where one could hunt (for game). No hunts are organised nowadays, and the connection between grass burning and hunting has become obscured.

##### b) Gathering Firewood:

The collecting of firewood (mbutza) is a time-consuming task for most women. They have to go and find wood, cut it up and bring it home. As most cooking is done on wood fires, this task has to be undertaken several times a week. All indigenous trees are regarded as being firewood, although wood should be old and dry before it will burn properly. It is considered wrong to chop a tree down deliberately and leave it to dry.

People who plant trees are allowed to keep those trees for their own benefit, and they are not regarded as communal property. There are very few indigenous trees left, and the best sources of firewood are the chief's lands up in the kloofs and on the mountains. These places are shared by

women from numerous local groups and isigodi. There is no clear division of territory in which women can collect firewood. The work is very tiring, and women would 'prefer to teza near their homes'.

At Shongweni, firewood is usually fetched from the neighbouring European farms, and the women pay between 50 cents to R1.00 a year for the right to collect it. There are almost no indigenous trees left in the area, and landlords discourage people who try to collect wood locally. Many people cook on primus stoves because of the problem of finding fuel.

c) Water:

Water is not a problem in the Ndwedwe Reserve unless it is a particularly dry season. Most homesteads are close to a stream or a spring. A strong spring with a swiftly running stream is preferred, and it is usual for a source of domestic water to be protected by building a dam which makes the filling of containers easier. Herdboys and any stray animals that might drink there are chased away. A dam is usually only a pile of stones. Everyone, especially the women whose homes are nearby, have access to these springs. The springs are not only places where one can get water; they are also gathering places for the women where they can sit and talk while they fill their containers.

Irrigation is not practised, and is hardly feasible, given the terrain.

CHAPTER XI.TRANSITION TO A CASH ECONOMY.

This chapter deals with the economic life of the rural people who export their labour in order to import their food, and describes the position as it was at the time of the fieldwork.

Except for a limited number of people who can be employed locally, there is no economic opportunity outside the White economy<sup>1]</sup>. Agricultural activity provides food for a few weeks, and makes very little contribution to the economy of the homestead. Money is the universally accepted medium of exchange. Wages (in town and country) are paid in cash; lobola payments can be made in cash; and the services of herbalists are enlisted for cash.

(1) Rural Occupations:

The contribution to the family income from agriculture is negligible. There is not only a lack of returns on the time and labour involved, but even for people who are interested in farming as a full-time occupation the risks are great and returns hazardous. Details will be given in the last chapter.

There are agricultural activities which provide occasional incomes for a few people. The use of working parties (ilimo) to help with weeding is dying out. However, young girls

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1] Cf. Houghton and Walton (1952): op. cit.



are employed on a daily (togt) basis to weed. Girls sometimes leave home for a few weeks to do weeding on a casual basis on the canefields (emobeni). The nearest canefields are usually visited, and there seems to be ample employment, because it is necessary to keep the fields constantly weeded. The money girls receive is treated as 'money for beads and sweets', and is usually quickly spent by them.<sup>1]</sup> Some men are also able to earn money by ploughing for a fee. All these activities are occasional, and they cannot be reliably regarded as making a permanent addition to the family budget.

For younger boys, herding has in a few instances also become a means of earning money. Cattle and goats are herded by whoever is available; if there are no young boys in the umuzi, or if the children are all away at school, a boy from a neighbouring umuzi may be employed on a monthly basis to do the herding. Young men who come to live with their malumes also do herding; they have always been entitled to at least one heifer, (and also to help towards their lobola). Nowadays they may also settle for a fee. The money paid varies from about 50 cents a month to R2.00 per annum. Boys are more strictly treated than girls; they give the money to their parents. However, boys stop herding before, or when, they turn sixteen - after that they go to town to work, and their wages are regarded differently.

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1] It is the younger girls between 16 and 20 who do this kind of work. After they are married, they look after their children and have no opportunity. They buy bright clothes, beads and sweets with their money, often giving their mother and father presents, but no money. The parents do not appear to mind - 'girls are always looking for bright things, that is how they spend their money'.

There are other means of making a living in the reserve apart from agriculture: handicrafts are a source of income, and usually consist of making beadwork; mats and baskets; and pottery. Many ex-teachers at Inanda do dress-making in their spare time if they have sewing machines. The making of articles in the home with the intention of selling them in town is restricted almost completely to women. There are one or two males who make exceptional articles (one uses a local wood to make beautiful walking sticks). Generally, however, men do not practice any handicrafts.

Beadwork is made for adornment of local pagan (binca) women, and occasionally for young pagan swains (insizwa obincayo). Some is also made to be sold to tourists in the towns. Women selling necklaces or belts made of beads are to be found on popular Durban beaches, and along the North Coast. I never met anyone in the district who made beadwork to sell in town, but I have met people on the beach who claim to come from Ndwedwe. The market for this kind of work is very restricted, not only because beadwork is not universally worn, but because women still often make their own.

Mat and basket making is an unfailing source of income for some women. Sleeping mats (amacansi) and eating mats (isithebe), are made for sale locally. Doormats and washing baskets are made for sale in the towns. The making of mats requires skill which women say is very easy to acquire. It also needs time not only to collect the raw materials, but to make the goods and market them. This means that it is only in those households which have enough labour to spare that mats are

made. Mats are a household rather than a homestead business, and it is either a mother-in-law who can delegate the heavy household work to her daughter-in-law, or a mother who has daughters who are big enough to help, who can derive income from the sale of mats. Reeds for mats can be collected locally, but are of poor quality and are scarce. It pays to go to collect better quality reeds at some distance. There are also some enterprising women who sell other people's handiwork. They organise a group of women who make the mats, and then the leader undertakes to sell them in town. Usually this is done because the mat makers are 'too afraid' of town. The seller pays for the mats and sells them at a profit.

'Maria is a widow with an increasing and growing family<sup>1]</sup>. She spent two days travelling to Umtwalume on the South Coast, where she collected reeds (she stayed with relatives while she was there). Her travelling expenses were R1.80. The reeds and her board and lodging were free. She made 35 door mats in the next six weeks, which sold for an average price of 25 cents each. While in town, she stayed at the Bantu Women's Centre (a hostel in the centre of town, run by the Corporation). The mats were sold in four days. She reckoned that food and accommodation in town cost 40 cents per day. Her busfare into town and back was R1.10. Thus she made R8.75 from the mats, but she had spent R4.50. This left her with a profit of R3.25 from the mats. She was not dissatisfied with this, but said that baskets took more time to make

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1] Her husband died in 1947, but there were children in the house ranging from 3 to 15 years.

and could be sold for more. She was thinking of changing to baskets. She said that she sold mats about four times a year'.

At Shongweni, basket making has become an industry. Women, originally under the energetic encouragement of a parish priest, have organised themselves into a group, which collects reeds, dries them and weaves baskets. Usually a wait of between 6 - 8 months gives them enough baskets to order a railway truck from the nearest siding which is then filled with the baskets which are railed to town and sold. One group sold their baskets as far away as Cape Town.

Pottery is a dying art. The only utensils still made extensively are beer pots (izikhamba), both large and small. They are oval shaped, large-mouthed pots made from clay and baked. They usually have some decorative pattern scratched on the clay before they are baked. No other earthenware utensils are made; the local store sells them too cheaply. Even beer is sometimes served in mugs and bottles, although it is considered 'bad' (amanyala) not to have proper drinking pots at formal beer drinks. Very few potters are left. They make pots only to order, and never have any ready for casual sale. Prices vary between 50 cents and R1.00 per pot.

There is one avenue of employment open to men living in the district. This is building. Most men when asked say that they are builders, meaning that they can put up the framework of a house, and put in doors and windows, and do thatching. The claim is not always substantiated, because building for a

fee entails either having a good reputation as a builder, or charging a very low fee. If anything, the reputation is more important than the fee.

Builders are usually trained by experience; and as huts are continually being built in the Ndwedwe district, most men claim to have had some experience. It is only in very recent years that newer and quicker methods of building have made the employment of trained building workers necessary. These men have been trained to build houses in the new townships which are being built on the outskirts of cities such as Durban. In the country, their experience has been aided by the fact that sun-baked blocks are now in common use. The older type of hut, made from wattle and daub, is a rondavel-type structure with mud walls and a thatched roof. The builder has only to put up the structure on a previously levelled site, and must also put on the structure of the roof and thatch it. Usually he also puts in doors and windows.

All the materials, which include the wattle poles for the centre pillar, the thinner poles as supports for the walls and roof, the wire, nails, doors and windows must be supplied by the owner. The builder brings only his skills and his tools. The filling up of the walls (with mud) is not the builder's job, although he is responsible (if it was previously agreed to) for the 'strengthening' of the wall. This is usually done by splitting bamboo (which grows wild) into laths, which are then woven through the supporting saplings which form the walls. Sometimes the interstices are also packed with stones before the walls are plastered. For a large rondavel of 18 feet

diameter a man will be paid between R6.00 and R10.00, depending on the difficulties he encounters. 'European type' houses, (i.e. with interleading rooms) are built on the same principals. They have wattle and daub walls which are plastered, and they have corrugated iron roofs. The latest trend is, however, to build with the blocks mentioned above. A building of this type needs foundations and is more permanent than the old rondavel type of house. A four-roomed house made from blocks costs between R50.00 and R60.00 for the building alone<sup>1]</sup>.

All the sources of income dealt with above are casual in that there is no fixed rate of payment or guarantee of employment. They are not sufficient for a person who needs steady employment and income to keep his family in food.

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1] The estimated costs I was given were for an ordinary rondavel:

Builder	R10.00
Poles	6.55 (local wood)
Thatch	5.00 (brought from New Hanover)
Door	2.25
Twine and extras	2.00
	<u>R25.80</u>

This does not include the cost of the builder's food, or the cost of the ilimo (beer and food) for casual helpers who smooth the floor and fill the walls. For a more substantial house the following costs were given:-

Builder	R50.00
Corrugated iron	30.00
Wood (for beams)	15.00
Cement	25.00
Doors and windows	13.00
Extras	6.50
	<u>R139.50</u>

(2) Professional Employment in the Rural Areas:

A number of people are employed locally in their professional capacity. Their relatively high salaries, in comparison to their neighbours, make a big contribution to the economic life of the community. The three categories of people are: ministers of religion, teachers, and people employed by the Administration, particularly clerks. Very often the people who are appointed to these positions are not local people.

Inanda has a high quota of trained people, some of whom work locally, but some, like the only African doctor in the district, have their work in Durban. Four ministers are employed on a full-time basis in the district (three of them by the American Board). Their average monthly income is estimated at R45.00 per month (R540.00 per annum). All ministers are given houses in which to live, and they bring their families to live with them. As a result they form part of the economic community of the district. The department of Bantu Education employs 138 teachers, 61 of whom are males. The Department does not provide housing, and though it is not very difficult to obtain housing locally, married teachers who come from outside the district prefer to 'keep the home where we have land'.

'N. is the headmaster of a large primary school in the Inanda district. He lives on a small plot of freehold in the Verulam district with his wife and six children. While at school he lives as a bachelor with two male colleagues, and goes home every week-end, and sometimes during the week.'

'S. teaches at a remote school near the Mqeku. He comes from Bergville, where he has a wife and family. He goes home for holidays, and boards with a neighbouring family while teaching.'

The salaries paid to teachers in the Inanda district vary, not only between men and women, but also for the different types of schools (secondary, higher primary and lower primary)<sup>1]</sup>.

The following scales were laid down by the Department in 1957:  
**Lower Primary Schools:**

Grade	Qualification	Scale	
		Men	Women
A	Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate	R180 -R300	R180-R300
B	Higher Primary Teacher's Cert.	R204 -R372	R204-R372

Professionally unqualified people will be paid as follows:

A	Less than Junior Certificate	R96	R84
B	Junior Certificate	R168	R144
C	Matriculation	R234	R192
D	Four Degree Courses	R252	R204
E	Eight Degree Courses	R270	R216
F	Degree	R288	R228

Headmasters also have their schools graded according to size and are paid R24 per annum for every 50 pupils with a maximum of R168.

#### Higher Primary and Post Primary Schools:

Professionally unqualified persons receive the same as in Lower Primary Schools.

Professionally qualified persons are paid on the following scales:

1.	Lower Primary Teacher's Cert.	R240 -R402	R180-R300
2.	Higher Primary Teacher's Cert.	R276 -R492	R204-R372
3.	Matriculation plus Professional Cert.	R360 -R720	R260-R532
4.	Four Degree Course plus Prof.Cert.	R432 -R792	R308-R580
5.	Eight Degree Course plus Prof.Cert.	R432 -R792	R308-R580
6.	Degree plus Professional Cert.	R516 -R900	R364-R652

Headmasters of Primary Schools have the same grading and remuneration as Lower Primary Schools.

Heads of Post Primary Schools are graded according to size, being paid R80 per annum for every 100 pupils with a maximum of R400.

Government Notice No. 1991.



The following are details for the district:

High Schools: 8 males, including 2 headmasters, and 1 female, get an average salary of R33.50 per month (R402 p.a.)

Higher Primary Schools: 53 males, including 25 headmasters, earn an average wage of R26.60 per month (R319.20 p.a.)  
68 females earn R17.00 per month (R204.00 p.a.)

Lower Primary Schools: 8 females earn R12.00 per month (R144 p.a.)

The Administration employs a total of 23 Africans in the Ndwedwe District. There are 4 Grade II clerks, one African Agricultural Assistant (unlimi), 4 Departmental constables, and one Special Assistant at the Betterment Scheme. There is one African Sergeant employed by the South African Police and eight constables. The Prisons Department employs three African warders.

The clerks and agricultural assistant (5) average about R42 per month (R504 per annum). Housing is usually supplied by the Administration. The minor employees get relatively smaller wages - they average R13.00 per month (R156 per annum). The wages paid to the African members of the Police amount to R24 per month (R288 per annum). Many clerks, like the teachers, come from outside the district and though they are given houses, they like to leave their families at home. This means that they have to remit money to their families.

The Administration also makes income available to

other people in the Ndwedwe District. It pays the chiefs a stipend, which is one of their main sources of income. The stipends are computed on the number of tax-payers a chief has in his chiefdom, but chiefs are also entitled to the payment of a bonus which is paid out on a recommendation of the Bantu Commissioner which must be approved by the Chief Bantu Commissioner<sup>1]</sup>. The 12 chiefs who receive their stipends get a mean income of R13.58 per month (R163 per annum).

Pensions are also paid to people either as old age, disability, or blind pensions. The pensions are computed on a special scale for African rural areas, and are paid out every two months. The factors in awarding pensions are the needs of the pensioner, the people who could support the pensioner, whether they live on Trust (or Reserved) land, and how many animals they own, and the state of their dwelling. There are 1,517 pensioners in the district, and they receive an average of R2 per month (R24 per annum).

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1] The distribution of stipends and bonuses to chiefs occurs as follows:

3 chiefs receive	R104 per annum
1 chief receives	R120 per annum
1 chief receives	R128 per annum
2 chiefs receive	R144 per annum
1 chief receives	R152 per annum
1 chief receives	R160 per annum
1 chief receives	R200 per annum
1 chief receives	R232 per annum
1 chief receives	R366 per annum

The stipends vary between R80 and R240 per annum. The bonuses vary between R24 and R120 per annum.

(3) Trading:

Trading in the Ndwedwe District is, with two important exceptions, completely in African hands<sup>1]</sup>. The exceptions are two general dealers' stores, one at the Magistracy and one on the Verulam Road. There are 165 other business licences issued locally to 83 people.

The trading licences which are issued vary from a general dealer's licence (which because of the variety of goods he may sell, is the most valuable), to a pedlar's licence, or licences to sell patent and proprietary medicines. Approximately 76 of these licence holders have erected shops. These shops employ an estimated 290 people. Their wages (excluding the owner's profits) average R6,00 per month (R72.00 per annum). Details of licences are given in Table XXVI.

Stores vary greatly in size in the range of goods they sell, and in the people who patronise them. Women, who do most of the shopping for food, show many preferences. 'We know which stores make our money look big' is often the reason given for by-passing a local store for one three or four miles away. People complain, with some justification, that local commodity prices are high; for example, a 25 lb packet of mealie meal cost 52½ cents in Durban, but costs 61 cents in the district. The reply of the shopkeepers that their transport costs are also high, does not silence the critics. Many people

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1] As early as 1884 the Annual Report for the District of Inanda (Verulam) noted that "one licence issued to a native person to open a store in Inanda Location".

TABLE XXVI

TRADING LICENCES ISSUED IN NDWEDWE DISTRICT:\*

Nature of Licences Issued	Types of Licences				
	African			Other Races	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Native Medical Men	9	-	9	-	-
Patent & Proprietary medicine	3	1	4	2	-
Pedlars	26	11	37	-	-
General hawkers	9	1	10	-	-
Millers	1	-	1	-	-
Slaughter of animals	2	-	2	-	-
Tea Room Proprietors	1	-	1	-	-
General Dealers	29	2	31	2	-
Fresh Produce Dealers	18	3	21	-	-
Livestock Speculators	4	-	4	-	-
Eating House Keepers	6	3	9	-	-
Hide and Skin Dealers	3	1	4	-	-
Butchers	5	-	5	1	-
Aerated and Mineral Water Dealers	9	2	11	-	-
South African Native Trust Beer Licences	16	-	16	-	-
TOTAL:	141	24	165	5	0

\* From the table it will be seen that pedlars, followed by general dealers, followed by fresh produce dealers, were the most common type of trader in the district, with beer and 'cool drinks' licences also important.

prefer to go into town to do their shopping, otherwise the husbands do the shopping, and send the goods home by bus.

The following are descriptions of three separate stores, and give some idea of the volume of business and possible profits:-

'Store 'A' had an advantageous position. It was near the road on a bus terminus. It consists of a small brick building<sup>1]</sup>. The financial position of the store was hazardous, and the debt which the owner was carrying was partly due to bad business methods, but also due to a series of unfortunate events. He could not afford to buy many goods, and he received no credit from the wholesalers. Though this was a general dealer's licence, he only sold mealie meal, crushed mealies, beans, bread (delivered daily from Durban by van), tins of milk and fish, a little tobacco, salt and matches. Although his stock was so small, the owner, a tailor by trade, had two female assistants. During the three months of April, May and June, 1959, he ordered an estimated R190 worth of goods, and claimed to have made an overall deficit of R2.00 in that period. Observation of his custom suggested that it was small. Only 15 people on an average patronised the store daily, and none spent more than 10 cents on staples such as mealie meal or beans.'

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1] All licences are issued, subject to the building in which trade will be conducted, being approved by the Licensing Board.

'Store 'B' was well away from the road, but the owners (a company consisting of two brothers, an induna, and a 'rich friend'), owned a three-quarter ton pick-up. They have a general dealer's licence, and stock a wide variety of goods. Between February and June, 1959, they purchased R944 worth of stock and claimed that their profit over that period had been R89.20, i.e. R17.84 per month. It was probably greater, because they used the van to transport fresh produce to town, which they sell there before loading up with goods. Over a period they averaged 46 customers a day.'

'Store 'C' was the biggest general dealer for miles around. It is a co-operative, which has 130 shareholders (including the local chief) and had an initial capital of R3,000.00 (plus some money borrowed from a local business man at an undisclosed rate of interest). The store is also on a road at a bus terminus, and there is a post office (stamps and letters only) attached to it. The store owns a 3 ton truck, (bought with the money borrowed from the bus company owner on condition that no 'lifts' were to be given), which it uses for transporting its goods. The truck goes into town once a week regularly, and if the need arises, more often. The store employs a manager, a managing director, a lorry driver, and 4 female assistants. It has a general dealer's licence, and carries a large variety of goods. Between July and November, 1959 the store bought goods to the value of R1670 and made an estimated profit

of R190.00<sup>1]</sup>. The main turnover of the store is in food-stuffs. Maize in one form or another accounts for 63% of the foodstuffs sold. Bread is also delivered daily and an estimated 170-200 loaves are sold per week. The store stocks a wide variety of goods, but does find that it pays to stock only food and small items in big quantities. Clothes and material are usually bought by the people when they go to town. The store averaged 119 customers daily.'

Lack of capital can be a crippling blow to the local shopkeepers, and over-capitalisation in the form of a 3 ton lorry can be a burden to others. There does not appear to be a great margin of profit in these business undertakings, but they do enable the shopkeepers to make a living.<sup>2]</sup> Very little barter takes place with the stores. Only one store had any storage tanks for produce bought from the people, and while I was in the field (a bad year) it had not bought more than 2 bags of mealies.

Details of staple foodstuffs sold by one large general dealer during one year are given below. They give some idea of

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- 1] The author was asked to leave what turned out to be a stormy meeting of shareholders, where it was announced that a trading loss had been reported the previous financial year. I had no exact information on the size of this deficit.
- 2] Cf. D. Hobart Houghton and E.M. Walton (1952), op. cit., Objective investigation confirms Professor McMillan's findings. (that) there is no evidence whatsoever that large fortunes are made by Native trade (f.n. p.68). It should also be stressed that whereas the stores in Keiskammahoek are 'the channels through which practically all goods are imported into the district,' (p.67) this does not apply at Ndwedwe.

the types of sales made, and show the great importance of maize products in the African diet:-

TABLE XXVII  
ANNUAL SALES OF STAPLE FOODS AT A LARGE  
GENERAL DEALER<sup>1]</sup> IN THE NDWEDWE DISTRICT

Staple Food Sold	Quantity Sold (lbs)	% of total weight of foodstuffs sold
Mealie Meal	212,430	43.6
Sugar	54,515	11.2
Government sugar	39,020	8.0
Mealie rice	51,895	10.6
Beans	33,900	7.0
Salt	18,800	3.9
Samp	18,515	3.8
Flour	17,190	3.5
Crushed mealies	16,980	3.5
Maize	8,000	1.6
Sprouted Kaffir corn	6,940	1.4
Rice	5,978	1.2
Malt	3,340	0.7
TOTAL:	487,503	100.0

The few pedlars and hawkers I came to know personally had little idea of what their earnings were. The general impression is that though their overheads are not as great as those people who have to put up buildings, their turnover in terms of trade is also much smaller. The activity of one beer licensee is an illustration of this. The beerhall (nkantini)

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1] The table covers the period November, 1958 - October, 1959. It was generally regarded as a poor season, and more food was being bought from the store.



was started at a strategic junction of two roads where people wait for buses. The economic possibilities of this position had not been lost on other people who lived in the vicinity. At least two women had brewed beer and sold it there. Once the licence had been granted, the licensee objected to this (illegal) competition, and the police had conducted a raid. Despite all this show of activity, the amount of beer sold was not very great. On a very hot Saturday, with all the buses returning from town, the licensee sold only 23 measures of beer. (The measure is the standard measure used in town, but the beer is served in kharbas). The owner estimated that he had made enough beer for 100 servings, and that this had cost him R1.75. He blamed the women whom he still suspected of selling beer, but it was as likely that men on their way home, knowing that the 'traveller is welcomed with beer' at any umuzi he may pass, do not patronise beer sellers.

(4) Buses and Transport as a Source of Income:

The bus companies have become the sign of 'good business' in the Ndwedwe District. The capital outlay in connection with these companies is enormous. One owner estimated that a new bus chassis and fittings cost R9,000.00, and that they did not last very long 'because of all these hills'. The bus companies probably employ approximately 75 people, who are driver-mechanics or conductors who earn an average of R20.00 per month. Drivers and other employees are paid R12.00 per month. One owner estimated that his profits (for the company) were between R80 and R100 a month (after expenses).

The Road Transportation Board licenses bus companies. There are 26 licensed buses distributed amongst 5 different companies.

There are a number of lorries registered in the district; next to buses they comprise the biggest group of vehicle registrations. Altogether 79% of the vehicles registered in the district are African-owned and the categories are: buses 26; lorries 24; sedan cars 24; vans 17; motor cycles 5. In my experience, lorries are owned by stores, and the restrictions on them are that they may not transport passengers at all, and that they may only transport goods to and from the store. These regulations are not always obeyed, and the bus companies particularly, are vigilant and report any lapses on the part of the owners.

(5) Additional Earnings:

There are 9 registered medicine men in the Ndwedwe District, but there are many more unregistered practitioners. The more successful practitioners are, by local standards, affluent men. One old man has had fourteen wives. He was famous enough to have been taken to Cape Town and exhibited in the Centenary celebrations in 1952. He never goes out on call unless he is fetched in a motor car. He is feared by the local people who do not patronise him.

Both diviners and herbalists are entitled to an initial fee to 'open the bag' (ukuvula isikwama). This is invariably R2.25<sup>1]</sup>. After this payment is made when both

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1] The Code Proclamation 168/32 calls this ulugxa.

parties are satisfied that a cure has been effected. For minor treatments (i.e. by a herbalist) a small gift of 'sitting down' is all that is necessary. This could be a fowl, perhaps twenty-five cents, or even some beer. Fees for more complicated operations such as protection for the inmates of a house from evil influences, or lightning (ukubetela) range from R10.00 upwards. These latter operations create an obligation with the isangoma to ensure their continued efficacy.

The regular income of successful practitioners is very much higher than that for the casual herbalists. It was by no means easy to arrive at any definite figures. This was partly because most herbalists practise without the official licence, and protect themselves by dissimulation. Many did not keep proper records of their earnings, and could not give the information even if they had wanted to. Many successful practitioners travel round the country, and spend a lot of their money as it is earned. Some information on their earnings is reflected in Table XXXIII, page 331. Five individuals are listed as herbalists. Of these only two are fully-fledged herbalists; the other three are part-time herbalists. One is registered. The incomes in the case of the two full-time herbalists are higher than the median income for the workers as reflected in that table<sup>1]</sup>. The income of a herbalist fluctuates greatly. Even the most successful practitioners sometimes have lean periods in which they are not consulted.

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1] See Table XXXIII. These figures must be treated with caution. The difficulties in obtaining the information are fully dealt with below.

One other legal source of income within the Ndwedwe District is the money which chiefs make from the conducting of cases in their courts, and the fines levied when giving judgement. These monies are additional to the stipend a chief may receive. The recorded earnings of a chief in this field are very low and the only figures available indicate an additional income of R2.00 per month.

Tribal officials such as the constable (poyesa yenkosi) are entitled to a (fakolweni) twenty-five cents, for performing their duty of bringing witnesses to court. Official witnesses (senior constables) who perform the task of marrying (ukubuza) couples according to the rules of the customary union are also entitled to a fee of R1.00. The induna or chief who goes to 'show' a building site when it is being officially allocated, is entitled to a fee of R1.25. These are sources of revenue which are not regular, and cannot be regarded as a permanent form of income.

(6) Illegal Earnings:

Money does change hands illegally. The concept of being 'bought' (ukuthengiswa) is well understood, although it was referred to as 'another White custom' (i.e. learnt from the European). Inevitably little actual evidence of bribery was procured, but the 'fees' which people use to 'buy' with are not reserved for the clerks who refuse to give people work in town - stories are told about tribal officials, even chiefs, who accept a fee.

The brewing of beer for sale (without a licence) and

the distillation of spirits (which is illegal) do not reach the proportions they do in town, but it is possible to procure either beer or spirits at any time of the week if one has the money and the necessary contacts.

'One woman who openly brewed beer and sold it to travellers claimed that she was far better off than the women 'who go round selling mats'. Her husband had deserted, and she lived with her four children and a father-in-law with no other income. She brews continually, making (she estimates) about two gallons a day. Her weekly income for two weeks previous to the interview had been R1.50 and R1.75 respectively. This covered her ingredients for brewing and also gave her money for food. She was'nt sure what her profit was, but felt sure that it was the only way to make a living'.

(7) Migratory Labour and the Life of a Worker:

a) Extent of Migratory Labour:

Migratory labour is not a new phenomenon in the rural areas. 'Men always went out to work even when we had to go there on foot', (i.e. before the days of transport). The growth of the European economy, and the inability of the traditional economy to support the people, made this state of affairs inevitable. 'This position to an exchange economy with an active labour market, in which the Native can participate only as a worker, necessarily gave rise to a system of migrant labour on a large and increasing scale'<sup>1]</sup>.

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1] Report. Natives Law Commission, U.G. 28/48, paragraph 50.

The rural areas, whether reserves or freehold, are depleted of most able-bodied men (and quite a few able-bodied women). These men are often the sole breadwinners of the homestead, and often they are the only adult males in the homestead. For much of the time the homestead is left in the care of the wives and children. The problems of contact between the breadwinner and his family are important. The number of times a breadwinner is able to come home, or whether he is able to arrange his annual leave so as to help with the ploughing, are aspects of this problem.

The ratio of the sexes, however, shows that in the two communities, Inanda and Shongweni, far more women go out to work than from Ndwedwe. The first reason for this is that access to both Inanda and Shongweni is much easier than it is to Ndwedwe, and it is possible for a woman to return home every day. There is also another reason. The people from Ndwedwe say that 'women who go to town never come back', explaining that town life is 'too strong' for women and they soon get into bad ways. Their opposition is directed to the fact that most women who go out to work are single, and that there is no one to look after them. Most women who work do so to support their (illegitimate) children. It is considered 'proper' for a mother to care for her children by earning 'until she finds them a father'. This applies in all the three communities, where the financial burden of feeding families often drives unmarried mothers out to work. There appears to be some truth in the assertion that 'A wife who works does not respect her husband'. It is only amongst the well-established kholwa communities, if a woman has an education, that the working wife

is tolerated. Women who go out to work usually work only until they are married, then they settle down. The median ages of women from the Inanda and Ndwedwe samples were 30 and 28 years respectively, whereas the median working ages of men were 33 and 31½ years respectively. Female wage earners tend to be younger than their male counterparts.

The ages of the migrant workers in the Ndwedwe and Inanda samples are shown in Table XXVIII below.

Examining the table, and taking males first of all, close on half (47.9%) of the Ndwedwe sample of male workers away in town are under the age of 30 years, and at the other end of the scale, only about one-eighth (12.0%) are aged 50+ years. By contrast, the largely Christian community at Inanda had more older men working - about two-fifths (41.0%) were less than 30 years old, but 16.2% were aged 50+ years. It must be remembered that these are clustered sample differences, and may not be statistically significantly different. The women show the same differences between the Ndwedwe and Inanda samples, but more markedly. A total of 60.5% of the working women in Ndwedwe, as against only 37.0% from Inanda were under 30 years old, as against 9.3% and 18.5% respectively aged 50+ years. These differences are again possibly not significant in view of the small samples. However, taken together they suggest less older people leave the traditional Ndwedwe community to work in towns than is the case in the modern westernised Christian community at Inanda.

TABLE XXVIII  
ESTIMATED AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT WORKERS: NDWEDWE AND  
INANDA SAMPLES.

AGE	NDWEDWE						INANDA					
	M	%	F	%	Total	%	M	%	F	%	Total	%
15-19	69	10.5	6	14.0	75	10.7	8	6.8	2	7.4	10	6.9
20-24	127	19.4	8	18.6	135	19.3	17	14.5	4	14.8	21	14.6
25-29	117	17.9	12	27.9	129	18.5	23	19.7	4	14.8	27	18.8
30-34	90	13.7	4	9.3	94	13.5	18	15.4	3	11.1	21	14.6
35-39	77	11.8	4	9.3	81	11.6	14	12.0	3	11.1	17	11.8
40-44	53	8.1	4	9.3	57	8.2	11	9.4	3	11.1	14	9.7
45-49	41	6.3	1	2.3	42	6.0	7	6.0	1	3.7	8	5.6
50-59	62	9.5	1	2.3	63	9.0	11	9.4	4	14.8	15	10.4
60 plus	17	2.5	3	7.0	20	2.9	8	6.8	1	3.7	9	6.2
No in- for- ma- tion	2	0.3	-	-	2	0.3	-	-	2	7.4	2	1.4
	655	100.0	43	100.0	698	100.0	117	100.0	27	99.9	144	100.0



The drain on the manpower of the average homestead is accepted as the present way of life, 'it is the custom (umtheto) of today<sup>1]</sup>. People cannot imagine a situation in which men stay at home and work. They maintain that 'when he is here we always spend too much money at the store', or they say 'we brew and they drink and drink, and who does the work?'

The habit of going out to work, and the fact that people regard it as inevitable has not reconciled the problems which are raised in the umuzi. The authority of the wage earner must be re-asserted when he comes home. Despite the patriarchal system, the wife, in the absence of the man has had to take action and make decisions - women are often faced with the necessity of acting because their husbands are so often away<sup>2]</sup>. 'When the thatch burns everybody will help to put out the flames' (i.e. in a crisis one must act and not wait). The great preponderance of males who go out to work not only affects the balance of the sexes in the rural areas, but upsets the balance within the umuzi. This is particularly the case when as at present the tendency is for the homestead to coincide with the simple family. The effect is that the breadwinner and only adult male is often removed. In composite imizi, this problem is not obviated, but there are more males living in the umuzi, and there is a probability that one or other of them will be at home. In simple families the homestead has nothing to fall back on

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1] Umtheto carries a stronger connotation of law than amasiko which implies habit or custom.

2] This is complicated by the fact that in terms of tribal law the woman is a perpetual minor, and does not in theory make family decisions.

economically if the male head should lose his job.

b) Place of Work of Migrant Workers:

The centres to which people go to work are important because their proximity or distance will affect the ties the worker has with his home. There is a feeling in the district that Goli (i.e. Johannesburg) pays 'big money'. They do not like working there, however, because of the stories which are brought back of life in Johannesburg. They have, for example, a fear of the mines; being 'covered up' is work fit only for 'Shangaans and other people'. As far as I could discover, there has not been recruiting for the gold mines in the last 30 years, and I cannot explain the great dislike shown for mining. Despite the high wages, Johannesburg has one other disadvantage which has forced more than one man to change his centre of work. If a man is recalled for a death or serious illness the cost of the journey and the time taken 'eat one's money'. Local work (i.e. in Natal) is considered better. Women dislike Johannesburg; they insist that younger sons, especially when they go to work for the first time, go to Durban, so that they can see the local 'White world' before they venture further afield.

Preferences for working in the towns rather than in the country are very strongly expressed. Nobody ever chose to work on a farm, because one works 'before it is light and till long after it is dark again'. Labour on either the farms surrounding the Ndwedwe District to the north, or the sugar plantations to the east, is considered only as a last resort. 'The farms are all sweat and no pay'. The reactions to the farming community in New Hanover, (which has a large infusion of

German-speaking farmers), is that working for 'amaJelmani wears out one's arms' (i.e. most of the work is manual and exhausting). The only places looked upon with any favour are the major urban centres, preferably in Natal, and it is to these that most men go to seek work.

Table XXIX shows where men work. The preference shown for Durban is because it is the nearest large centre to the reserve, and also because wages are 'better'. Workers from Shongweni, which lies exactly half-way between Durban and Pietermaritzburg on the railway, have a choice between the centres.

TABLE XXIX  
PLACE OF WORK OF MALE WAGE-EARNERS.

Place of Work	Ndwedwe Sample		Inanda Sample		Shongweni Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Durban	447	76.8	98	86.0	951	57.7
Rand (Transvaal)	92	15.8	2	1.7	39	2.4
Elsewhere	23	4.0	4	3.5	340	20.6
Local	20	3.4	11	8.8	318	19.3
TOTAL	582	100.0	115	100.0	1648	100.0
Males of working age who were unemployed, or home on leave	116	-	30	-	-	-
Ratio of working to unemployed or on leave	5.02		3.8		?	

The great majority prefer Durban. Another factor which influences people is that the great variety of work in a large industrial centre makes it possible for a man to arrange employment for his brothers and kinsmen. Boys, when they first go off to seek work, follow their fathers or brothers into employment. This tends to create local pockets of men who live in the same place at home, and work together in town.

c) Visits Home and Annual Leave:

For the amagoduku, (those who return home), the centre where they work is important because it affects the number of times they can return home. There are other factors which will affect their visits. Normal visits, (i.e. not those for which they are specially 'called back'), tend to form a pattern coinciding with the end of the month when people get paid, or the end of the week if the ikaya is near enough to visit every weekend.

Men come home because 'we must see what is happening (emakbaya)'. They also come home 'to bring the women their money' to see their children and to meet their friends. Mothers say of a bachelor son 'he must come home to find an ngoduse' (i.e. a girl to marry), because this will make him build his umuzi 'with his own blood' (i.e. with a group of local agnates). Men return home to get married, and then they settle down with their families and become amagoduka. The 'ones who run away' (obalekayo), are people who have not stayed at home; they have disappeared, sometimes deserting a wife and children, but more often deserting parents and cutting their links with the home completely. One knows the amagoduka by the fact that they do

visit home and send money when they do not, but some men disappear for a few years before they come home. One man was found by a brother who had been 'sent to find him'. He was obdurate at first, but finally relented and came home to his wife and family. He subsequently married another wife, and refused to go out to work - for the last 20 years he has lived at home.

Table XXX shows the frequency with which wage-earners visit home. The impossibility of living at Ndwedwe and going to work every day is due both to the length of time which the journey takes, and also to the riskiness of the transport. The buses usually cannot run after a few hours' rain. For both Shongweni (31.5%) and Inanda (41.2%) the most frequent visits are at the weekend. Transport to both centres by train and bus is adequate and frequent. It is possible for people to commute to and from work every day. Nevertheless, people prefer leaving their visits to the weekends. In Ndwedwe the end of the month is more popular; 45.2% of the workers come home at that time.

Workers always bring money with them when they visit. Many of them also bring home groceries and presents. Some workers, especially those in domestic service or those who work in flats where hours are irregular and time off limited, find their homes difficult to visit, especially if they are inaccessible as at Ndwedwe.

Many of the amagoduka who cannot, because of the work they do, visit home at regular times during the year, are able to go home for their leave. This includes those people who work far away (e.g. Transvaal). When men find it difficult to come

home while they are working, they usually have their wives visit them occasionally. Leave, however, is the definite period when one must return home. 'A holiday is to look into the Khamba' (i.e. to drink beer with one's friends). It is unthinkable to go anywhere but home.

TABLE XXX  
FREQUENCY OF VISITS HOME BY MALE WAGE-EARNERS.

Frequency of Visits Home	Ndwedwe Sample		Inanda Sample		Shongweni Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily	-	-	27	23.7	226	13.7
Weekly	35	6.0	47	41.2	518	31.5
Fortnightly	20	3.4	4	3.5	158	9.6
Monthly	263	45.2	12	10.5	475	28.8
Quarterly	-	-	2	1.7	99	6.0
Half-Yearly	-	-	1	0.9	20	1.2
Annually	67	11.5	5	4.4	104	6.3
Irregularly	165	28.4	10	8.8	25	1.5
No Information	32	5.5	6	5.3	23	1.4
TOTAL	582	100.0	114	100.0	1648	100.0

The pattern of annual leave and the month in which it is taken is shown in Table XXXI.

The important event in the rural areas is predictably the ploughing. People 'can plough' in September, but the ground is hard and they like to wait for the rains. These come in

October or even in November. December is regarded as 'too late' for ploughing. October and November are the two months in which the heaviest concentration of leave is taken at Ndwedwe. The three months, September, October and November account for 45.2% of all the leave taken.

TABLE XXXI  
MONTH OF ANNUAL LEAVE OF MALE<sup>1]</sup> WAGE-EARNER.

Month during which Annual Leave is taken	Ndwedwe Sample		Inanda Sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
January	15	2.6	10	8.8
February	11	1.8	5	4.4
March	28	4.8	2	1.7
April	19	3.3	2	1.7
May	54	9.3	8	7.0
June	38	6.5	6	5.3
July	36	6.2	14	12.3
August	14	2.4	6	5.3
September	43	7.4	8	7.0
October	139	23.9	9	7.9
November	81	13.9	10	8.8
December	69	11.9	20	17.6
No information	35	6.0	14	12.2
TOTAL	582	100.0	114	100.0
Unemployed and on leave	116		30	

1] No information on this point was available for the Shongweni survey.

The pattern is less clear in the more westernised community at Inanda, where December is the most popular month - the month when probably most Whites take leave. There is no pattern evident like the concentration of the ploughing months at Ndwedwe. Unfortunately, we have no comparative information for Shongweni.

'A man should plough when he comes home; he can see his cattle and do a man's job again.'

In fact there are many men who have no cattle to see, and who no longer do their own ploughing. This perhaps explains the differences between Inanda and Ndwedwe. The professional people at Inanda, unless they use the short holidays in September, cannot get leave during the ploughing season to get their ploughing done. They rely on the labour of others, and are prepared to pay for it.

December is in both communities a popular month for leave (12%) at Ndwedwe and (18%) at Inanda. The reason for this is probably that industries which employ much labour (such as the building industry) have statutory holidays at that time; also a Kholwa community such as Inanda, sets a religious value on Christmas.

The length of leave is something which is controlled by the employer and not the employee. The general rule seems to be about three weeks a year. Some industries (e.g. the wood industry in Durban) have seasonal fluctuations, and their workers have about six weeks between the closing of the old season and the opening of the new. School teachers have more leave than



ordinary workers. People accept the length of leave as they accept the necessity to go out and work, 'it is the White man's way'.

Attempts are made by those people who work far away to 'save' their leave. A man working in Johannesburg will stay away for eighteen months or two years, and then come home for three months. This is done by arrangement with the employer, and varies from case to case.

Discovering to what extent men come home to 'rest' between one job and another, and what periods they spend at home resting, proved to be one of the more elusive problems. Answers to a questionnaire which was designed to show what the pattern had been before the present job and the immediately previous job, returned a very small sample of quantifiable answers. Of the total working force, 15% claimed that they had stayed at home before their present job, whereas 20% claimed to have stayed at home before their previous job. My impression was that there is a decline in this practice, and that only a few people can afford to lose the wages which they would have earned while they remain at home. In recent years, the more stringent application of the policy of influx control has meant that many more people are aware of the dangers of not being able to get back into town to work once they have completed their 'rest'.

d) Occupational Histories of Migrant Workers.

The problem referred to above raises the question of what proportion of a man's working life he spends away from home at work. Data from a survey of the labour force at a Durban

factory shows that time spent out of employment grows progressively less the longer a man has been working. It was computed that from the labour force of the factory 18% of the worker's working life was spent out of employment<sup>1]</sup>.

To give some impression of the working life of people I recorded labour histories of various people. It was difficult to find the men themselves (and not their wives) who could talk, and once one had found them, to try to get as complete a labour history as possible. Below are four complete histories.

Labour History I : Douglas Mthalane -

He was born during the visit of the Prince of Wales (1925); 34 years old. Went to school locally, Std. 6 (1939). Went to school at Loram Secondary School (Durban), Std. 8. (1942).

Began working as a 'delivery boy' Durban, January 1943 - October 1945. After he left this job, came home for approximately 3 months.

Became a 'parcel wrapper' Greentermans (Johannesburg) in January 1946 - July 1947. Came home till just before Christmas.

Worked with a commercial traveller (Johannesburg) December 1947 - May 1951. Came home and married.

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1] Department of Economics, University of Natal (1950): African Factory Workers: op. cit., p.63

Worked at Kaffrarian Steam Mills (Durban), August 1951 - July 1954. Came home for a rest till October 1954.

Worked at Bon Marche Stores (Durban) October 1954 - June 1955.

Began working immediately at the University of Natal, June 1955 - June 1959. He was out of work when we interviewed him in December 1959. He had begun working at 18. Had not yet retired. Had worked for 6 different employers, and had been at work a total number of 16 years. Of this period, 20 months (about one-tenth of his working life) had been spent at home (not counting annual leave). He is at present out of work, and cannot get back to town because of influx control. He has been trying to get permission since August 1959.

Labour History II : Elias Shangase -

He gives his age as 92 : Retired. Born in district about 1867. Began working life with his father on a 'toulcier' (i.e. the lad who leads a team of oxen drawing an ox-wagon), after the Zulu War but before Cetewayo died. Cetewayo died the winter after he had begun work (i.e. July 1833), and so he started work at about the age of 16 years.

He and his father, and a number of other people, helped to transport goods from Ladysmith to Pretoria by ox-wagon. He did this work until he married (certificate dated 1894).

He stayed at home after marriage, and went to school

until the beginning of the (Boer) War. In 1899 he went 'with all the soldiers' to Ladysmith. He was there during the siege. When the 'English' came back to Ladysmith, he came home because he was 'hungry' (October 1899 - May 1900).

He stayed home after the Bambata trouble, and then went to work in Durban as a gardener for a Mr. Harris (1907-1912).

He was home for a year before the 'German War'. When this broke out he was in Johannesburg. He first worked at Braamfontein (August 1914 - 1916), then worked at a shop in Fordsburg, then at someone's house in the neighbourhood. He left all 'the trouble' (May 1922).

He stayed at home until the 'new tax' was introduced (1926), and then went to work at 'Ropes and Matting' in Durban until he was dismissed (1926-1931).

After that he retired. He was given an old age pension in 1945 (aged 77). He had been working for approximately 16 years; retired at approximately 64 years; and worked for 7 employers, spending approximately one-third of his working life at home.

Labour History III : V. Mhlongo -

Gives his age as 76; retired. Born in District approximately 1884. No schooling, and went to work a year before Bambata (1905); worked in Durban looking after the horses of a Mr. Nel on the Berea (1905 - 1908). Came home in 1908 because his father had an accident and was very ill. Stayed home till the beginning of 1909. January 1909

went to Johannesburg. Worked underground on the gold mines for 3 years till July 1913. Came home and married. Stayed at home for two years because the 'German Army was coming'. Went back to Rand in 1915 and worked in Mr. Whyllie's kitchen 1915 - 1920. Mr. Whyllie taught him to read and write 1915 - 1920. Came home in December 1920 and stayed for 3 months. Went to work for Mr. Trotter in the kitchen, approximately March 1921 - 1930. Trotter left for the United Kingdom, and after a few months at home went to work with C.G. Smith, Maydon Wharf, July 1930 - December 1953. When he retired he was given a pension of R7.00 per month. Thus he began work at approximately 21 years; had 5 employers, and retired at 69 years of age. He worked for a period of approximately 48 years, of which about one-tenth was spent at home.

Labour History IV : Joseph Mabaso -

He was born in 1932 and at the time of fieldwork was aged 28 years; educated locally, Std. 6; began working January 1949 - July 1949 labourer (Corporation) Durban; labourer, (Roberts Construction) October 1949 - March 1952; July 1952 - August 1955 worked at Kaffrarian Steam Mills, Durban; Amalgamated Packaging Industries, Durban, September 1955 until present.

He began work at 17 years of age; has not yet retired; has worked for 4 employers; and worked a total period of 10 years, about 5% of which has been spent at home.

Examining the above four cases, these men have worked

between them for an average of 5.5 employers (bearing in mind that two of the four are still of working age), and have spent an average of about one-seventh of their working life at home (in between jobs). If the very small sample is any judge, then the indications are that the younger people will spend less time 'resting' at home than their elders did - fieldwork impressions support this contention.

e) Difficulties in Obtaining Work:

Before a man can become a wage-earner he must comply with the statutory conditions which govern his right to seek work. The Administration is empowered to set up a central labour bureau, which delegates its first function to regional labour bureaux. Each Magistracy has a Native Labour Officer who acts as a link between his office and the regional bureau<sup>1]</sup>. The functions of the labour bureaux are to see that labour resources are properly distributed, and that there is not an excess of labourers over labour in urban areas. This is done by controlling the influx of labour into the urban areas<sup>2]</sup>.

All urban areas in South Africa have been proclaimed as prescribed areas, and it is illegal for an African to seek employment or to be employed unless he has complied with the

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1] See Section 10 Act No. 25 of 1945 (Native Urban Areas Act), and as amended by Act No. 56 of 1949 (Native Laws Amendment Act)

2] The Secretary of Native Affairs stated, "It is the function of the Bureaux to see that labour is distributed to farms and rural industries as well as towns ... and to see that there is an adequate supply of man-power for the less popular categories of labour." Speech quoted in Bantu/bantoe, May 1958, p. 9, Government Printer, Pretoria.

statutory obligations. The only exception is a person who returns to the same employer within 12 months of having left his service. The bureaux may also operate in unproclaimed (i.e. rural areas), but their main field of operation has been to control labour in the urban areas.

In practice this means a man must register with his local Bantu Commissioner's office. He registers as a work-seeker, and in effect must get permission to leave his district of domicile. The Commissioner's office then informs the regional bureau of the registration. The latter will then inform the Commissioner what vacancies exist. The work-seeker may then proceed to places where vacancies exist. He must register there as a work-seeker, and, depending on the local regulations, he may have to wait to be put in employment by the local bureau, or he may be given a permit to seek work.

Districts such as Ndwedwe are linked directly to Durban, which means in practice that if there are shortages of labour in Durban they may legitimately be filled by people from Ndwedwe. If Durban has a surplus of labour, then someone cannot 'legally' proceed to Durban to work.

People are aware that it is illegal to work in town without permission (imvuma). They nevertheless regard the whole process of seeking work with distrust. The delays which occur while a requisition is sent from the Magistracy to the labour bureau and then returned, is regarded as part of a 'trap' to make innocent people suffer (icigo wabewa byahlupa).

One of the less pleasant aspects of fieldwork involved contact with people who had, rightly or wrongly, claimed they were stopped from finding work because of influx control. The supposed connections of the fieldworker either with the authorities at the Magistracy, or with likely employers in Durban, made him the target of a continual stream of requests. I found that 16.7% of the workers at Inanda, and 14.9% at Ndwedwe, appeared to have been refused permission to seek work when they applied. These figures refer to 1959/60, and there is probably considerable fluctuation depending on the amount of permission the regional bureau is prepared to grant. Earlier figures (1958) indicated that about 10.4% of the labour force at Shongweni was affected.

The ages of those affected by blockage are generally lower than the age of the working population. It is in fact in recent years that younger people, including boys from school, have found it increasingly difficult to leave home and seek work. Women generally shrug their shoulders over the vagaries of what they call 'umtetho esilingweni' (White man's laws). They have, however, also been affected by the enforced unemployment of their husbands and sons. Part of the grievances which the women presented to the Commissioner at Ndwedwe in July 1959 dealt with the 'hunger in our empty bellies' which they claimed was a direct result of influx control.

f) Preferences for Work:

If the present position deteriorates significantly, and an increasingly difficult employment situation arises, the habits and work preferences of the people may also undergo a change. At



the moment 'no work' means that there is no work in urban areas. Work outside the urban areas is regarded as unprofitable, or at most temporary. At a quarterly meeting of chiefs, the problem of people suffering under influx restrictions was raised, and the Commissioner was asked whether because of the 'suffering' he was not prepared to recommend an exemption from poll tax. His reply was that any person who came to him, and could show that he had tried to find work, not only in the urban areas but in the cane fields and on the farms, and who had not been able to find work, would be considered for an exemption. Private reactions to this statement were unfavourable: 'Am I like a Pondo to go and live in barracks (emobeni) (in the sugar cane fields?)'

TABLE XXXII

PREFERENCE FOR TYPE OF WORK SHOWN BY 159 WORKERS.

Present Employment	No.	%	Preferred Alternative No.	Employment %
Domestic	45	28.3	12	7.5
Hotels (chefs & waiters)	10	6.3	18	11.3
Messengers (office)	21	13.2	30	18.9
Delivery	15	9.4	21	13.2
Industry	55	34.6	60	37.8
Clerks	5	3.2	12	7.5
Other	8	5.0	6	3.8
TOTAL	159	100.0	159	100.0

The answers of a number of workers about their preferences for employment are reflected in Table XXXII.

In the sample, the biggest groups worked in industry (34.6%) and domestic employment (28.3). The preferences indicated by the workers were firstly industry, 37.8%; office workers (messengers), 18.9%; delivery work, 13.2%. Domestic employment was liked by very few people, 7.5%. In a similar situation, workers in a Durban factory indicated a far higher preference for industrial work (60%) and also interest in office messenger jobs (33%)<sup>1]</sup>.

The original intention in asking the questions was to elicit the replies from the persons being interviewed without suggestions from the interviewer. Many people could not answer the question, and later the list used in the 'African Factory Worker' was used as a guide<sup>2]</sup>. Some replies must have been influenced by the use of this list.

Preferences were based on past experience, and on 'what my brother told me'. Industry gives 'good money', and it also works regular hours, and very rarely works on Saturdays. Messengers are given a 'uniform' and a bicycle, and they also 'have a lot of time'. This was generally taken to mean that they did not have to work very hard.

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1] Department of Economics, University of Natal: African Factory Worker, op. cit., p.60, Table 30.

2] Ibid.

Domestic work is disliked because of the combination of 'low pay' and uncongenial hours. The fact that it is a 'woman's work' does not weigh very heavily. Men claim it is different working in White kitchens - 'there is hot water and food'. One man asked where else he would have room for his mistress (iqasha) if he did not work in a kitchen. All the men asked were in, or had been in employment, in the urban areas, and none thought of working elsewhere. The suggestion that farm labour is a 'real' job of work with good money', is not kindly looked upon.

g) The Migrant Labourer away from Home:

The life which workers lead in town was not part of this study. The urban aspects of migrant labour have been dealt with by other surveys and books<sup>1]</sup>.

Many people from the country have already migrated to the towns and the migration is likely to continue. The towns force their economic patterns on the country if only because the men have to work in the towns and collect their wages there.

It is realised in the country that men 'live another

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1] Unesco (1956): Social Implications of Industrialisation and Urbanisation in Africa South of the Sahara : Paris. See especially Part II Chapter IV, Part IV Chapter IV. Department of Economics, University of Natal, The African Factory Worker, op. cit. Natal Regional Survey Report No.2., Oxford University Press, Cape Town.  
 Institute for Social Research (1955): Haumanville, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.  
 A recent addition has been P. Mayer, (1961): Townsmen or Tribesmen, Vol. II The Xhosa in Town, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

life in town'. This may include liaisons with other women<sup>1]</sup>, or long periods of not sending home any money. 'Men have always gone to shela' is one reaction to the males' liaisons in town. Sometimes the men bring home their town wives, sometimes they bring home the children from those unions. Town wives are not much liked; they are intruders from outside, often replacing a country wife as intandakazi (i.e. favourite wife). Town wives reciprocate the dislike. They may soon free themselves of the burdens of staying in someone else's umuzi by demanding their own, but they have to be taught the local places of fetching wood and water - where they may collect imfino and what imfino to collect.

Men have two lives, and unless they run away, they are amagoduka - the men who come home. They come home to their families, their land and their own people, but they can never, until they are old and able to retire, shake off the problems of having to live at home (ekhaya) in the country and work in town.

#### (8) Wages and Earnings:

The most important function of the worker in the rural areas is his cash contribution towards the budget of the homestead. I endeavoured to collect information about earnings, and about money sent home. Information about earnings, i.e. wages paid to workers, was very difficult to obtain. Partly this was due to inauspicious circumstances in which the enquiry began. The year in which fieldwork was commenced saw the polltax raised

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1] L. Longmore, (1959): The Dispossessed, Jonathan Cape, London.

by 50%, the first increase in 34 years. There had also been a departmental enquiry into pension payments about six months before my fieldwork began. As a result several pensions had been reduced. My enquiries about wages and yields from the land were for a long time treated with suspicion. By far the greatest difficulty was, however, the fact that very few of the wage-earners themselves were at home long enough to discuss their earnings. In their absence, their wives, often hiding behind the dissimulation that 'these are men's things' could give one very little information about earnings. Very often men never told their wives how much they earned, and some men resented being asked questions about their wages if other people were present. There is thus some reason to treat the figures I obtained with reserve. There was more information available regarding actual money remitted home. The man either brings this home himself or sends it home with a kinsman. Here women informants (who were usually the recipients) were able to give us the information we were seeking.

In order to supplement the picture of wage earnings, I have cited the figures obtained by the Shongweni Economic Survey in 1957, and there are figures available for wages earned during 1958/1959 in a survey conducted in Durban.

Apart from the money wage-earners sent home, I made some attempt to assess the value of goods, particularly food, sent home by the wage-earner, and also the contribution, however slight, made to agricultural production. Because of the difficulties of collecting information on wages, I restricted an analysis of the figures to those homesteads in which I measured

fields to compute agricultural yields. I have called this Sample 'B'. The homesteads chosen for this sample were chosen primarily to aid the investigation of land tenure. I was concerned with the layout of fields; the particular terrain on which the homesteads were built, whether mountainous or near the river. The result is that in the smaller sample the median size of the homestead is larger than the larger sample I collected in the course of my fieldwork<sup>1]</sup>.

Table XXXIII shows the wages earned by workers per month.

The figures for Ndwedwe show how difficult it was to get detailed information of this kind. In the small sample with which we were dealing, we only received adequate replies in 69 (57%) cases of migrant workers away. We included as earning 19 (15%) cases who were living at home but who received some cash income. Most of these people received an old age pension, or other types of pension, but for the purposes of this table these were treated as earnings. We had no information for over a fifth of the sample, 25 (21%) men. There were also a group of workers who were either considering retirement 10 (8%) or claim to have been prevented by influx control from finding work 15 (13%). The distinction was that any person who was home for a long holiday, but was not eligible for an old age pension, was regarded as a worker who had not retired. Anyone who had come home and had subsequently tried to find work, but had been prevented by the regulations from doing so, was regarded as having been prevented by influx control. In both these types of cases because the

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1] See Chapter X.

TABLE XXXIII

EARNINGS PER WORKER PER MONTH: NDWEDWE AND SHONGWENI

Earnings in Rands per Month	NDWEDWE									SHONGWENI 3]
	Cash Income for Men Living at Home - Source									
	Migrant workers away	Government Pensions	Private Pensions	Herbalist	Farming	Dipping Tank Assistant	Minister (church collection only)	Ploughing	TOTAL	
0-5.00	15	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	25	130
5.01-10.00	9	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	15	332
10.01-15.00	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	151
15.01-20.00	18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19	357
20.01-25.00	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	320
25.01-30.00	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	131
30.01-35.00	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	75
35.01-40.00	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	39
40.01-45.00	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
45.01-50.00	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
50.01-55.00	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
55.01 plus	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21
No information	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	71
Retired	10 <sup>1]</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Influx Control	15 <sup>2]</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>1648,</b>

1] These were men who had worked previously but had come home with declared intention to retire.

2] These are all men well below the retiring age who have been forced to stay at home due to influx control. In all cases an attempt to obtain the necessary permission to return to the urban areas for work was taken as a criterion for their having been kept back by influx control.

3] Shongweni Economic Survey, Table 13.

people were not working, they were not earning any money.

The median wage earned at Ndwedwe is R13.34 per worker per month. In terms of those workers who actually work away from home (i.e. those workers in towns ignoring the pensioners and others) the median wage rises to R16.26. The median wage earned at Shongweni was R17.47 per worker. Figures of wages earned in town during the period 1958/1959 indicate that a man living without his family in town was earning a median wage of R21.00 per month<sup>1]</sup>. This last figure is probably a truer reflection than the figure for Ndwedwe.

Table XXXIV below shows earnings in terms of homesteads at Ndwedwe and families at Shongweni. The definition of a homestead in our survey accords with the Shongweni Survey's definition of a family. They did not make the distinction between homestead and household, and we have figures for Ndwedwe only as regards households. The figures for Ndwedwe again have information missing for certain homesteads (these are indicated on the Table with Footnote 4 as an explanation.) What usually happened was that though we knew there was a wage-earner, we could only get information about the money he remitted home, but could not find out what he earned. The result is that in several cases our information on homestead earnings (and ipso facto on household earnings, see Footnote 5) is incomplete. Earnings would have been higher had we managed to interview all the wage earners. In cases where the earnings of a polygamist (see Footnote 6) had to be divided between the households in his

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1] Department of Economics, University of Natal, private communication.



homestead, we were in a quandary. Usually when remitting money home he specifies how it should be divided amongst his wives, more rarely he allows the senior wife to divide the money. As far as earnings are concerned these are never all sent home so that the man himself never makes a division of this kind. We arbitrarily divided his earnings, where they were known, between the constituent households in equal shares.

The median wages earned per homestead at Ndwedwe are shown as R18.07 for those with complete information, and the median figure per household is shown as R15.59 for monogamous households with complete information, and R10.41 when polygynous households are included. The opposite figures for the family at Shongweni were R22.89. It will be appreciated that my figures were collected between 18 to 30 months after those at Shongweni, and that wages had probably risen during that period. Taking the figure given by the Department of Economics on earnings in Durban, and allowing for a median of 1.1 workers per homestead, one might expect a median wage of R23.10 per homestead. This is higher than the figure I abstracted.

Table XXXV shows the money sent home per worker, per household and per homestead every month. There is no comparable information for Shongweni although the compilers did note that the money earned by the wage earner in town had to be divided between the demands of his family in the country and his own needs in town. The information given in this table was easier to collect, because most women were aware of the amounts sent home. In seeking this information, we asked for the regular contributions over the three months preceding the interview, so that

any gross fluctuations in money sent home could be ironed out. As was the case in Table XXXIV, the people who were home on leave could make no contribution. There was also an assumption that those people who earned their money at home 'sent home' the whole sum every month.

The median sum sent home per worker was R3.56 per month. The median amount sent home per household was R4.70 per month, and the median amount sent home per homestead was R8.34 per month. The assumption is that the wage-earner, if he was not doing the shopping, was spending the rest of his wages himself. I shall return to this point below where I discuss the division of responsibility as regards money matters in the family.

TABLE XXXIV

EARNINGS FOR HOMESTEAD AND PER HOUSEHOLD PER MONTH:NDWEDWE AND SHONGWENI.

Earnings in Rand per month	N D W E D W E					SHONGWENI 1
	Homestead		Household 2			Homestead 3
	Com- plete Infor- mation	Incom- plete Infor- mation 4]	Com- plete Infor- mation	Incom- plete Infor- mation 5]	Polyg- ynous House- hold 6]	
Nothing	1	-	4	-	-	-
R0.00 - R5.00	7	1	7	1	-	27
R5.01 - R10.00	5	2	12	3	5	90
R10.01 - R15.00	2	1	6	1	2	87
R15.01 - R20.00	9	1	13	1	-	199
R20.01 - R25.00	1	-	3	1	1	177
R25.01 - R30.00	1	1	6	1	-	106
R30.01 - R35.00	3	-	-	-	-	73
R35.01 - R40.00	2	-	5	-	-	61
R40.01 - R45.00	2	-	3	-	-	39
R45.01 - R50.00	1	-	-	-	-	30
R50.01 - R55.00	1	-	-	-	-	} 121
R55.01 - Plus	6	1	2	-	-	
No information	3	-	9	-	-	206
TOTAL:	44	7	70	8	8	1216

- 1] Source: Socio-Economic survey of the Shongweni Dam Soil Conservation area, Department of Economics, University of Natal (unpublished) African section, Table 15.
- 2] Households here represent separate kitchens as described in Chapter VIII.
- 3] The term 'Family' was used in the Shongweni Economics Survey. It accords with my definition 'homestead'. The 'household' as used by me was not distinguished in the Shongweni Survey.
- 4] The figures in this column show incomplete information. Had all the information been available the earnings would undoubtedly have been higher.
- 5] Figures in this column show incomplete returns on earnings. Had all the information been available the earnings would undoubtedly have been higher.
- 6] Figures in this column show the earnings of a polygynist in situations where he earns on behalf of two or more households. His earnings were for purposes of the table arbitrarily divided between the number of households in the homestead. Earnings of sons who had no homesteads of their own were added to the income of their mothers' household.

TABLE XXXV

MONEY SENT HOME BY MALE WAGE-EARNERS: NDWEDNE.

Rand per month	Per worker <sup>1]</sup>	Per Household	Per Homestead
Nothing	6	4	1
R0.00 - R5.00	54	33	11
R5.01 - R10.00	20	20	15
R10.01 - R15.00	4	5	5
R15.01 - R20.00	3	4	6
R20.01 - R25.00	1	-	1
R25.01 - R30.00	1	2	3
R30.01 - R35.00	-	1	-
R35.01 - R40.00	-	-	1
R40.01 - R45.00	-	-	-
R45.01 - R50.00	-	1	-
R50.01 - R55.00	-	-	-
R55.01 - plus	-	-	1
No information	5	-	-
Retired	10	-	-
Influx control	15 <sup>2]</sup>	-	-
TOTAL	119	70	44

- 1] There is an assumption made for the purposes of the table that people who receive money locally 'sent home' all their money.
- 2] Persons affected by influx control did not earn any money, but they were not added to the group who did not send money home.

To give some idea of the monthly and annual incomes of homesteads here are a few cases. In these I have also given a cash evaluation to the crops which were reaped; these have been added to the annual cash income.

Homestead 1:

Five people are living in one household - three adults and two children. Two are wage-earners.

Wage-earner 1 -

Mandlankosi, 20 years old; educated to Standard III and a bachelor. He is head of the homestead, having succeeded his father who died recently. He lost his first job in Durban, and is at the moment unable to get work due to influx control.

Wage-earner 2 -

Qetha, 20 years old, no schooling and a bachelor. He is a younger brother of Mandlankosi's father. He works in town, and his wages are not known. He sends home R2.00 per month to his brother's widow. He buys no food. The homestead produced approximately 2½ bags of maize from their fields, of which one bag was eaten. The monthly income, including estimated maize production, is R2.75, and the annual income is therefore R33.00

Homestead 2:

Four persons, two adults and two children.

Wage-earner -

Oren, aged 43 with a Junior Certificate, is married with two children. He is a sergeant in the

South African Police and earns R38.00 per month. He sends his wife R14.00 every month, and also buys groceries which she comes to fetch at his place of work at the end of every month. The season was poor -  $2\frac{1}{2}$  bags of maize were produced, of which one was eaten before reaping. The monthly income was R38.00 (456.00 per annum). The monthly remittance to the homestead was R14.00 plus the shopping. The annual income of the homestead is estimated at R225.00

Homestead 3:

15 persons - 4 adults and 11 minors; one wage-earner; two households (the umunanzana is a polygamist).

Wage-earner -

Nzimba is 52 years old, has Standard IV and is married. He works in Johannesburg, earns R18.15 per month. He sends home R3.00 per month to each wife (= R6.00 in total). He does no shopping for them. The total production of mealies was  $4\frac{3}{4}$  bags,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  of which were eaten before being reaped. The annual income of the wage-earner was R217.80. The annual income of the homestead was R91.00.

Homestead 4:

Single person household.

Makubalo, of indeterminate age, lives alone as a widower. He receives a pension every second month (R3.50), and sometimes a daughter will visit him and bring him some food. His field yielded approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a bag. Annual income R21.00. Annual income plus

crops and aid approximately R25.00.

Homestead 5:

Twenty-one people, nine adults and twelve minors; four wage-earners, and four households.

Wage-earner 1 -

Macekeni, has had no education and is retired. He is, however, a popular and successful inyanga. He had no idea of his monthly income and the figure computed eventually (R10.00) is probably low.

Wage-earner 2 -

Zangcazolo, 38 years old, has Standard II and is married. He is on 'holiday' but appears to be more interested in following his father's footsteps than in returning to work. He has no income.

Wage-earner 3 -

Bekusise, 30 years old, no schooling, married. He is 'resting' at home, having just served a six month sentence for assault.

Wage-earner 4 -

Velangimpi, 26 years old, no schooling, married. Is at the moment in gaol serving a sentence for theft.

The whole homestead produced approximately  $7\frac{1}{4}$  bags of mealies (4 of which were eaten). The income of the homestead is computed at R120.00 (which I consider low). This gives it a total income of approximately R149.00 when the value of the mealies is included.

Homestead 6:

This is one of the more affluent homesteads in the district, although the inhabitants deny it. It illustrates the economic advantages of education relative to the economic position of the other homesteads. Ten people, of whom six are adults; four wage-earners and two households.

Wage-earner 1 -

Steven is a minister of the Church. He earns R40.00 per month. His parish is, however, very large and he travels extensively. He gives his wife R20.00 per month and helps with the shopping.

Wage-earner 2 -

Thembinkosi is 31 years old with Standard VI and married. He works in Durban and earns R35.00 per month. He sends home R16.00 to his wife, and also helps with the shopping.

Wage-earner 3 -

Richard, 28 years old, single and is a trained teacher (T.3). Earns R30.00 per month and sends his mother R14.00.

Wage-earner 4 -

Hamilton, 24 years old, single, a trained male nurse, earns R30.00 per month and sends his mother R13.00. Two bags of mealies were reaped. Annual income of wage-earners was R1620.00 and of the homestead R836.00 when the mealies are included.

It is obvious that there is a big difference between



the wages a man earns, and the money he sends home. The economists at Shongweni commented on the fact that the 'expenses of the workers who live away from home constitute part of the family expenditure'. Does this mean that the discrepancy can be accounted for by the living expenses of the worker in town? Even allowing for the higher cost of living in the town, and the few other sources of income to the rural homestead (which are mostly insignificant), the discrepancy between the income of the wage-earner and the income of the homestead must be sought not only on economic grounds<sup>1]</sup>. There are attitudes of people towards the spending of money within the family. People do not say in so many words that men should provide for certain things, and women should provide for others, but this is generally accepted. Women are expected to spend their money locally; when they go to town 'we must ask our husbands'. Most of the shopping that is done locally means buying food for the home - mealie meal, samp, salt, and whatever else the household needs to eat. A wife may occasionally buy herself some material, or even some utensil 'to use in the kitchen'. Men, though not supposed to be food providers, are becoming so. This rarely, if ever, involves buying food while at home. The food is bought, usually in bulk, in town and sent or brought home. Men are considered responsible for the care of the children, especially for school clothes and books. They must also take the decision to consult a doctor (or an inyanga), and are responsible also for the expenses involved. Major expenses, such as furniture and the building of a house,

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1] The Department of Economics computes that for men living without their families in Durban, the median monthly wage is R21.00, the minimum expenditure on basic necessities is R14.50, leaving a balance of R7.50 per month.

have to be met by the male. The male worker therefore has heavy living expenses while he is in town, and at the same time is regarded as 'a bank' for his family. A married man must be prepared for the eventualities of sickness or death in the family. An unmarried man must be thinking not only of his lobola, but also of his heavy isibizo commitments which precede lobola payments. The heavier expenditure in which the male may be involved raises the problem of savings, or alternatively of raising sums of money which may be needed on various occasions. The payment of isibizo and lobola are expected, and some attempt to provide for them is made over the years. Sudden needs, however, cannot as easily be provided for. These may include the payment of a fine for being out after curfew, or being found without the reference book; the lawyer's fees which very often accompany a charge of this kind; the payment of hospital fees for sudden sickness; or a 'gift' to the clerk who will facilitate 'permission' (invuma) for a man to be in an urban area to seek work.

Very few people other than the professionally employed, have savings accounts with banks, building societies or at the post office. Young men often use older (retired) men as 'banks' (ibank). The young man pays certain sums of money to the old man, who will 'keep' the money. He usually keeps it with other papers and does not use it. In this way, money can be accumulated. The 'bank' may be an agnate, but need not necessarily be. He is remembered with presents when the young man comes back from work.

There are also limited groups of savings clubs like

the stokfels. They have a limited and sporadic appeal. In some areas they were active, and in others they were not. Parts of Ndwedwe had stokfels, and there were at least two at Inanda, but there were none at Shongweni.

A stokfel, as practised, particularly in the reserves, involves a series of imizi (the number is limited to between 6 and 11) who organise a stokfel (roughly once every month or six weeks). All members of the stokfel group contribute food and liquor and the proceeds go to the umuzi where the stokfel took place. Anybody is allowed to attend, and an entrance fee is asked by the udoorkipa (door-keeper). This is normally 5 cents per head. In the huts food is made available and drink is served - either beer (utshwala) or, some distilled liquor (gavin or yaphansi). Each plate of food must be paid for (usually 7½ cents for a plate of stew and rice). Liquor is sold at 10 cents a tot (a tot is measured in a 5 cent ink bottle). An elaborate game can also be played, in which people have to pay a fine (uswazi) for not being generous (nomusa - literally with 'good spirit'). The game consists of buying food or drink, and offering it as a matter of courtesy to those round about you; they can be prevented from taking up the offer if someone pays a fine (uswazi) to stop them from taking up the offer. If you wish to renew the offer, you will have to cap the fine with a bigger fine. This continues until someone gives up; the money is paid to the treasury (isikwam) of the umuzi which is holding the stokfel.

#### (9) The Economic System:

The economic system is linked with cash wages which can be earned only if a worker leaves his family to work in town.

The agricultural returns, either in terms of crops or annual husbandry, are so small as to make only a negligible contribution to the economy of the homestead. Opportunities for living at home and working there are limited to the professional class - teachers, clerks and ministers. Whatever other economic opportunity is available provides a source of livelihood for only very few people. The result is that migratory labour takes people away from their homes for a large part of their working life. A worker's dependants exist on the wages he earns. These have to be divided between himself in town, and his family in the country. A man also has to see that he saves some money against the obligations inherent in marriage or the upkeep of the family. We have in fact, a transition from the former subsistence economy to a cash one.

CHAPTER XII.THE CHIEFDOM - THE SITUATION IN NDWEDWE.(1) The Induna.

The induna is the traditional head of the tribal ward, the isigodi. His office is not directly acknowledged by the Natal Native Code<sup>1]</sup>, and is only imperfectly recognised by the Administration. This has important repercussions, because the induna is sometimes referred to as the 'representative' (othumelayo) or the 'spokesman' (okhulumelayo) 'of the men'. The induna speaks for the men of his isigodi, but he does not speak with the 'mouth of a chief'. On the one hand this means that he cannot exercise the power which the chief has, (e.g. in judging cases), and on the other hand he escapes the accusation sometimes made against chiefs, that the chief says things 'the government tells him to say'.

The position of the induna is institutionalised, and he can deal with problems arising from the 'troubles' people in his isigodi have. He is expected to help the people of the isigodi by 'looking after' (phetha kahle) the ground, and to protect the interests of his isigodi when meeting with people or the chief. 'The induna sees that no one will eat up the isigodi'.

a) The Position of the Induna:

The means by which the induna may achieve office are

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1] Where the Code (Section 4) and Regulations speak of ward headmen they specifically exclude 'persons commonly called headmen or indunas as appointed by chiefs'.

important, because they have bearing on the value the office has for the people. They also have bearing on the way the induna may exercise his authority. There are two ways in which a man may become induna: he may succeed his father or a close male agnate, or he may be chosen (elected) (ukukheta) by the men. Contrary to the interpretation in the Code, the induna is not appointed by the chief.

There are two aspects to succession that must be distinguished: firstly, to what extent the umdabuka lineage of the dominant clan within the tribe has managed to monopolise not only the chieftainship, but also the minor political offices such as that of induna; secondly, whether any clan (umdabuka or not), has been able to monopolise the office as an hereditary office.

The historical pattern of creating isigodi, where the umdabuka clan planted a member in a new tract of land, has not meant the continued dominance of the umdabuka people. In fifteen isigodi, six office holders are members of the umdabuka clan, and nine members are not.

Allowing for the fact that some isigodi were not originally established by members of the umdabuka clan<sup>1]</sup>, it is still clear that the element of choice allowed the men has not always been exercised in favour of umdabuka clansmen. Succession to office shows a slight bias in favour of close agnatic kinsmen.

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1] See Chapter VIII.

Five of the present incumbents succeeded their fathers, two succeeded classificatory fathers, one succeeded a (full) brother, and seven had no kinship connection with the previous incumbent at all. People like a son to succeed a father because 'the young plant comes from the parent's stem (ikhubuzela lihlibi esiqwini) - although other factors are taken into account.

b) Importance of Election:

Some indunas succeed to the office automatically without encountering any opposition. The fact that men may exercise their right to choose (kheta) an induna creates the opportunity for an ambitious man to be candidate for office.

'Mdunyana Msomi had been an official witness<sup>1]</sup> for years, and had been trying to become induna of his isigodi for a long time. This was something of a joke between himself and the people in his isigodi. Whenever he went into the isibaya to giya he would call out 'Zingakhi izinduna' (how many indunas are there?). To which the men would answer 'Zilishumi' (there are ten), meaning that even amongst these ten one would not find Msomi.'

It is recognised that men have the power to choose their induna, and it is this knowledge which makes men like Msomi ambitious. The men have also the power to depose an induna. Attempts at depositions have not always been successful, when insufficient public support for the movement has been obtained.

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1] The office of the Official Witness will be discussed below.

c) Criteria for Choosing Indunas:

Informants have no precise ideas of the necessary qualifications to become induna. They would cite the correctness of a son succeeding his father (although this rule is not universally followed). A gift of speech (icigo) is widely valued, especially as the induna must explain the troubles of his people to the chief, and sometimes even to the Commissioner.

People felt that an induna should be 'one of us'. By this they meant that the induna should be someone who lived at home, and could therefore undertake all his duties. Some men succeed their fathers, but cannot return home to take up their duties. They inevitably have to be represented by men who act in their stead. There is a feeling that it is 'bad' to leave an office in the hands of a deputy for too long. If you do 'people will go to him and forget the real umnumzana'. This meant that an acting induna, once he had been entrenched long enough, might try to usurp the office for himself<sup>1]</sup>. There are at present four persons who are acting on behalf of the rightful incumbents who are absent working.

There are limiting factors for people who aspire to this office. Though incumbents have to be registered with the Administration, they are not remunerated. Anybody accepting

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1] There was also talk that 'relatives' were more dangerous in this respect than outsiders. A man who has a deputy who is 'of the blood' might find himself more easily superseded by the deputy. There are cases where non-clansmen act as deputies, but there are other instances where agnatic kinsmen have been asked to act.



office must be 'retired', and should have an independent income. The number of people with such incomes is small, and of those only one man (a shopkeeper) has to my knowledge ever become an induna. There are a number of retired people who are indunas, but inevitably the retired members of the community are also the elderly members. The presence of elderly men as indunas, and the comparative lack of interest shown by many younger men, raises a question of the value of the induna to the man who spends most of his life away from home working in town. I shall return to this point below.

Some informants set a great store on what 'the Chief said in this matter'. Whether the chief is responsible for the appointment, (as the Code implies), or completely without power (onamandla) as some informants imply, is not clear from the evidence. Chiefs claim that they will 'appoint' (using the English word), the indunas. Yet there are cases where indunas have attained office against the wishes of the chief. The appointment really depends on the determination of either the chief or the successful candidate to stand his own ground.

d) The Functions of the Induna:

The induna is supposed to represent his people, not only at the chief's court, but also at the Commissioner's office. His relations with both the chief and the Bantu Commissioner will be dealt with below. He acts as comforter (mduduze), and adviser (unalamuli), in those matters which are brought to him by people in his isigodi.

One induna was commended by his people for having

stopped the building of a road through their isigodi. The induna made weighty objections to the chief and also to the Commission. The Administration decided against the building of the road, but for purely financial reasons. The decision, however, was greeted as a victory for the induna.

'One of the huts in Langwan's umuzi was set alight and burnt to the ground. The hut had been let to a local school master who had a reputation as an isoka (Don Juan). The suspicion immediately fell on jealous friends of a woman the teacher had been 'visiting' recently. The morning after the fire, Langwan went to his induna who was expecting him. It was not long before a number of men arrived, having followed Langwan from the scene of the burning. The whole party, led by the induna, went down to the girl's umuzi, and settled as an informal court trying to ferret out information. After very little progress the induna announced at 12 o'clock that this was a serious matter, and he would discuss it with the chief. He had, however, performed his first duty and given the men an opportunity to discuss the matter.'

'Sequendu spent the best part of an afternoon piecing together the hysterical cries of a woman who claimed that she had been threatened by a jealous lover with an axe. On investigation, the assailant proved to be lying in a drunken stupor on the floor of her hut.'

'Qa-Induku was asked to give the herdboys a biding because they were letting the cattle pollute the drinking

and domestic water supplies. He suggested that if the women were afraid to hit the boys themselves, they have the fathers recalled from town to come and chastise their sons.

The induna serves as an important institutional link between the people in his isigodi, between one umuzi and another, and between one umndeni and another. He is the leader of his isigodi, and can be approached for advice or help where this is not forthcoming at the homestead or umndeni level. He also serves as a link between his isigodi and the people in the chiefdom, and (to a limited extent) with the Administration. He represents isigodi interests, which sometimes clash with orders which the chief has to perform because of administrative pressure.

The induna's financial position is difficult to assess. He receives no stipend. His official position entitles him to receive 15 head of cattle for his daughter in marriage. He shares this distinction with the official witness. Indunas are, however, not generally regarded as poor. The income of the induna is made up variously of gifts (isipho) and fees (ikhokhelo). There is no standard fee or gift to which the induna is entitled. He will, if he attends a sacrifice, be given some meat from the foreleg of a beast as a mark of his status. Unless he is present, he will not receive this, and nobody sends the induna part of the harvest from their fields. Both gifts and fees which an induna receives are therefore in exchange for something. The exchange may be quite simple. If the chief has delegated his power to the induna to place (beka) people on their land, the induna will collect the fee to which he is entitled. There are,

however, other gifts which he may receive. It is wise for people who distil liquor to give the induna a 'small gift'. There is very little that a good induna does not know about his own isigodi, and the information about excess brewing may prove helpful to the police. There are other occasions on which a small payment may also 'clear the path' of a suppliant. If a member of his isigodi needs land and cannot get it from his own local group, he will automatically apply to his induna. The latter should ordinarily know where land is available, and help the man in his quest - a small gift usually helps the case of the suppliant. People often talk about gifts which they have given to the induna. They do not as a rule consider these in the same light as money given to officials such as police or clerks. The latter is deliberately for people who are 'being bought' (ukutengiswa); the former, unless it reaches enormous proportions, are never seen in the same harsh light.

(2) The Induna Enkhulu (Chief Induna):

In addition to the office of induna, there is the office of induna enkhulu (chief induna). It is not clear how this distinction between the induna wesigodi and induna enkhulu originated. Krige calls the isigodi headman an induna, and the isifunda headman an induna enkhulu<sup>1]</sup>. The head of the isifunda at Ndwedwe is a chief (nkosi). The result is that the office of induna enkhulu has to maintain itself against competition from the chief.

The induna enkhulu like his colleague from the isigodi.

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1] Krige, E.J. (1950): The Social System of the Zulus, op. cit., p. 220.

is also 'chosen by the men'. However, the men in this case are the ibandla of all the people of the isifunda, and they cannot meet unless specifically called by the chief. This means that the 'choice' must be made 'when the chief is near'. In practical terms this means, (as one chief put it), 'I will show a man to the ibandla and they will approve'. When the chief makes an independent choice, he can usually persuade the people to accept the decision.

The induna enkhulu is regarded as being far more under the influence of the chief than the ordinary induna of the isigodi. The duties of the induna enkhulu lend themselves partly to this domination by the chief because they are extremely vague. The induna is sometimes called the 'second chief' which means that 'when the chief takes a holiday' the induna will act in his place. The induna does not act when the chief is suspended or deposed. These are administrative actions, and involves the appointment of an acting chief.

The induna is also responsible, as his alternate name implies, for cases (amacala). His work is supposed to consist of investigating complaints which are to be brought before the chief's court, deciding what substance there is in them, and seeing that the proper witnesses are available on the day set aside for the hearings. As most complaints of this nature go through the hands of induna wesigodi first, there is a clash of interest between the two indunas.

The complaints and disputes which are brought to the induna wesigodi are usually between imizi and imindeni groups

within his territory. There is a constant need to refer matters to the induna. There is less activity, however, on the isifunda level, because very little activity takes place outside the isigodi. Inevitably the induna wesigodi has far more work to do than the induna enkhulu because the former acts in a specific territory, whereas the latter does not.

'Majosana Msoni has been induna enkhulu for many years, but has recently been replaced. Since he is no longer consulted by the chief, he has been sulking in his umuzi (which falls into the isigodi of Nobanaga). His neighbours have been coming to him with their troubles because his home is much nearer than that of the umnumzana of Nobanaga. Majosana has been 'helping' these people. The induna at Nobanaga publicly criticised Majosana at a beer drink for doing this (his) the induna's work. The rebuke led to a heated argument in which there was some sympathy for Majosana in his difficult position regarding the chief, but the induna was supported in his contention that people should bring their complaints to him, or he would not know what was happening in the isigodi.'

### (3) Isigodi and the Isifunda:

'Our isigodi is where we live', 'our isifunda is where we live with the chief'. 'The induna must settle disputes (izindaba) between the imindeni; the chief must settle matters between the isigodi'. 'It is when we have cases (amacala) that we need the chief.'

People's attitudes towards the isifunda and the

isigodi vary with the particular interest involved. A general question to a man about his origins elicits the name of the district where he pays his tax, and possibly the name of tribe and chief. A specific question about land will make him identify his local group and also isigodi.

There are occasions on which the chiefdom is more important, and other occasions when the isigodi interests are paramount. Disputes which become cases (amacala) are isifunda matters, but land allocation (which means the right to build a homestead) is more clearly identified with the isigodi.

The importance of land allocation, and the fact that most communal life, e.g., beer drinks, weddings and dancing, takes place at the umndeni level, means that social activities are concentrated within the isigodi. At Ndwedwe, the isigodi has a functional importance for most people which the isifunda does not have.

At Ndwedwe the ordinary man attaches importance to his home, and through that to all the kinship groups which make it possible for him to receive ground to build a home. Beyond this he shows only an occasional interest in the activities of tribal officials when he needs them for advice. In this situation the role of the chief as leader of the isifunda has to be evaluated.

#### (4) The Traditional Chief:

Traditionally the chief was the centre of his people's unity. He was the final judge of disputes, leader in war and

migrations, and a kinsman from whom help could be obtained. Through his clan ancestors he could intercede with the supernatural, on behalf of his followers. With the formation of the Zulu nation the king was recognised not only as judge but also legislator (with the power to inflict death and banishment). He claimed tribute not only in kind but also in labour. He was responsible for the distribution of land and had wealth and power to reward those who served him well. He also performed magico-religious ceremonies on behalf of his people.

The obedience and service which he expected from his people included the knowledge that his welfare (and therefore the community's) was primary, and took precedence over individual interest. He could call up labour to assist in building or repairing the royal homestead. He could summon meetings of the nation or of his court. He could command the services of able-bodied males to run messages for him (and it was death to impersonate them)<sup>1]</sup>.

It was the king's duty to create new regiments, keep the regiments occupied, if necessary by sending them off to war. He was distinguished by the insignia he wore, which meant that the pelts of certain animals were expressly reserved for him. He was treated with great deference, being greeted with the royal salute. His subjects, as a mark of respect, never held their heads above his, but went down on their haunches before him. His name was honoured by passing out of common speech.

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1] Gluckman, M. (1941): "The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa" in African Political Systems edited by M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, p.38, London.



The king was connected with public rituals, especially at his installation and at the marriage of his great wife (who would bear his heir). His death was also an occasion on which collective grief was an index of national solidarity. His economic position was fortified by the tribute he received, the cattle he was given or which had been captured in war. His principal wife was also lobola'd for him by the nation.

The powers and perquisites of the Zulu king were those of the ordinary chief writ large<sup>1]</sup>. We are, however, concerned with clan chiefs (who were the leaders who finally settled in the district). The literature<sup>2]</sup> suggests that the functions of the chief remained the same as they had been before the establishment of the kingship, subject to the overriding power of the king - the functions were performed by grace and not by right<sup>3]</sup>. Thus the king delegated functions of a judicial and administrative nature to the chiefs. They could try cases (with the right of appeal to the king's court); allocate land; maintain order; watch over the welfare of their districts; take ritual steps to protect crops and rid their land of sorcerers.

The relationship between clan chiefs and the king was explained by people in the field by stating that in the old days (i.e. before they fled across the Tsekela), the clan heads had been merely lords (banumzana). They only became chiefs because

1] Krige, op. cit., p.218.

2] Krige, op. cit., Chapters X and XI;  
Gluckman, in African Political Systems, op. cit., p.37.

3] Ibid., p.37.

the White man had made them chiefs. This seems to accord with the evidence cited from Krige<sup>1]</sup>. Gluckman on the other hand, recognises that clan heads were chiefs, and uses the terms king and chief, although they are the same term in Zulu.

Whatever the exact nature of these offices were, they are recognised by the Administration as hereditary chiefs, and the functions they perform are performed by special delegation on behalf of the Administration. The chief today acts in an administrative, and sometimes in a judicial, capacity.

The administrative duties of the chief entail the exercising of control over the people; responsibility for the peaceful and orderly administration of the tribe; carrying out lawful orders issued by the Commissioner; explaining new laws and regulations to the people; and helping all officials in the execution of their duties. A chief's activities may include the establishment of the bona fides of a person seeking an old age pension; the appointment of a member to a school committee; or convening meetings so that the agricultural officers of the Bantu Administration Department may explain the necessity for contour ploughing; or listening to cases in his isigcawu.

To perform these duties the chief needs to keep in constant contact with the Administration. He meets the Commissioner once a quarter when he and his fellow chiefs attend quarterly meetings, but if there are specific orders for him

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1] Krige, op. cit., p.211.

other meetings may take place.

The chief is expected to 'look after' the people, and he is required to carry out any orders which the Administration may give him. The Administration can apply sanctions if these orders are not carried out, either by deposing the chief, or by bringing economic pressures to bear by reducing his bonus, or by sending in their police to enforce the orders. The chief carrying out administrative instructions cannot rely on any similarly effective sanctions. The chief may be pressed to take two contradictory courses of action - one desired by the people, the other pressed from above by the Administration. In this situation chiefs often play a passive role, neither actively enforcing nor actively disobeying an administrative order.

(5) Methods of Recruiting Chiefs:

The people say 'a chief is born; we know from which door he came; that is why he is chief'. This means that they know who the mother of the chief should be (hence the reference to the 'door' of her house).

Membership not only of the umdabuko clan, but also of the senior lineage of that clan, is important. This must be buttressed by being born of the chief wife (inkosikazi). The chief wife was not necessarily the first wife a man married. In the case of a chief it used to be considered important that she should be born of a prominent family in order to be a worthy mother to the new chief, and also that she should be lobola'd with cattle to which the whole tribe had contributed. The Administration has, however, ruled that the first wife married

should be the chief wife, and this rule is now universally followed.

The last mention made of tribal lobola concerned a neighbouring chiefdom when the chief announced late in life that he was to marry a great wife. The levy was made, but a son who had expected to succeed his father was able to persuade a substantial section of the people that he was being wronged. The Administration was eventually forced to intervene to prevent fighting. The old chief was persuaded to abandon the project. He did so by announcing that the lobola had been collected in vain because he was impotent, and no heir would be forthcoming.

The possession of the tribal medicine (impendo yemithi) was also mentioned by a few informants as denoting a chief. The value of this must be judged in the light of the fact that no one has dealt with these for almost forty years.

(6) The Position of the Chief:

Diagram 7 shows the chiefs and regents in three different chiefdoms since the people moved into the area approximately 130 years ago. The least disturbed is that of the Shangase (A), where descent has been maintained in the correct clan and in the correct lineage.

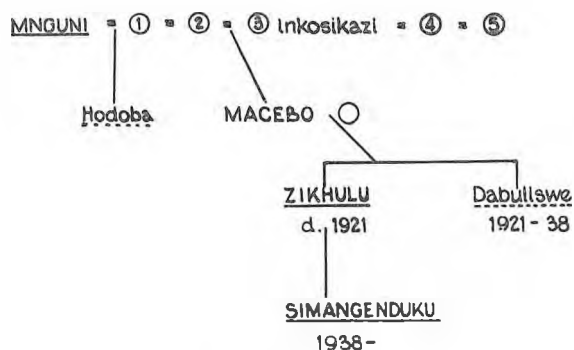
The Osiyana (B) present a more complicated picture. The regency of Mashumi occurred during the invasion of the Igqoza in the 1850's<sup>1]</sup>. Various chiefs have been deposed or

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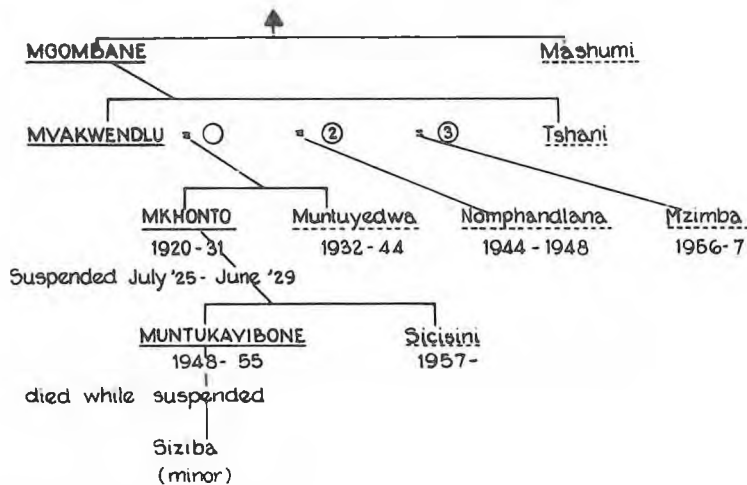
1] See Chapter V.

CHIEFS AND REGENTS IN THREE CHIEFDOMS.

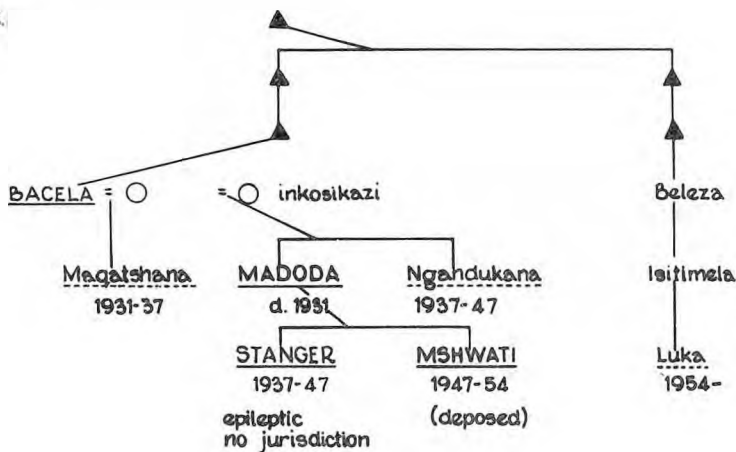
A.



B.



C.



———— CHIEF  
 - - - - - REGENT

suspended which accounts for the number of regents. Mkhonto (1920-1931) was suspended for two years (1925-1926). A regent, Muntuyedwa, (1932-1944) was retired because he was found to be of unsound mind. Muntukavibone (1948-1955) was suspended for a year due to troubles internally with a section of the Nobanga isigodi, and externally with some White farmers in the New Hanover district. He died in tragic circumstances, having been murdered just before he was due to return to office. The regent, Mzimba, ordered an investigation, and three South African Police detectives from Durban conducted an extensive enquiry. Three people were eventually charged, but the case against them was dropped due to lack of evidence.

Considerable tension existed within the chiefdom. The circumstances of the chief's death led Mzimba as regent to order the late chief's widow and her two children to return (temporarily) to her own people, so that her son (the future chief) should not be 'soiled' (ngcolisa) by the manner in which his father had died. The widow complied. Opposition to Mzimba came into the open when Sicisini (a younger (full) brother to the late chief) claimed the regency. He strengthened his claim by enticing the brother's widow back, and demanded the right to nkena her. The Mzimba faction resisted the return of the widow. Their public complaints stressed the fact that Sicisini was a traditionalist and would probably not send his ward to school, which meant the people would have an 'uneducated' chief. The Sicisini faction were strengthened by the return of the widow. The reluctance of Mzimba to make a real issue of the regency helped Sicisini. Mzimba later explained that he had a good job in Johannesburg which paid 'better money' than being regent. A tribal meeting

(ibhandla) eventually supported Sicisini's claim, and the request made to the Administration stressed Sicisini's close relationship to the late chief. The arguments against Sicisini, especially that he was introducing the real heir into a dangerous atmosphere and that he would not see to his education, were not pressed. The opposition had used them merely as a means to camouflage with domestic details the real struggle which had been waged around the succession to the regency.

The feelings aroused by this controversy had not died down when I started fieldwork, which was about two years after this happened. The salient feature was, however, the meeting which eventually showed whom the ibhandla wished to have as regent.

The succession amongst the Mlangeni has also presented some difficulties. Stanger, who was chief from 1937-1947, never exercised any jurisdiction during his period of office. This was vested in the regent Ngandukana. The reason was that Stanger was suffering from epilepsy and was liable to have attacks. The people felt that Stanger's position was 'very difficult'. He was the inkosana of his father, but 'even in the old days when a man was sick he was passed over as chief'.

People said that it was 'bad' to have two chiefs in one tribe, because 'two bulls cannot live together' (akhuko izinkunzi zihlala ndawonye). All power was in the hands of the regent, but concerted efforts were made to relieve him of his post. A new induna enkulu from the Gogo clan led the fight against the regent, and appears to have had some ambitions to

become chief himself. The descendants of Goqo say that he merely wished to end the fighting amongst the Ngcobos (the umdabuka clan), but the Ngcobos accuse him of aspiring to the 'chair' (iqwakelo). Goqo's complaints were heeded, but his aspirations were not successful. The Administration deposed the chief, retired the induna, and installed Mshwati, (a full brother but an unmarried man) as chief. He is also subject to seizures, and his term of office was very 'unstable'. As neither the two brothers, Stanger or Mshwati, had any legal heirs and as there had already been trouble within the Ngcobo clan, the Administration resorted to the technique of asking the people to 'choose' (khetha) a successor. Goqo, who had retired as induna enkhulu was once more an aspirant. The only other aspirant was a member of the Ngcobo clan, but not of the same lineage as the deposed chief. The men eventually chose the Ngcobo candidate. They explained later that 'we chose of the blood because they are our chiefs'. The Goqo faction (which included some of the disaffected Ngcobo clansmen), however, maintained that it was the 'brothers' of the present regent who came to the meeting in large numbers who dominated the ibhandla. Relative quiet has settled on the Mlangeni - Luka has proved popular though strict. The arrangement is, however, temporary because Luka himself is an old man of about 70 and he has no male heirs. The whole problem of the succession will have to be re-opened when he dies or retires. Both the previous chiefs, Stanger and Mshwati, still live in the area. The latter often attends the chief's courts, where he sits with the other izinduna. The chief felt no fear that they might eleka (i.e. overshadow) his authority. His reasons are that they are without 'power' (mandla), having been deposed 'by the Government'. He refused to comment on the



mystical aspects of the eleka concept which implies that because of the powerful medicines a man uses while in office he would of necessity be a threat to his successor. He denied any knowledge of 'these things'. Privately I was told that as the present incumbent was 'only a regent' it did not matter that the others continued to live here because they had been 'chiefs'. The regent's office was temporary and it would not be worth their while to overshadow him.

A noteworthy aspect of the recruitment of chiefs is the role of the Administration. In effect their recognition or non-recognition is the final decision of whether or not a man shall be chief. 'The Government will say who the chief will be'. The Administration has used this power extensively in recognising chiefs, in suspending, and in deposing them<sup>1]</sup>. When the Administration has been in a dilemma, if the succession has been obscure, it has fallen back on a system of letting people choose. The Administration would, however, refuse to recognise an unsuitable candidate.

(7) The Ritual Position of Chiefs:

Chieftainship depends ultimately on the approval of the candidate by the Administration. This does not necessarily exclude either the traditional criteria for recognising a chief, or the possibility that ambitious candidates will make determined efforts to achieve office.

The concept of a chief being known solely from his

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1] See Chapter VI.

descent (i.e. the 'door' from which he comes) has, however, been seriously challenged. Implicit in this challenge is another challenge to the ritual position of the chief.

Traditionally the chief acted as priest for his lineage. He was also considered to have grace (*msatshwile*) (literally, to be feared), not only because of his birth, but because he was custodian of the 'medicine pot' of the country, and also of the 'umpondo iwemithi' (the chief's medicine horn). Furthermore, the chief was the centre of communal activities which expressed the people's unity with himself. These might involve the first fruit ceremony (ukumyatela or umkhosi)<sup>1]</sup>, or the rituals surrounding the attainment of puberty by the heir to the chieftom. No communal rituals involving the chief are performed today, and there is widespread ignorance about the chief's medicines. This is explained as being due to the 'passing away of the old people'. No one claimed to have first-hand knowledge of having seen or heard of the chief's medicines. One informant, however, said that his father told him that among the Shangase the medicines were buried with the present chief's father. That would have been in 1921. The fact that ex-chiefs and regents are allowed to continue living in their homes, meaning that the incumbents do not fear that they may be 'passed over' (*eleka*), is due to the fact that the incumbents no longer possess the medicines. A deposed chief no longer possesses the 'grace' which would make him a source of danger to his successor.

Only one incident was ever reported to me of the

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1] The celebration of these first fruit ceremonies were among the earliest abolished by the Natal Government.

'strengthening' of a chief. Though I stumbled on the facts because of a local feud, I was not able to discover very much from the participants. When Simangaduku was installed in 1937, he was young and some people expressed a fear that a classificatory father (who was also a famous diviner) was living too close to the chief. Another diviner was brought from outside to 'attend' (bula, literally to consult) to the chief. The most the chief was prepared to say was that it was 'the same as the betela' (i.e. being treated for lightning). The isangoma who had been consulted used his own medicines. These were not regarded as being 'chief's medicine'. The use of the isangoma was interesting, especially as he was widely regarded as protecting the chief from a fellow kinsman who was a successful isangoma. It should be noted that even on this occasion, (when the chief had apparently been 'advised' to seek protection), the protection had to be asked for (ukubula). There was no talk of the medicines having been passed down the line of the chiefs.

The loss of the tribal medicines has removed the special protection a chief always possessed. The absence of communal activity expressly involving the chief no longer allows the community symbolically to express its unity through its chief. Both these developments are to some extent due to the spread of Christianity. Both the orthodox and the separatist churches made converts among the chief's followers, and sometimes among the chiefs themselves. The effect was to deny the chiefs' ritual power, because this was vested in the church. The communal activities surrounding the chief, especially those of a magico-religious nature, had to be abjured by church members. The

result was that public support was withdrawn from the chief in this way. Many people do still believe in the ancestors and they worship them. Ancestor worship, however, takes place at the umndeni and umuzi level, and it no longer stretches to the conception of the ancestors of the chiefs concerned for the welfare of the chiefdom. There are thus no communal activities in this respect which strengthen the chief. The churches have not produced a challenge to the leadership of the chief, but they have eroded many of the values which supported his office<sup>1]</sup>.

The extent to which activities are permeated with church practices was illustrated on an occasion when the (classificatory) father of a chief was being buyisa'd. When the beast which had been selected for the sacrifice was brought up into the isibaya it was sprinkled with water and blessed in the name of the founder of a large separatist church. Thereafter the animal was killed with a spear, and an invocation to the departed ancestors was made.

The only ceremonies at which there is still an element of communal participation are the installation or the funeral of a chief. The installation of a chief does not necessarily involve an official celebration by the tribe; at least two regents who are at present incumbents had no special feast to mark their term of office. At an installation that took place a few years previously, three beasts (from the chief's isibaya) had been slaughtered. Beer was provided mainly by the wives of his immediate agnates. The feasting took place at the chief's umuzi (which had also been his father's), and was marked by a

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1] Cf. Vilakazi, op. cit., p.223

visit from the local Commissioner. All tribesmen were entitled to attend the feast, which lasted for three days, and was attended by 'great numbers'. It was during these three days that the chief was 'strengthened', but this took place in the indlunkulu, not in public.

The death of a reigning chief should also 'bring the people together because their comforter has died'. There is no feeling that all the people have been affected by the death, a state which people call isinyama (i.e., to be tainted, ritually impure). The death of the Osiyana chief M., though it happened while he was under suspension, entailed a big funeral. All lineage members of the chief went into mourning (ukuzilela) by shaving their heads. Other clansmen and tribesmen did not show their mourning in this way. On the day of the funeral the grave was dug by the ibutho (which in practice meant those men who were available at the time). The grave was dug according to umthetho isizulu. After the ordinary grave had been dug a special cave was excavated in which the body was placed. The cortage included a 'dark coffin from town' and not like those available from the local co-op. The actual burial was at the place where all the chiefs were buried (in a grove of wild trees). It was attended by both 'kholwa and binca', a local minister saying a prayer on behalf of the Christians. The rest of the ceremony consisted of singing the ihubo of the chief's clan. The subsequent ceremonies, the ukugeza, where the people affected by the death are washed with umswame (gall) to cleanse them of the state into which they were plunged by the death, and also the eating of strengthening medicines (amakhubalo) were, like the shaving of heads, restricted to clan and lineage members.

Informants felt that a 'real chief' should have beer, meat and izipheko from all his people. 'We all need to wash our hands' (ukugeza izandla).

(8) The Position of Regents (Umbambeli):

Extensive use is made of regents. More than a third of the incumbents in the reserve during the past 60 years have been regents<sup>1]</sup>. Though they are so often called upon, regents have no established position in the community. There is no office holder who automatically becomes regent on the deposition, or during the minority, of a chief. The concept of the 'second chief' which is applied to the induna enkulu does not extend to the regency; it takes effect only during temporary absences of the chief. A permanent absence necessitates the appointment of acting chiefs (regents) by the Administration. They are guided in their choice of regents by a general rule of descent, and in difficult situations (as that between Sicisini and Mzimba), by allowing the people to 'choose'.

The Administration distinguishes between chiefs and regents by referring to them as chiefs and acting chiefs. The people state that there were 'signs by which we know them'. In practice these signs are difficult to detect.

A regent should be close to the 'blood' of a chief, preferably a full brother or a brother from another house. The regent, unlike the chief, does not need to be born of the tribal lobola (in practice this no longer applies, not even to chiefs).

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1] See Chapter VI.

A regent may not (as opposed to a chief) form a tribal regiment (ibutho). The formation of an ibutho has like so many other communal activities fallen into disuse. The last ibutho which was officially formed, when the chief's isibaya was actually rebuilt, was in 1919, and coincided with the formation of a royal regiment in Zululand<sup>1]</sup>. Nowadays regimental duties are left to the younger men. An ibutho usually takes part in dances at weddings and attends funerals, but its members are just 'anybody who is at home' and who cares to join. Talk about the formation of amabutho, though it was indulged in, was never serious. One regent denied that he could not form a regiment and said he wanted one to help build a road to his house. This project has not materialised.

(9) Educational Qualifications and General Experience of Chiefs:

The primary criterion for the recruitment of a chief is his structural position in his clan and lineage. Nevertheless, the varied tasks chiefs are expected to perform would indicate that both education and general experience would be of great assistance to chiefs in their duties. In principle the Administration agreed, but they lay down no qualifications for the education of chiefs. They do run special courses at such places as 'Vuma' Farm, near Nongoma, where chiefs are given demonstrations and lectures. The Department also issues a monthly newsletter in Zulu which it makes available to chiefs.

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1] Krige, op. cit., p.407, notes that it must have been 1918. She also notes that another regiment was formed in 1925. The people in the district have no knowledge of this.

There are also publications by the Department which are distributed to the chiefs and other interested people.

The people are more explicit, saying that 'all chiefs should go to school'. It is a source of constant criticism against one regent that his ward is not forced to go to school. 'When the chief sits in darkness the people suffer'. Schooling for the chief is regarded as more important than it is for most other children. Even traditionalists have been heard to comment that 'a chief is not the person who works kwa themba' (i.e. breaking stones, mere manual work). 'A chief must read and write, not to become sophisticated (ukuphucuka), but so that he can be well thought of by the men (ukuthiwa yibandla) and the Commissioner.

Whether a chief should have experience of the outside world was not easily answered. One reaction was that it was necessary so as to understand the 'cunning' (ubuqila), and 'guard against the trap (vikela kwesichupo esilungwini), of the White man'. The only experience a chief would get would be in the ways of the White man, and there was always the danger that when away working he might not heed the 'call of the people' when he had to succeed to the chieftainship<sup>1]</sup>. Very few people felt that the chief would need experience in such things as adjudicating cases, settling disputes, allocating land. In these matters he could always 'enquire about the road from those ahead' (indlela ibuzwa kwapambili) (i.e. from the old people).

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1] One reason for this could be economic - it is possible to earn more in town than as a chief.



No attempt is made to recruit persons to the chieftainship who are trained to cope with the increasing duties involved in administration.<sup>1]</sup> There seems to be very little attempt to broaden the administrative experience of those people who have become chiefs. This is a fault of the system rather than of the chiefs and the Commissioner. The chief can meet administrative officials only in their role as advisers and people who issue orders. The chief in turn may only make complaints and suggestions. The superior role of the officials and the inferior role of the chief is never changed. At the administrative offices the chief is a suppliant like most other people who find their way to the magistracy.

The Administration has made attempts to educate and interest chiefs in agriculture. Vuma Farm in Zululand runs regular courses for chiefs. These do not, however, bridge the lack of contact between the officials and the chief, and they do not enlist the interest or the support of those people who could most readily advise and aid the chief. The dilemma is underlined by the method of recruitment which leaves the chief in an ambivalent and important position vis-a-vis the Administration.

(10) Duties of a Chief:

The chief's duties are mainly those expected of him by the Administration. They include exercising control over the people living in his chiefdom; allotting land for arable

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1] In the 1960's a special college for chiefs' and Indunas' sons was started at Nongoma, and this may improve the position.

and residential purposes<sup>1]</sup>; acting as a special tribunal for the people; being a link between the people and the Administration; and carrying out any lawful orders he is given. The control which is in fact exercised by the chief is exercised in those situations where he still commands the respect of any parties concerned in a breach of law. Where there is any opposition he is forced to rely on the reinforcements sent from the Commissioner.

(11) Judicial Function of Chiefs:

The chief was a judge of disputes in the traditional society. These functions are still exercised by chiefs with jurisdiction expressly delegated by the Administration within a territorially defined chiefdom. Chiefs' courts are empowered to hear civil cases arising out of customary law, although they are precluded from dealing with the dissolution of marriage<sup>2]</sup>. The chiefs are also allowed limited criminal jurisdiction, and are not allowed to fine people more than R20.00<sup>3]</sup>.

The chiefs in the district derive their law from the Natal Native Code<sup>4]</sup>. This expressly excludes the cognisance of the chiefs' courts from such felonies as homicide, rape, sedition,

- 1] This helps perpetuate the system of communal land tenure.
- 2] As neither marriage by Christian rites nor civil rites is marriage under customary law, these are a priori excluded from the chief's court. The exclusion refers specifically to customary unions.
- 3] See Government Notice No. 2887 of 1951.
- 4] See Proclamation No. 168 of 1932.  
Also Stafford, op. cit.

etc. The range and effectiveness of chiefs' courts is limited by the narrow jurisdiction allowed them, and also by the fact that the chief is often held, by the people, to be unable to deal with some of their more pressing complaints, which stem from their economic circumstances.

The chief's court is recognised as one of the courts of the land, and judgement from this court will be given effect in the highest courts in the land<sup>1]</sup>. Judgement at the lower levels, however, is something which has given rise to misgivings about the power of the chief's court. Contumacy on the part of the defendant means that the help of the Commissioner will be called in. The chief's court only functions efficiently where there is a willingness of both parties to concede and to accept the judgement.

The Code is available in a Zulu version, and is the standard which chiefs apply in the cases which come before their courts. Great use is made of the Code because it is explained 'this is where the Zulu Law was written down'<sup>2]</sup>. The Code thus provides both the chief and Commissioner with a common basis on which to work. This is something which cannot be underestimated.

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1] Warner, H.W., (1961): A Digest of South African Native Civil Case Law 1894 - 1957, Juta and Co., Cape Town, quotes Mdumane vs. Mtshakule 1948 Native Appeal Court, c/c 28.

2] Ironically the pressures to have the law codified came from the Colonists, who resented Shepstone's powers, and were afraid of the 'barbarous powers of the chief'.

The Code gives chiefs and headmen<sup>1]</sup> the right to exact obedience to their authority under native law; they also exact obedience of children to their parents. They are empowered to punish anyone who obstructs them while they are carrying out the orders of the Supreme Chief. When sitting as a court the chief may expect and enforce obedience and decorum. Contempt of court and other breaches are offences under the Code<sup>2]</sup>. I never saw a person being charged, although some chiefs employed the threat constantly. The respect which is given to a chief in his court is generally equivalent to the respect he can command outside his court. He is given the royal salute when he comes to take up his position in the isigcawu, and is usually (singularly honoured guests and secretaries apart) the only person who is provided with a chair to sit on. He is the first to cross-examine, and his orders in court should be promptly obeyed. Nevertheless, just as outside the court he may be treated with great familiarity, so in his court he can be criticised. One man objected strongly to the chief's levity when the latter referred to 'impetuous young men (izinsizwe ofufelayo) when giving judgement. The complainant pointed out that he was not a youth and that he had been insulted. The chief accepted the rebuke.

In practice the dearth of cases indicates that many of the powers of the chief are not recognised, or their protection

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1] Headman in this context is called the chief's deputy in Natal. He is the man who acts for the chief, who lives elsewhere (usually in another district).

2] Section 20. See also *Nduna vs. Fynn* 1925: Native High Court, 16, quoted in Warner, op. cit.

is not always sought.

An appeal lies from the chief's to the Commissioner's Court. When hearing an appeal the Commissioner sits as a court of first instance, and at the same time as a Court of Appeal. The whole case is heard de novo, and the Commissioner may set aside or vary the judgement, or give whatever judgement he feels the chief ought to have given.

No lawyers are allowed to appear in the chief's court. This is in keeping with the idea that chiefs' courts are inexpensive tribunals for deciding cases according to Native Law. It is also one means of escaping the jurisdictions of the chief's court. Once a lawyer has been engaged the matter comes before the Commissioner's Court. The rules obtaining are not as strictly enforced in chiefs' courts as they are in ordinary courts. The general model in all cases is that of the Commissioner's Court, as most men have experience of the Commissioner's Court at one time or another.

There is a distinction which people make between cases (amacala) and disputes (imibango or izindaba). The chiefs' courts are concerned only with cases, although the chief may, in an advisory capacity, deal with disputes; in this sphere he contends directly with the induna. The distinction between icala and indaba is not easy to make because there is no basic difference between them. It is only a willingness of one of the parties to take the matter to court (ukufaka isikundla) that transforms a dispute into a case. Disputes can arise from numerous causes, but they will not necessarily

become cases. 'It is people who are in a hurry (ukusheshisa) that make cases'. The imputation is clear that, although troubles are expected to arise, many of them could be eased out of the way with patience and a little advice. Domestic disputes can often be resolved by the umndeni or the homestead. The induna can act as an arbitrator and also settle a number of disputes.

If a party to a dispute is willing to press the matter, he can take the necessary steps to see that his case will be brought before the chief's court. If he follows the proper procedure, he will first inform his own induna, and then the chief induna (induna enkhulu), of the nature of the case and what witnesses have to be called. The induna enkhulu informs the chief and names a day for the hearing. In practice people go to one induna or the other; many of them go straight to the chief. This can result in great confusion, because very often no preparation is made. Cases are postponed not only because witnesses cannot be found, but also because sometimes even the plaintiff does not appear.

The jurisdiction exercised by a chief is vested in him personally. In this the Administration and the people agree: 'only the chief can take cases'. However, a chief 'does not think alone'; he must be helped by his ibhandla and he 'advised (ukululeka) by the men'. There is no consensus as to who these advisers should be, except that they must be men (amadoda), and not youths (izinsiswe). It was agreed that some of the advisers should be the induna enkhulu, and the izinduna wesigodi (suitably represented by a deputy if necessary).

The courts must sit at the isigcawu (place of assembly) at the chief's umuzi. This is usually out of doors near the chief's homestead under some shady trees. The important components in the constitution of a 'court' are that the chief must be present, and that it should take place at the isigcawu.

Except for ingxogxo, to which I shall return below, all the cases (amacala) I witnessed were in the isigcawu. Courts, though they are open to all people of the chiefdom, are not very regularly attended. People would often excuse themselves by saying they were busy; that they had 'no cases', or that they were only home for iwekeni (the weekend). What they meant was that the time spent at home by the working man can be more enjoyably spent at the counter attractions to the court. The opportunities of dancing or eating meat and drinking beer are not lightly forsaken for the right to sit in judgement on one's peers. If by chance a man should pass while a court is in session he should kuhleka (literally, ingratiate), the chief. He does this by ignoring the proceedings and calling out the chief's isithakazelo, after which he will listen for a while before continuing.

The days on which courts sit affects the attendance of the men. Each chiefdom has a special court day (or days) which are drawn up by the induna enkulu. The setting aside of court days, and holding actual court sessions on those days, are two separate matters. It appears that the courts have no work to do for 80% of their time.

The working of the courts depends not only on the cases

which are before it, but on the availability of witnesses on any given day. Attendance at court may be enforced<sup>1]</sup>, but in practice people felt that non-attendance would be excused. People felt that cases which involved witnesses who could not appear, had no right to be heard until witnesses were home and could be properly summoned.

Over a period of almost a year I attended, in whole or in part, sixteen different court days over a number of chiefdoms. The attendance at court varied from as few as six people to as many as fifty-two. The average number was twenty-one people. Ninety per cent of these were men.

(12) Cases:

Before discussing the actual conduct of cases and judgements given at the chief's court, one informal aspect of law must be mentioned, which is a new departure in terms of the practice of Native Law. This involves the chief as an arbitrator, which one man described as being 'the same as law' (sefuna ngomthetho). This arbitration differs from the induna's. The chief is here exercising his prerogative to judge cases. He is, however, at the request of both parties, doing it in private. These cases are referred to as 'discussions' (ingxogxo).

In the case of a dispute which would not be settled by reference either to the umndeni or the induna wesigodi, the

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1] Mbata vs. Mbata, 1941: Native Appeal Court; N.& T. 61, quoted in Warner, op. cit.



parties could approach the chief to 'discuss the matter'. This discussion takes place in private between the contending parties and the chief. Having heard all the evidence, the chief makes a decision which is called a judgement (isigwebe), as though it had been made in his court. The reason for arranging things in this way is, (in the words of one chief), 'because people are afraid of the isigcawu.' "At the isigcawu everybody can stand up and say you of so and so why have you done this?" When discussions are held in private this public participation is eliminated.

People defend this procedure on the grounds that 'the chief should know the law'; therefore people ask him his opinion privately. The practice was not very widespread, and I was never able to gain access to a 'discussion' of this sort. I gather that ordinary court fees are paid, but that the case is not entered in the chief's case book. One chief who explained the procedure said that 'if people wish to keep things private' he had no objection to helping them 'discuss' matters. He did not think that more people would prefer discussions of this nature, and he claimed that they had not reduced the number of cases brought to his court.

This system is criticised by people, especially those who regularly attend the chief's court. They claim that private discussions mean that 'in future cases will not be settled properly, because we will not know how other cases were settled'. The public discussion and argument about cases is removed by resorting to these discussions.

The number of official cases recorded, (plus a few

culled from the imperfectly kept records of the chiefs), support the view that the people are not litigious. Seduction, desertion, failure to pay lobola, assault, arguments about ground, encroachment, but in one case failure to pay 'rent', straying cattle, non-support of the family - this is the general trend of cases.

There is a standard method of conducting the court which varies only in small detail from chief to chief. The general procedure is for the chief to be seated on a chair at a table in the shade at the isigcawu. The men foregather waiting for the chief, who, when he judges that enough people have come, or that it is time to begin the proceedings, will emerge from his homestead. Prior to taking cases he will have been talking to a few people who have come to call. These are generally his induna amacala and a few kinsmen. They will accompany him to the court. When he arrives at the isigcawu he is given the royal salute, all the men standing. The table is primarily to help the chief in 'writing down' his cases. Illiterate chiefs have secretaries (mabalan) who write for them. It is considered better if the chief 'writes his own book', and chiefs claim that it saves time at Ndwedwe because they can 'quickly read and explain' what they have written should any query arise.

The necessity to record cases slows down the procedure enormously, although very little detail is actually recorded <sup>1]</sup>. The procedure is for the chief to call on the induna amacala

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1] See Appendix C, pages 469 to 476.

to state what cases there are. The induna will then explain the cases briefly to all and call the witnesses. The plaintiff will put forward his case. He may be cross-examined, and if necessary, call witnesses. The defendant may then rebut and also call witnesses. Cross-examination usually begins with the chief. Thereafter all questions and comments are (in theory) in order. The courts are modelled with greater or lesser success on the Commissioner's Court.

The control which chiefs exercise on their courts varies with their experience in office, and also the experience they have of the outside world. Those who have experience in court work tend to make the most of this experience. The case of Makavithi<sup>1]</sup> was heard in the court of a regent who had spent a large part of his life working as a detective with the South African Police. He allows no nonsense to impede the majestic flow of his justice. Witnesses are asked to leave the court before the case begins (although they have been discussing the case regularly round the beer pots for weeks before). Not only does this, in his words prevent them from getting 'their stories from each other', but it also eliminated what he calls 'irrelevancies'. Thus, the customary procedure of examining the wider ramifications of a case by examining matters which detract from the case in hand receive short shrift in his court. He often interrupted witnesses in court by telling them to 'say it and sit down'. It was also in his court that the most extensive use was made of the code. He has used it to clinch finally and irrevocably an argument about customary law which

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1] See Appendix 'C', Case 1.

had arisen, the pronouncement of the code being accepted as correct.

The elimination of irrelevance is not a universal characteristic of tribal jurisprudence. A case<sup>1]</sup> was recorded which began as a straightforward question of assault, but developed into a matter of lobola payments, and ended by officially exposing the illegitimacy of one of the parties - which necessitated a great deal of social reorganisation among the parties concerned. The personality of the chief is also important. S. (Imangenduku), a man of commanding presence, had twenty years' experience of the chieftainship. He allowed people to 'take their own road'. He is, however, shrewd at judging the mood of the court, and often steps in at the crucial moment to sum up cases or to effect a settlement. The cases recorded by the chiefs<sup>2]</sup> cannot and do not convey the prolixity of much litigation, and very often ignore the enjoyment which some professionals get from the conduct of cases.

### (13) Court Fees, Fines and the Income of the Chief:

One of the main purposes of the courts is to provide for a court in which Native Law may be practised, and secondly, to provide a forum where people's disputes can be settled inexpensively. The initial expense of instituting an action and the expenses which may be incurred, plus the fines which may be levied, makes the average cost to the individual vary between R7-00 and R30-00. In terms of local incomes these figures are

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1] See Appendix 'C', Case 2.

2] For examples see Appendix 'C'.

high. It is only because of the elimination of lawyers' fees that these tribunals can be considered inexpensive.

Of the monies paid into court the chief is entitled to keep, on behalf of his chiefdom, the court fees and the fines which are levied. These are meant to be paid into the treasury (isikhwama) of the chiefdom. The exact income a chief derives from cases is difficult to gauge. The jurisdiction allowed him limits fines to a maximum of R20-00, and in no case that I witnessed was this ever exceeded. From the books of one chiefdom (which were kept with some regularity), I found that over a period of twenty-seven months fourteen cases had been recorded, and court fees and fines (excluding costs and damages) amounted to R54-65. This means a fee of R3-90 per case or R2-02 per month.

(14) The Efficacy of Chiefs' Courts:

Few cases are brought before the chief's court. People agreed that a recurring reason why few cases were taken was because 'it costs money' or 'it does not help to put someone in the isigcawu' or 'when the men are home and have time to waste they can talk about these things'. The basic reasons then are that it takes time and money, and that it is not clear that anybody gains. The money involved is not only the initial cost (which means the plaintiff must deposit R2-25; refunded if he wins his case), but he must pay the tribunal constable the standard fee<sup>1]</sup> (25 cents) for fetching witnesses and producing

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1] Opinion was unanimous that twenty-five cents (fakelweni) was the fee. Nevertheless fees in practice varied (see for example Case 1, Appendix 'C').

them in court. Once the preliminary steps have been taken, there are still many difficulties; marshalling the witnesses presents one of the bigger problems. If the cases are held during the week, many of the males cannot be at home to attend the court; if they are held on a Sunday many people resent having to spend their time waiting to give evidence. On one occasion a witness was specially brought from Durban, which added greatly to the expenses of the case.

Cases are partially heard, postponed until certain witnesses can be heard, and judgement is again postponed, so that often months intervene before a case is finally brought to judgement. This can be very confusing unless one is able to follow a case through each step to judgement.

People are not satisfied that judgements from the chief's court are properly executed. The regulations provide that execution of judgement shall be in accordance with the customs of the tribe. The people feel that should the judgement not be put into effect, the plaintiff should make an attempt to 'call' the chief's police to collect the damages. If this is unsuccessful, (the police are sometimes afraid to undertake the job and refuse to try), the only alternative is to inform the Commissioner, which means calling in the Administration. In many cases, because people fear it may cause 'trouble' this is not resorted to. Some people even advance this as a reason for not taking cases to the Chief's Court in the first place.

Instances of non-payment after a decision of the court

are a regular feature of complaints about chiefs' courts. Khumalo had brought his son-in-law to court for non-payment of lobola. The son-in-law had been fined, and ordered to pay the R50-00 he owed. The chief had collected the fine, but two years had elapsed and Khumalo had received nothing. He explained that 'a good judgement makes people happy', and that it was better for a chief to put off giving judgement until all parties saw the case 'with the same eyes'. Then people would accept the judgement, otherwise they would 'hear' but quickly 'forget'.

The chiefs see the problem in a slightly different light. They complain that people come to them with cases which the chief sees in many different aspects. He fears that unless he 'listens carefully and reads the Law', the Commissioner will 'write him down'<sup>1]</sup>. This is something he wants to avoid. The chief feels that not only must he see that 'people will accept' his judgement, but that he must keep the Commissioner in mind when making a judgement. Nevertheless the chief explained the difficulty of one case relating to the custody of a child by saying that the child should go to the father, but he would wait - later the child would go 'with sweetness' (ngemusa), while if he sent it now 'nobody would be happy'. For this reason it is better to wait until people 'want to sit and talk' which means that in effect matters can be arbitrated more satisfactorily than by being taken to the Chief's Court.

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1] It is a common threat in the reserves to 'write people down' (ukubala phansi). In this case the reference is obviously to a report which will affect the chief's annual stipend. The more general threat is that being written down involves a report to the Commissioner. It is a paradoxical salute to the Administration, insofar as they will use the information to maintain law and order, and at the same time it implies the breach of the norm that the Administration should be given as little information as possible.

(15) By-Passing the Chief's Court:

There are people who deliberately by-pass the chief's court, preferring to take any litigation they have directly to the Commissioner's Court. The Commissioner's Court is empowered to hear cases between 'native and native'; to apply Native Law; and also to provide a simple, formal and inexpensive method of procedure. For the people who care about these things the Commissioner's Court has one advantage over the Chief's Court - a client may be represented by a lawyer. Some informants averred that by engaging an attorney one could escape having to take a case to the chief's court. The Administration tends to disapprove of people who deliberately by-pass the chief's court with complaints that can very properly be heard there.

The Commissioner's Court is also preferred by people, who without necessarily engaging an attorney, feel that they would be out of place at the chief's court, or that specific problems which confront them can be more congenially discussed in the Commissioner's Court. People exempted from the application of Native Law, (who form an important group at Inanda) are also a group who by-pass the chief's court because he has no jurisdiction to try their cases.

There is the further limitation on the effectiveness of the chief's court. His court relates to civil matters which may arise between his followers. Though these may be important, (where for instance they hinge on matters of trespass or land encroachment), they are not so important in the everyday tasks and problems which his followers have to face. His court is not competent to deal with many of the pressing problems facing his



people. Matters affecting the Administration, or a man's relation with his employers or with fellow employees, are all beyond his jurisdiction.

(16) The Interpretation of the Code:

The people distinguish between the chief's court and the Commissioner's Court. The main distinction is the fact that the ibandla can take part in the chief's court, whereas at the Magistracy 'we may only sit'. The element of participation is recognised as a valid distinction. Another distinction made is that the Zulu umthethe (law) which is applied in the chief's court is different from that applied in the Commissioner's Court, despite the fact that both used the same 'book'. It is conceded that the Commissioner's Court also uses Zulu Law, but it is 'read with the head' by the Whites, whereas the chief and his advisers should read it 'with the heart'. In practice, however, chiefs are very concerned to give a judgement which will stand up to the scrutiny of the Commissioner.

The greatest factor in enforcing a common interpretation on different chiefs' courts is the possibility of an appeal to the Commissioner's Court. An appeal from the chief's court is usually undertaken for a number of motives. The most obvious is to reverse a judgement which the appellant feels is unjust. Other reasons are often revealed when discussing cases with people. The prestige (isthunzi) of a chief can often depend on favourable or unfavourable reactions to his judgement. Cases which come before the chief's court are heard and argued about. When judgement is handed down it is immediately appealed. Very often these cases which deal with normal disputes in the lives of

the people also conceal some of the basic tensions in the community. Thus a straightforward case of land allotment can in reality be a challenge to the chief. When cases of this nature are appealed, everybody waits to see whether the Commissioner supports the chief or not.

This was illustrated when a chief was asked to intervene when a building site was to be allocated. He did intervene and in the face of opposition from the umndeni approved the allocation. The case was appealed eventually to the Commissioner, and his judgement for the umndeni and against the chief was widely regarded as a blow to the stature of the chief<sup>1]</sup>.

Chiefs spend much time considering the possible effects of an appeal against their judgements, and the probable repercussions this might have on the community. Hence in their courts when the phrase 'according to Zulu Law' (ngumthetho isizulu) is used, they are careful to use a version of law which will accord closely with that used by the Commissioner. When a chief says he 'ties cases up carefully', he means that his judgement will accord with that of a Commissioner if the case should go to the latter on appeal. Hence the chiefs rely on the Code which gives them a common basis for making a decision. An example of the uses to which this can be put is given in the case of Makavithi<sup>2]</sup>, where all argument about traditional custom was stopped when the relevant section of the Code was read out.

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1] See Page 395.

2] See Case 1, Appendix 'C'.

Chiefs are aware that even a complete reliance on the Code, which for most of them is still a 'heavy book to read', does not solve all their problems. The local Commissioners must be studied 'because each one is different' and if possible some attempt is made to see 'how they tie up their own cases'. The preoccupation with administrative attitudes towards law is not limited to chiefs. Ordinary people explain that 'the book' knows more than 'even the old people'.

The paucity of cases, and the fact that few which do appear deal with a limited range of dispute, means that from the point of view of the Administration the Code is the generally accepted version of 'native law'.

(17) The Chief as Adviser:

The chief is someone to whom one may take complaints (isikhalo). Unlike the situation in the isigodi, however, the chief does not necessarily receive complaints which are too big for the umuzi or umndeni to handle. One complains to the chief about many things: bad weather, bad roads, trespass, straying cattle, non-payment of monies by wage earners. The complaints are as general and varied as those which come before the induna wesigodi. The chief is also the leader of the isifunda: he is 'our head'. The complaints which he receives are usually those which for various reasons do not go through the normal channels in the isigodi.

'Bhengu came to see his umzala, (i.e. classificatory mother's brother's son) the chief, to complain about not receiving his pension. He came straight to the

chief, not only because they were kin, but because he was feuding with his local induna because of an abortive business deal in which they had been involved.'

'Ngolelwa was continually making complaints to the chief because the latter was 'a neighbour', and it was easier to see him than it was to go over the hill to see his induna.'

'A more serious matter was the case of the wife of Simu Ngcobo who had been excluded from her husband's affections by his second wife, who was his favourite wife (intandikazi). This exclusion had had serious repercussions, because her husband no longer came to see her, and he also never sent her money. She was dependent on the earnings of her only son, and as he was at that moment saving money for the isibizo, she had very little money. The woman went to complain to the chief because she said her people (i.e. her brother's people) were so far away, and because she was not a member of her husband's umndeni they would only laugh at her. The chief listened to her troubles and said he would speak to Ngcobo.'

Much of the chief's time is spent in dealing with people and, as is the case with the induna, 'a good chief listens well but he does not talk much'. Essentially the problems which the chief is asked to discuss are similar to those brought to the induna, and this is a source of tension between

them. Also the problems seldom deal with the real problems confronting his people outside the chiefdom.

(18) Relationship Between the Induna and the Chief:

The daily activity in the reserve brings different people together for various reasons. The chief may attend a ceremony where land is being allocated; the induna may be attending to the many complaints he receives; a man may journey to the Magistracy to make enquiries about his application for permission to go and work. All these activities lead to interaction between chiefs, and other tribal officials; between tribesmen and between the Administration; the chiefs and the people.

The induna enkhulu, though he is chosen by the men, is usually a nominee of the chief. The chief and his chief induna are very close. The induna will accompany the chief on official visits, will advise and support him in his court, and will officially represent him if the chief cannot attend an official function. The people accept the close relationship between the two men. I have quoted the case of Masjana, who was ignored as chief induna, while Mbonwa had been appointed by the chief in his stead. Criticism of the action was not directed at the chief's change of incumbent, but at the fact that he had not asked the ibandla to confirm the appointment.

'Luka was unable to attend a special meeting at the Magistracy to discuss dips. He had his chief induna recalled from outside the district to represent him at the meeting. It was regarded as 'right' that the induna

enkhulu should be recalled to attend rather than that another man be sent.'

The induna enkhulu in his relationships with the chief shows the deference which is expected of the chief's followers. He crouches when he talks to the chief, and always rides slightly behind the chief when they are going somewhere. One chief who has a car uses his chief induna as chauffeur. They both sit in front. The deference in the case of the induna and others is most marked when the chief is being formally greeted. It relaxes considerably once these have been made. At beer drinks, weddings, and other ceremonies, the chief is treated as a member of the company, and he may be spoken to and joked with.

The relationship of the chief to the induna wesigodi is not always close. The induna is always respectful to the chief, and very often defers to him by carrying out any requests he may make. It is not, however, absolutely necessary for the induna to maintain friendly relations with the chief, although he must at all times be circumspect in his personal dealings. The power of the chief over the induna nowadays depends on the chief's personality - the power is no longer inherent in his office. There are cases where the chief has been unsuccessful in removing indunas he dislikes from office.

'The situation in Nobonga's isigodi is an example of how the strained relations between clan sections, and between the induna and the chief, can also cause strained relations with the isifunda. The feud between the chief and the isigodi had existed in the time of the present

chief's predecessor, but the feelings on both sides have hardened during the tenure of office of the present chief. People showed this in many ways - they opposed an attempt to supersede a former regent with the present one. The chief has publicly tried to embarrass the induna by ordering him to attend at the isigcawu. It extends to the ordinary quarrels of the people. One man hoped to force the issue of the allocation of some land by asking the aid of the chief before he had consulted his induna. The chief agreed to the allocation, but the people in the neighbourhood, backed by the induna, who had been spurned, appealed to the Commissioner. There was general satisfaction in the isigodi when the chief's decision was reversed.'

Despite the private opinions he may express about the chief, and the known enmity that exists between them, the induna of Nobonga is careful in his public behaviour towards the chief. He defers publicly to him on such occasions as the quarterly meetings of chiefs which they both attend.'

It is possible for a chief to order his relationship with the induna in such a way that he can show he has 'strength'. There are cases of a chief who has had several indunas removed since he took office. The chief's technique in showing strength is of some importance. In one particular instance he criticised the induna publicly for failure to inform him (the chief) of activities in his isigodi, and once stopped a case which the induna was presenting in court, on the grounds that it was not

being presented properly. By public criticism the chief was able to achieve in this case what a chief in a neighbouring isifunda had not been able to achieve.

An induna who is well liked in his isigedi, who attends beer drinks regularly, who listens to complaints sympathetically, and attempts to arbitrate disputes, will not only have continual contact with many people in his umuzi, but will also have their tacit support.

The clashes arising from the similar duties performed by chief and induna, especially where they arbitrate disputes, are usually resolved only by an appeal to the Commissioner. This happened in the case quoted above where the chief was asked (in preference to the induna) to approve of an allocation of land.

(19) The Appointment of Tribal Police:

Tribal constables and official witnesses are appointed by the chief subject to confirmation by the Commissioner. Tribal constables are entitled to a 'uniform' (which they must supply themselves), the distinctive feature of which is a thick military belt with a pair of handcuffs. Their duties are to carry out any orders which the chief may give them; these may be to carry messages to various people from the chief; to arrest someone accused of a misdemeanour; or to fetch and produce witnesses at the chief's court.

The work does not involve the office holder in permanent duties; many men who are still away working in town



are official constables. It is remunerative when jobs have to be done, and the uniform gives the bearer prestige. No one is ever created an official witness who has not first been a tribal constable, and all the present indunas have been both constables and official witnesses. It is the accepted method of achieving office. An official witness is appointed in terms of the Natal Code<sup>1]</sup>, and is known by his functional title upoyesa wabusa intombi (the policeman who asks the girl if she wishes to marry). His main function is to witness at a customary union, and to ask the girl publicly whether 'it is of her own free will and consent that she is about to enter into a customary union'<sup>2]</sup>. If the woman declines, he should forthwith prohibit any further proceedings. In practice, though he does ask the question, (see the case quoted of Makvithi Ngcobo), he does not intervene when a girl shows unwillingness to continue with the ceremony. The official witness must also within a month take the father and the bridegroom to the Magistracy where the union will be registered. The witness receives a fee for witnessing the marriage ceremony (usually R1-00); he is also entitled to ask fifteen head of cattle as lobola for his daughter. Though he is a poyesa yenkosi, he should not do the work of an ordinary tribal constable.

Though official appointments are subject to the approval of the Commissioner, chiefs are not precluded from creating constables who 'act' (bambisela), of whose existence the Commissioner is unaware, and who are therefore not officially recognised. No acting official witnesses are

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1] Section 62 - 70.

2] Section 62 - 70.

appointed because they would have to show their credentials when they register a customary union at the Magistracy.

Shrewd appointments can help the chief with his administration.

'Zangolizolo is known as an ambitious man; he is an amateur inyanga; and shows all the signs of ukuthwasa; and will probably become an isangoma. He has also been to school, and he can read and write. He had been secretary (mabalana) to his chief because the latter was illiterate, and had written up his cases for him. The chief died and his successor wished to dispense with the services of the mabalana. So as to obviate any ill-feeling he created him a tribal constable.'

Another case concerns a man who was created tribal constable to induce him to agree to an allocation of land.

#### (20) Sanctions:

The sanctions which a chief can invoke are not very extensive. The physical sanctions which the chief traditionally employed - death and banishment - are nowadays the prerogative of the Government. The sanctions which are open to the chief are those that the Administration has conferred through the jurisdiction of his courts. These should be exercised through his court.

There are only a few instances in which the chief has invoked sanctions and where these have had the desired effect.

'Vela Shangase is a clansman of the chief. He also lives fairly close to the chief's umuzi. Vela had been accused of interfering in the homestead of a neighbour who was away working. He had not only demanded some produce from the neighbouring fields because he said he was 'guarding' the homestead, but he had tried to seduce the wife. The chief ordered Vela to be careful, but the troubles continued. The chief refused to attend the ceremony at which land was allocated to Vela's son to build an umuzi. The absence of the chief was commented on, and Vela is reported to have left his neighbours in peace.'

'Luka is known to have ordered his tribal constables to give Madladha a good hiding, because the latter had given dagga to some local herd boys which made them sick, and their straying cattle had entered several unreaped fields, including the chief's. There was no official case made but everybody 'knew' why Madladha had to call in the inyanga to attend to his wounds.'

There is one other method which the chief may use to enforce a decision without calling in the aid of the Administration; this is to arrange a meeting of the tribal ibhandla. It is, however, not easy for a chief to call a meeting of the men, and even when these are gathered, there is no guarantee that their decisions will be accepted or implemented. The ibhandla of the tribe does not differ in composition from the chief's court, but is a specially called meeting. The only amabhandla I attended during my stay in the field were called

and addressed by Administration officials. Attendance at all three meetings (which had been well publicised) was higher than the normal attendance at the chief's court. One chief had been wanting to call a meeting to discuss a further tribal levy and some incidental matters, but in a period of four months the meeting had been postponed three times, and by the time I left the field had not taken place at all.

The power which a chief gets from the support of a meeting should not be underestimated. People recounted the case of M. who had had many complaints about cattle which strayed off the road onto his people's lands.

'As the road was a public thoroughfare the herding of cattle could not be controlled, but the chief feared the number of fights which developed over the straying cattle, and persuaded the men that they needed a (brush-wood) fence to keep cattle off the road. The fence was eventually built but only after the chief had heavily fined some local residents who had refused to help. Generally people supported the chief because he only did this 'for the people', and they had to do something for their own good.'

There are no supernatural sanctions which are open to the chief which are not open to any of his subjects who have the money and the desire to consult a diviner. I have commented on the decline in his ritual position and of communal activities.

(21) Tribal Officials and the People:

Access to the chief or induna is easy for any member of the tribe, or for any stranger. All people know their chief and induna, although the chief does not know all his followers. People respect (hlomipha) the chief because 'he is our head'. When they meet him at his umuzi they will crouch down and call his isithakazelo. If they meet him on the road, they will usually remove their headgear although they will not crouch. Some chiefs insist that they be shown deference all the time, others allow a great deal of informality. When talking to a chief the general rule is not to use his isithakazelo, but that of the royal family 'Ndaba Zitha'.

The chief is not considered to be beyond criticism. People exercise (privately) their right to discuss the chief. I have heard a chief referred to as a 'boy' (umfana) because he had allegedly insulted the woman's husband by making him look after horses when they were on a trip together. One induna who was having trouble with the chief commented on the chief's frequent absences in town by calling him a lover of prostitutes. More reasoned criticism of the chief will often be made in his presence or at his court. Most people, however, are very deferential when they meet the chief (whatever their private opinions may be).

(22) Teachers and Ministers:

The minister and the chief, when they meet, usually shake hands and greet each other by their respective titles. When they sit down they both sit on chairs. The same applies to teachers. Even people who are born locally (and are therefore

followers of the chief), do not crouch down. Teachers do, however, sit on the floor during a beer drink while the chief sits on a chair.

The chief does not usually have much contact with the minister, who as leader of a local congregation, cares for the spiritual needs of some of his people.

Teachers, though treated in the same way as ministers, are not as respected as a minister. Partly this is because after the school has closed in the afternoon the teacher plays a very small role in the life of the community. They visit only a small circle of people, usually their close neighbours, and take no part in such matters as cases at the chief's court. Many of the teachers are not local people, and many of them make no secret of their dislike of the reserves, which are sometimes contemptuously referred to as kwantutu (the land of smoke). Teachers are also subject to the control of the local school board, and may have to explain their behaviour to the local school committee. The disciplinary action which the committee takes is well-known in the community, and it does not enhance the standing of teachers. One teacher was cross-examined for over two hours by the school committee who had accused him of supplying beer to visiting teachers while a football match was in progress.

The subordination of teachers to the school boards and school committees (as part of a system of making education part of the 'Bantu community') has not brought the school master and minister or chief closer together. There is no tradition of giving advice or consultation between chiefs, teachers or ministers.

CHAPTER XIII"THINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THINGS OF  
THE CHIEF" IN NDWEDWE.

Chiefs and people are aware that they live under a government (uhulumeni) which controls their lives according to the 'laws of the White man'. They are aware that chiefs have to act within a certain context which is ordained by the government. This dichotomy enables the people to classify disputes and problems, so that some are regarded as being within the purview of the chief, and others are clearly problems of the Administration. Thus the distinction is made between things of the chief (izindaba zenkosi), and things of the government (izindaba zikahulumeni).

The broad division is between those disputes which occur at home and those which occur elsewhere. Land, its allocation, the uses to which it is put, and its re-allocation to others, are all matters which concern the home and the chief. Matters arising out of relations with one's neighbours, arguments, assaults, and accusations of witchcraft are also matters for the chief. Matters arising out of marriage (not its dissolution, but lobola negotiations), or even failure to get married, and seduction, are also matters for the chief. This does not mean that these things will be brought to the chief to settle, but the people recognise that the chief or induna is able to help because all difficult tasks 'need more than one eye to succeed' (iso lilidowa alipumeleli).

Matters of the government are eschewed by the chiefs. They will have nothing to do with them. The people add that it is no use consulting the chief on these things because 'they do not understand'. In matters like these the troubles of his heart are known only to the man himself (enhlupeko kwenhliziyo ngumzangedwa). The things that a man has to bear alone are the paying of taxes and school fees, the obtaining of a reference book, permission to go out and seek work. Work and taxes are of great importance to him, and dominate the lives of all men in the district.

It is not only things which are away from home that are things of the government. Sometimes these things also happen right outside one's door: roads which cut across people's land are recognised as being the government's; protests about them are made straight to the Administration. Such things as licences for stores, or the constant orders from the Administration to eradicate noxious weeds, or to prevent soil erosion, are equally things which come from the Government.

Thus the people regard the chief as someone to whom they may turn if they cannot settle disputes themselves. He is someone who (because he represents the Administration) can render services which people need; he approves the allocation of land; and he may use his good offices in approving applications which are made to the Administration. A chief should look after his people. This is regarded not only as looking into and helping to settle the disputes they may have with each other, it also implies that he should as far as possible protect them from outside interference. This has important repercussions on



the office of the chief, and it is strictly interpreted by people in the district to mean that a chief should look after his people in such a way that 'it is better to keep the eye of the government in Ndwedwe where it belongs', than to provoke the Administration into making an enquiry into a local dispute. The chief's task is seen as one which will make his chiefdom as inconspicuous as possible so as to keep administrative interference at a minimum.

A person who unnecessarily solicits the aid of the Administration is referred to as ifithefethe (a bearer of trouble). The criticism extends to chiefs, indunas and commoners, and refers specially to interference in those things which the people feel the 'men can deal with' (okwahlul'amadoda Kuyabikwa).

There is a lively public opinion within the chiefdom and between chiefdoms. Thus all people are still subject to pressure within the community, and transgressions are often publicly commented on and can lead to considerable tension. Beer drinks are an important form of communal activity at Ndwedwe. It is here that local opinion is formed in informal discussion. The talk at a beer drink is neither private nor secret, and any chief or induna who wishes to know what his people are saying need only find out what they are discussing at beer drinks. Most beer drinks take place at the week-end as men make their way home on a Saturday afternoon. The groups round the beer pots continually break up and re-form as men come and go. As the afternoon wears on gossip from one beer drink is carried on to the next. Conversation is not limited to the

activities of the people and the chief at home. It can touch on people's activities in town and their versions of events there. People may expatiate on their preference for White liquor, their distrust of dips, their choice for the horse races, or (as I heard on one occasion) a woman might express herself strongly against the ukungena custom.

There were several protests made to the Commissioner during 1959. These took the form of deputations of women who called to see him to complain about the hunger they were suffering due to the difficulties their husbands and sons had in getting past the influx control restrictions. These matters were discussed for months at beer drinks before they crystallised into action.

(1) The Chief, The Administration and The People.

The Chief's relationship with the Administration is fraught with uncertainty, 'the affairs of the government are not always easy to tell', izindaba zikahulumeni azibanjelwa umlando (i.e. are not always easy to understand and interpret). The uncertainty stems not only from the Chief, who does not fully understand what the Administration wants or intends, but also from the fact that he has to represent the wishes of the Administration to the people, on the one hand, and the people to the Administration on the other, and that his people may often make their wishes plain to the chief but leave him with the problem of conveying them to the Administration without appearing to be obdurate. The path of duty for a chief lies between his protection of the people against the 'eye' of the

government, and the need to 'co-operate' with the officials of the Administration by whom he is paid. The Administration requires certain duties of a chief. In return for these they recognise him and also pay him a stipend. Recognition by the Administration is of cardinal importance to the chief at Ndwedwe. No chief exercises any function unless he has first been recognised by the Administration. This is amply illustrated by the history of succession to the Chieftainship. There are still deposed chiefs living in their former chiefdoms, who exercise no functions at all because the Administration has withdrawn its recognition. The stipend the Administration pays is the only official remuneration which any of the tribal officials receive. The stipend is not large but it is a regular source of income. It falls away when recognition is withdrawn. There is thus also an economic element in the power which recognition confers on the chief.

A recognised chief is expected to be responsible for the peaceful and orderly administration of the tribe. This includes exercising control over the people living in his chiefdom. A large district such as Ndwedwe with a population of over 35,000 people is controlled by three White police and 12 non-White police. This seems to indicate that the chiefs are able to perform this controlling function. The Administration expects them to maintain peace and order by prevention of unrest, helping with the detection of crime, reporting unlawful meetings, and the presence of unauthorised strangers. The chiefs keep the peace with the aid of their tribal constables. This applies only to the settling of internal disputes and problems. They are unable to control their followers when feelings run high.

'The troubles which at one time marked the relations between the Osiyana and the Shangase could not be settled by arbitration and led to a fight<sup>1]</sup>. Several imizi were burnt and police reinforcements had to be brought from Durban to put an end to the troubles. The quarrel had been brewing up for several years, but neither chief had intervened to arbitrate in the matter. They contended that until trouble has really broken out the chiefs are powerless to do anything. They also maintained that there was no place except the Magistracy where the two chiefs could meet to discuss these matters. The result was that things were left to develop into a fight.'

'The lack of action was seen during the protest of the women in 1959. One chief forbade his wives to take part in the march to interview the Commissioner, but the women from a nearby umuzi joined and were not stopped. The women's deputations were orderly and nothing untoward happened, but the general excitement during the ensuing days also led to attacks on the dipping tanks. These were blocked by having sticks and stones thrown into them. This deliberate defiance of authority was resolutely opposed only when the Administration issued firm warnings to the chiefs that it was an offence to prevent cattle from being dipped, and that the Administration regarded

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1] The trouble was about the boundary between the two people. It was not well marked and the Shangase had for many years slowly been pushing into Osiyana territory, building a few new imizi and ploughing a few new fields each time. Inevitably at a wedding one day the argument could no longer be contained and a fight broke out.

the chief and the men responsible for clearing the dips. Acting on this clear directive from the Administration, chiefs began to take action.'

The chief is expected to carry out the judicial functions which the Administration has empowered him to perform. I have discussed the performance of these. The Administration also expects the chief to allot in a just manner land for arable and residential purposes. In land allocation, as in much else, the clear directive from the Administration does not obtain in practice. Land is quite densely occupied, and the result is that with African attitudes on land tenure there is very little land which the chief can allocate. He is more often only asked to approve an allocation made by others.

The chief is expected to carry out legal orders from the Commissioner. These may often involve him in unpleasant situations. The Administration, through its agricultural services, is concerned with the protection of flora, the need to eradicate noxious weeds, the need for soil conservation, ploughing on the contour, and the need for rotating crops in the fields. In matters like these the chief is expected to tell the people to do things which they consider are things 'of the government'. It involves the chief, from the people's point of view, directly in the affairs of the government. As the people do not consider that these are proper things for the chief to do, they often resent his attempts to carry out these orders. I have already quoted a case where the induna refused to help the chief on the grounds that the induna had no right to tell a man what to do with his ground. It was on a similar occasion that

a chief half-heartedly repeated a warning from the Commissioner about ploughing on the contour. One man remarked that 'listening to the chief is like listening to the government. He talks to them so much that their words come out'.

The chief is expected to help with the collection of statistics and registration of births and deaths. This is usually done through the local (African) dipping tanks assistant. He is supposed to help with the collection of taxes, which has long been a point of friction between the chief and the people, and the chief and the Administration. He is not supposed to tolerate the distilling of liquor or the brewing of excess beer. He is also supposed to see that no unlawful strangers are present in his area, that they do not hold unlawful meetings, and that he does not belong to or become a member of 'any association whose objects are deemed by the Minister to be subversive of constituted government or good order'<sup>1]</sup>.

The Administration expects that the chief should be entitled to enjoy the privilege conferred on him under indigenous custom, and he is entitled to receive the loyalty and respect and obedience of members of his tribe. The Administration uses the traditional institution of the chieftainship for administrative ends. This is seen not only in the type of duty enumerated above, but in the stress which is placed on each chief's activity when his annual bonus is assessed. The chief, though recruited by standards which have no relevance to his administrative duties, is judged as though he were an

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1] Rodgers, op. cit., p.13.

administrative official.

The assessment of his bonus includes such information as the size (i.e. number of tax-payers in the chiefdom), and the general jurisdiction which has been vested in him; the number of successful appeals noted against his judgements; the extent to which his followers have paid their poll tax and local taxes and also their tribal levies; the regularity with which he has attended at the Commissioner's office; the control he exercises over his tribe; (which is measured by the number of complaints people have made against their chief); the number of land disputes he has satisfactorily settled; the extent to which he and his followers have co-operated with the agricultural officers; and the extent to which his people have adopted agricultural improvements; and finally whether he obeys instructions promptly or not.

(2) The People and the Administration:

Chiefs and people often find laws and administrative decrees inexplicable. Individual actions by the Administration can be seen, but they appear to be unrelated, and give rise to comments which infer that dealing with the Administration is repeating oneself for ever without getting anywhere. 'It is like plaiting a grass rope that never gets finished'. The chiefs particularly have developed a response to administrative action which they themselves describe as 'sitting and watching'. They 'sit and watch the government to see what it will do next'. Thus they appear to heed the Administration, but at the same time they do as little to disturb their relationships with the people as possible.

The effect of this attitude is illustrated by the reaction of the chief to the activities of the women in 1959. Once the women had decided to go and see the Commissioner, very few difficulties were made by the chiefs. The Administration eventually made its attitude clear; the deputations were to cease, and the dips which had been filled in were to be cleared. Once the Administration had spoken, the chiefs had a clear directive, although many of them had difficulty in seeing that the dips were cleared.

The chief regards the orders of the Administration as difficult to understand and not easy to interpret. The failure to understand is partly deliberate (to avoid too close an identification with the Administration), and partly due to lack of communication between the chief and the Administration (in large measure between the people and the Administration also).

During the nineteen-thirties several attempts were made to interest chiefs and people in elected local councils modelled on the Transkeian system. Visits to the Bunga were organised. Talks were given, and literature was distributed to those who were interested. The reaction to this propaganda was non-committal; chiefs withdrew by saying they would 'discuss it with their people'. They reported back that their people did not like the idea. In the nineteen-fifties similar attempts were made to introduce Bantu Authorities<sup>1]</sup>. The reaction to

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1] These differed from the Councils in so far as the former were to have been elective on a district basis, whereas the latter are based on the recognition of the tribal structure, and are an attempt to recreate the Government by Chief-in-Council with a properly constituted tribal treasury. The various tribal authorities are to be linked to regional authorities, and eventually to territorial authorities.



the idea of Bantu Authorities has been guarded. The chiefs again consulted their people, who once more did not 'understand'. The questions which were asked, and the assurances which were sought were not directly linked to the new policy, but were designed to link it to many disliked aspects of administrative policy<sup>1]</sup>. The Administration tries to deal with questions as they arise, either at quarterly meetings, or at educational schools such as Vuma Farm. The purpose of the questions is, however, not to obtain factual answers but to test the administrative intentions - because people hope that if they wait long enough the 'government may forget'.

There are limited opportunities for the chiefs (and people) to meet the administrative officials to resolve queries, real or imaginary, surrounding such new policy. It is the Commissioner's function to listen to the grievances of people who come into his office, and to give prompt attention to those who do come. The relationship of the Commissioner in his judicial capacity and administrative capacity with a recognised chief has been outlined. The Commissioner is a 'great chief' (nkosi amakhosi), he has 'power' (amandla), and he is respected.

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1] Chiefs complain that their tribal revenue is so small that if it were to be paid to a treasury there would be 'nothing at all'. The people also wanted direct assurances that there would be no further attempts to implement betterment schemes, because this was going to mean the government would tell people where to plough, plant and live. I was constantly asked when I was in the field whether the new urban township being built on the southern side of the district was not meant to house the people who were going to be taken off the land. The people maintained it was a 'trap' to say it was being built to house the slum dwellers at Cato Manor.

His dealings with any person in the district must reflect his position irrespective of his personality. Commissioners are remembered in the district in much the same way as a man remembers his own lineage. They are identified by a nickname which distinguishes each one as an individual. Nevertheless, their relations with the people are entirely formal. Everyone, even children, stand as a mark of respect when the Commissioner speaks to them. One never speaks first, and one must wait to be dismissed when the interview is over. The Commissioner and the chief never meet outside the role assigned by society to each, in which the Commissioner representing the dominant White group is superior to the chief representing the subordinate Black group. Chiefs frequently meet the Commissioner in his office. There is a special day which is set aside for them to call on him. He also summons them to his office when there is something he has to inform them of, or when there are specific orders he has to give them.

There are also statutory occasions on which the Commissioner meets chiefs, headmen and people. The most regular of these are the quarterly meetings. The Administration values these meetings because they are 'a medium for ventilating complaints and explaining laws and matters of administrative and political importance to the people,<sup>1]</sup>. The meetings are always held at the Magistracy presided over by the Commissioner. Chiefs are informed by letter of the date of a meeting, and are expected to attend in person or to send an accredited deputy. The meeting is open to all who wish to attend. When one chief

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz (1957): op. cit., p.30.

complained that so many people came that 'chiefs could not always speak' and suggested that the meetings should be restricted to chiefs and indunas, he was brusquely told by the Magistrate that this was impossible because the meeting was open to all. Average attendance was about 85 people over a period of about 15 months.

At the meeting the Commissioner is treated with the deference which is his due. He remains seated, addressing the meeting either directly or through an interpreter. When the people wish to talk they stand. A chief has precedence over an induna who in turn has precedence over a commoner. I never saw a minister or school teacher attend. Speakers always use the vernacular<sup>1]</sup> when they speak, no matter what their educational attainments are.

The minutes of meetings held over the last thirty years show that there is not much variety in the subjects discussed. The Administration continually prods people about taxes, vaccination, eradicating noxious weeds, using dips, preserving trees, not building on grazing land, warning against 'agitators from the towns', urging the acceptance of local councils, Bantu Authorities, Bantu education.

The complaints of the people have been about hardships imposed by the tax, shortage of land, difficulties with dips.

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1] Educated Africans prefer, especially when technical matters are being discussed to speak to each other in English. This is never done when the Commissioner is present, but Chiefs often speak to the clerks in English.

Chiefs usually react to specific requests by stating that they must consult 'their people'. Very few of the basic problems which worry people are ever discussed at quarterly meetings. Influx control was once discussed during 1959. These matters are usually left for the individual and the Administration.

There are few other occasions on which the chiefs and officials from the Magistracy meet. Special meetings are occasionally arranged in a chieftom, and the chief must attend these. These are often addressed by the agricultural staff who explain the need for better farming, or by the Commissioner who helps to settle the problem of succession when the people have to choose a new chief.

There are also social occasions, such as the annual show which is opened by a different chief each year. For chiefs there are also the courses of instruction which are organised by the Department at Vuma Farm. These formal occasions on which the chief meets the Commissioner do not always give the chief the opportunity to try to 'understand' the mind of the Administration. The relationship between the chief and the Commissioner is too formal for either to discuss their problems very freely.

### (3) The Clerks:

It is in this situation that the African clerk in the Administration is of importance to the chief. The position of the clerk has been described; his relationship with the chief is similar to that of the school teacher and minister. The clerk is not part of the tribal system in that he does not (like

the minister and the school teacher) live in the chief's isifunda. He greets the chief by shaking hands; he does not use the chief's isithakazelo, but greets him by his isibongo. Chiefs, when they come to the Magistracy, invariably visit the senior clerk. They enter his office and he greets them, indicating chairs on which they may sit down and he continues working. Both the clerk and the chief remain seated while they discuss any pressing problems. The clerk is often called on to explain what the latest directives and orders from the Administration may mean. The chief is usually in the position of a suppliant, and the clerk is the person with the information the chief requires. There is, however, a fairly free exchange of views between them. The clerks speak in either Zulu or English, depending on what language the chief finds easiest to use.

(4) 'Sitting and Watching':

Chiefs who sit and watch are not absolved from criticism. The Administration finds them lacking in 'initiative' and the people complain that they do not say 'no' (to the Commissioner). The chiefs, far from admitting that a state of inertia exists, point out that they are living in the time of the 'White man's laws' and that the Administration watches them, and if it does not like them it will suspend or depose them. They continually talk of being deported if they do not do what the government wishes<sup>1]</sup>.

The reluctance with which chiefs undertake the newer

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1] Very few people have been forcibly moved out of the district, and only one recorded case exists where an ex-regent was deported.

administrative burdens allotted to them is due to the fear of criticism from the people, who feel that they are not being protected from the 'eye' of the government. The Administration has increased the demands made on the chief, but has made no attempt to recruit candidates more suitable to undertake administrative tasks. The chief has not been given increased responsibility which would give him the power to act in those important fields which the people regard as the things of the government.

(5) Relations between Chiefdoms:

There are fourteen chiefdoms in the district, and two hundred and eighty seven in the province of Natal as a whole. They are all Zulu speaking, and trace their descent back to a representative Nguni pattern. They are all subject to the control of the Administration which treats all chiefdoms similarly. Despite this, there is little or no contact between the chiefs in their various chiefdoms.

The chiefdoms in Ndwedwe, for instance, differ very little from one another in their internal structure, with the exception of the small Kholwa community<sup>1]</sup>. They are all administered in a similar way, and have similar problems. There is another unifying factor at Ndwedwe: the great majority of the tribes in the district have segmented from the original Ngcobo clan. Though there is a possibility that most chiefdoms could be placed in a formal hierarchy in the clan cluster, in practice this is never done. The relationship with other

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1] This will be dealt with below.

descendants of Vunzitha is acknowledged, but there are no institutionalised functions at which these descendants meet. Until approximately two generations ago there were no affinal ties between the chiefdoms because they were clan brothers. This position has now been changed, and there are some chiefs who are linked affinally. This has not, however, created anything more than ties of affinal kinship between one chief and another. The chiefs did not themselves find this position extraordinary. Most of them knew their fellow chiefs by sight, but they felt there was no need to meet them. This could easily be done under the conditions created by the Magistracy. They felt that unless they all met under the chairmanship of the Commissioner, all kinds of trouble might arise.

'During World War II when Mshiyeni, the regent, was recruiting for the Native Military Corps he addressed a meeting at Ndwedwe at which all the chiefs were present. He was staying with a chief, a relative by marriage, who, as a mark of respect, had invited all the local chiefs to his umuzi where oxen would be killed to celebrate the event. The chiefs came to the meeting at the Magistracy, but many did not go to the feast, which was prepared for the regent. The regent did not react to the fact that many chiefs did not come, and ordered some beasts slaughtered and some kept (as was his due). His host, however, reported to the Commissioner what had happened, and the matter was referred to the Chief Native Commissioner. The chiefs who had not attended were severely reprimanded by the Chief Native Commissioner.

The chiefs were bewildered, and complained that they had wanted to go home, that they had performed their correct function by attending the meeting called by the Commissioner, and that they considered that only those that wished should go on to the feast in Mshiyeni's honour'.

Relations with the chiefs outside the district are more tenuous, because there the unifying factor of the Magistracy is not present.

The relationship of the Natal chiefs to the Paramount Chief is far from clear. The people in the district talk of themselves as 'we, the Zulu', but cannot explain their relationship to the Paramount Chief. Since 1842 when the division between Natal south of the Tsekela and Zululand north of the Tsekela was emphasised, very little attention was paid to the concept of the 'Zulu nation'. It is only in very recent years that attempts are being made, through the creation of a Zulu Territorial Authority, and the appointment of a Commissioner-General at Nongoma, to re-interest the people in the concept of the Zulu nation. Not very much of this is understood in a place like Ndwedwe. The people explain that the ingwenyama (i.e. the Paramount) is King (Inkosi) of the people in Zululand, but having left him in the old days (endlulo), they no longer know him. The chiefs themselves showed some awareness of the new moves, having had them explained at Vuma Farm. The problem from the chiefs' point of view is overlaid by their attitudes towards the acceptance of Bantu Authorities. Until that matter has been settled, they will show no precise attitude toward



being integrated into a new Zulu nation.

The chief has no institutional links with any organisations beyond his isifunda. He is not allowed to belong to political organisations of which the Administration does not approve. Such organisations do not exist in the district, and play very little part in the lives of the people. In the few cases where the chief is a member of a church he may attend special functions outside the district. The Church of the Nazarene has two big festivals, one in January in the Ndwedwe district at the mountain known as Nklagakaze, and the other at the Church itself, Ekuphakameni. Many chiefs do attend these festivals, and though they are given status within the church, they attend as church members and not as chiefs.

The potential conflict between the chief in the role of protector of his people, and his role as minor administrative agent, is becoming increasingly difficult to play. He is a point of contact between two systems which show a great deal of hostility, and under prevailing economic conditions it is the chieftainship which has not always adapted successfully. Despite this the chief still, in a situation such as Ndwedwe, remains a symbol round which an equilibrium can form. No alternate leadership has developed in the rural areas, and the importance of receiving ground, which is legitimised by the chief, suggests a reason for the continued existence of the chieftainship.

CHAPTER XIVNEWER PATTERNS OF AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY  
ORGANISATION AT INANDA AND SHONGWENI.

The two previous chapters described the remnants of the traditional chieftainship at Ndwedwe. Changes in the pattern of leadership and community organisation are evident in the Inanda (Christian) Mission area, and among the plot holders at Shongweni.

A. Inanda Mission Reserve:

There was at one stage a Kholwa chiefdom at Inanda, but this has now been disestablished. This means that the Kholwa chieftainship no longer exists as a separate institution. This is in itself significant. It was done because the Administration, in pursuing its policy of Bantu Authorities, wants to have larger administrative units (chiefdoms) with which to deal. From the Administration's point of view the disestablishment was to strengthen and not to weaken the chieftainship. The disestablishment on the other hand did not cause a complete hiatus in the political structure of the Kholwa community. It did, however, mark the end of the experiment to graft a new set of values on to indigenous institutions.

The Inanda Mission Reserve covers a wide area (11,500 acres), but does not present a complete unit such as the isifunda. This is because the jurisdiction of the Kholwa chief never extended across the whole Mission Reserve. There are not any clearly defined divisions within the Mission Reserve which

correspond to the isigodi. This is because the Kholwa community always remained small, and was presumed to fall directly under the missionary and the Kholwa chief.

(1) The Mission Reserve Advisory Board:

The formal institutions of the Mission Reserve also lack the umndeni kinship group, (described for Ndwedwe), and the local landholding group (isakhi). There is, however, the Mission Reserve Advisory Board (Nkomidhi) which is a development unique to the Mission Reserve. This Advisory Board was established in 1919<sup>1]</sup> to assist in the administration of the Reserve. The Board at Inanda consists of five wards, each of which is a part of the Mission Reserve. These wards are the only official sub-divisions in the Reserve. The Board is empowered to advise 'upon all applications by Natives for permission to reside and on questions relating to the setting apart of grazing'; to assist 'the agricultural officer in all matters pertaining to land, residential or garden disputes, and in the eradication of noxious weeds; in the maintenance of soil reclamation works; in active measures to preserve flora and fauna'; finally to perform 'any other duty which the Native Commissioner may, subject to the approval of the Chief Native Commissioner, assign to it'<sup>2]</sup>.

The Board members see their work mainly in terms of 'putting people on land', and looking into matters when people

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1] Government Notice No. 621 of 1919.

2] Letter of Appointment.

'argue about boundaries'. No one suggested that members should arbitrate in disputes between neighbours. Therefore the role played by the induna at Ndwedwe is far more complex than the role of a member of the Board.

Membership of the Board is by election. Each ward, which consists of the taxpayers in that ward, elects a representative. This election is subject to the approval of the Chief Bantu Commissioner, who in approving of the candidate makes the actual appointment. The elections rarely provoke much public attention and some members are returned for many years. The main interest at elections does not touch on the Board's activities during the year. Personalities play an important part, and candidates are usually people who are trying to get back on the Board after having been unseated. Voting figures in each ward are extremely low, so that it is not very difficult to unseat a candidate. One ward at Inanda has been represented by the same two men, who held office alternately, for the last fifteen years. The average tenure at Inanda is three years<sup>1]</sup>. Of the members who served during 1960, three were shopkeepers, one worked in town and I was not able to meet the fifth.

Meetings of the Advisory Board were held quarterly, and I only attended one meeting, where no specific business (such as the allocation of land) was on the agenda. This meeting

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1] The average tenure of office at Thafamasi is higher, being approximately four years. The only election I ever managed to attend was at Thafamasi; the number of taxpayers present was (for four wards) 3; 5; 9; and 10.

discussed a case of a man who was ploughing a field which was not allocated to him - the Board had already asked him to stop, but he persisted. They condemned his lack of co-operation and agreed that they should take action. They were, however, undecided as to what action they should take and eventually with relief accepted the Chairman's advice that they refer the matter to the Commissioner at Ndwedwe.

(2) The Kholwa Chief at Inanda:

The Chieftainship at Inanda covered a very short span. Klaas Goba was the man originally designated as induna, who was to assist the missionary (Lindley and later Pixley) with his duties. It is not clear from either the records or from the people themselves whether Goba ever became chief, or whether he retired 'before the time of the chiefs'. Goba's successor was Mqambeni, who was related to the Qadi chief. Mqambeni was succeeded in 1932 by Zamuguvela (Wilson), who held office till 1956, after which, in accordance with government policy, he became messenger of the Reserve. The last incumbent is descended from people who have been in the district for three generations. Philip, his eponym, and two brothers came to live with Chief Mqawe because he was married to their sister. When they grew up, they were given ground of their own and built their own homesteads. Philip was one of Lindley's early converts.

The succession to the chieftainship (while it lasted) at Inanda shows no particular pattern, and the two chiefs who were elected during that time had no direct connection with each other. The last incumbent had been active as a young man in matters affecting the 'lives of the people' and this was

generally accepted as the reason for his being made chief in 1932. He had certain claims to be regarded as a descendant of the first Kholwa settlers, but there were other claims which were just as strong in this respect. In terms of active church membership and education, there were several members of the community who were closer to the church and better educated (at that time the local community could boast one Doctor of Divinity and a Medical man).

The Kholwa chief and his people realise that, though he had the designation chief, there was some difference between him and the hereditary chief. Though he might take pride in being the 'spokesman' of the men, he could not claim the 'blood' of a chief. Kholwa chiefs did not rank high in the hierarchy of chiefs at Ndwedwe (insofar as there is a recognised hierarchy). The people who believed in the chief as leader all admitted that the hereditary chiefs, because of their blood, were different from the Kholwa chiefs.

The Kholwa chief used to hold a court for the members of the community. Not all people used this court, a number of people refusing to attend preferring to take their disputes to the Qadi chief across the river. The importance of exemption from the practice of Native Law also meant that some leading members of the community took their troubles straight to the Commissioner. There do not appear to have been any cases. The chief explained that he would sometimes just give advice' - in other words serve as an arbitrator, in much the same way as the induna does at Ndwedwe.

The holders of Letters of Exemption weakened the following of the Kholwa chief considerably. They were often the foremost members of the Kholwa community but they ignored the chief. Exemption in Natal originally meant that the holder of 'Letters of Exemption' was exempted from the operation of Native Law. Such exempted persons were placed in the same position as White people, except where legislation specifically provided for and defined 'a Native',<sup>1]</sup>. The original legislation was repealed in 1927<sup>2]</sup>, and the new statute (as amended) makes provision for the State President to grant to 'any Native a Letter of Exemption from Native Law and Custom'<sup>3]</sup>. The most important part of the exemption that can be granted is from the provision of the Natal Code<sup>4]</sup>.

The Kholwa chief's duties could never have been very clearly defined, and although the loss of status in being reduced to a messenger of the Reserve has meant that the incumbent can no longer deal with cases, he claims that his work 'to look after the people' still remains the same. That the chief acted as an adviser rather than as a judge is clear from the attitudes which people still hold about the chieftainship. The more sophisticated people (often referred to as okuphucukayo (the smoothed ones)), say that 'we want leaders (abahol) and not people like chiefs

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1] The original exemptions were issued under Ordinance No. 26 of 1865. The definition of Native in the Native Lands Act No. 27 of 1913 applies equally to an exempted as well as to an unexempted African.

2] Act No. 38 of 1927, Section 31.

3] Section 17, Act No. 67 of 1952.

4] Regulations, Government Notice No. 1233 of 1936.

who carry round 'traditional power' (uzipatha amandla). They have no objection to 'discussing a problem' with the chief, but they would never 'put in a case' (faka isikundla). At the other end of the scale people who recognised the Qadi chief would also say that 'the land comes from the Nkomidi and one might talk to the chief about it'. The ex-chief claimed that even today when the Mission Reserve has binca living there 'they sometimes come and talk about their problems'. There were, however, no specific problems which had to be brought to the chief, and there are other people to whom the community could turn to discuss their problems. These are the Qadi chief or the local minister. There are also the social activities of the people which in a different way give as much scope for gossip and criticism as one found at Ndwedwe.

(3) The Kholwa at Inanda and the Administration:

The Kholwa at Inanda are aware, and they are constantly being reminded by traditionalists in the reserves, that despite their education and their Christianity the Administration does not distinguish between them and the non-Kholwa. The Kholwa claim that their education has enabled them to achieve a standard of living higher than that in the reserves; 'we Kholwa must have big houses so that we can show the binca we are right'. The Kholwa at Lindleyville who are professional people enjoy the status which their work gives them, and it is better paid than that of the ordinary Africans.

Because most leading Kholwa men at Inanda have Letters of Exemption, they claimed that they were not affected by the disestablishment of the Kholwa tribe. They are, nevertheless,



apprehensive about the reasons given for this disestablishment, viz., that the Administration wished to create bigger units preparatory to instituting Bantu Authorities. The fear is expressed that exempted people may be 'put under the chiefs', and this might mean the cancellation of their Letters of Exemption. Despite this fear, the local people did nothing to prevent the disestablishment of the tribe, partly because of their claim that it did not affect them, and also because of a feeling that it is impossible to stop the Administration once it is intent on action.

There is general disapproval of chiefs who wield traditional power (uzipatha amandla). This does not mean an unqualified acceptance of non-traditional leaders (abaholi), although there are some active people who admire various political people. The older generation resent not only the power of the chiefs but also the newer leaders. They and the teachers, who are forbidden to take part in politics, profess not to be interested<sup>1]</sup>. Nevertheless, they are aware of the difference between the traditional power of the chiefs and the non-traditional aspects of the newer 'leaders'. Two leaders of the International Commercial Union who no longer wield any power, and have not very much influence, have retired to Inanda where they now live. It is not possible to discuss the political activities of African political organisations at Inanda; the two major ones were banned during my stay there.

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1] My stay at Inanda coinciding with the emergency of 1960 meant that I had perforce to ignore this aspect of the community.

(4) Lindleyville and Ndwedwe:

We have seen that such formal institutions as the umndeni and isigodi have no existence at Inanda. This is due to the pressures which Christian teaching forced on the people and also to their different historical development.

The situation as described for Lindleyville does not necessarily obtain throughout the whole Mission Reserve. The centre of the Kholwa community is, however, distinguished from the rest of the Mission Reserve, not by reference to the chief or to the tribe, but to its geographic position, which is a matter of historical development.

The Mission Reserve at Thafamasi differs in some respects from Lindleyville. It was created at the same time as Inanda, and was also an American Board Mission. It is, however, relatively inaccessible and there never was, except in the very early days, a resident White missionary. The result is that the Thafamasi Kholwa community was always very small. The original settlers are also still very closely linked to the dominant Shangase tribe. At Thafamasi the umndeni still actively involves its kinsmen, both Kholwa and Binca. The position at Inanda was influenced not only because of the presence of the White missionaries but also because Inanda, being so much closer to Durban, attracted more converts and became a relatively bigger community. The disestablishment of the Kholwa tribe removed the chief who was nominally leader of the community, but this has made no apparent difference to the community. There are no clear indications that, except in certain limited spheres such as the church or in social activities, any definite leadership exists.

B. Shongweni:

(1) The Kholwa Group at Shongweni:

The Shongweni area is officially united into a community under the Kholwa chief. Though the people recognise certain areas such as Georgedale, Hammarsdale and Zig-Zag Farm, these do not correspond to the isigodi at Ndwedwe. The word isifunda was never used to describe the Shongweni area. The people merely use a descriptive term like indawoyenkosi (the chief's place).

The chief is aided by counsellors (they are not called indunas). These men are appointed by the chief to assist and advise him. Counsellors do not serve in a distinctive area, and are not expected to perform any specific duties other than attending the chief's court when it sits. The Commissioner is officially notified of their names, but they are not given a stipend. The counsellors are not elected by the men as the indunas are at Ndwedwe. Appointments usually last a long time; one man has served under three different chiefs. When the present chief was officially notified of his accession to the office, the Commissioner publicly announced that the ex-regent would become a counsellor, and that all the present counsellors were to be retained in office. This was done without consulting the chief.

There is no official elected body at Shongweni to correspond with the Mission Reserve Advisory Board (nkomidhi) at Inanda, and the main function of the latter - the allocation of ground - falls away completely. There is, however, an

organisation of landholders which is a voluntary association and is active in the district.

(2) The Kholwa Chief at Shongweni:

The chief at Shongweni presides over the people who live in the Kholwa community. Like the chiefs at Ndwedwe, he is recognised by the Administration, and is vested with limited civil and criminal jurisdiction. Like the ex-chiefs at Inanda, the local chief is chosen (ukuketha) by the men.

The chieftainship at Shongweni is derived from the original Kholwa group who came to settle. The chief has always been chosen from among their number, and they are the only group who really pay allegiance to him at his court. Most of the settlers who have come in recent years (this includes both landlords and tenants) have not 'turned their doors' towards the chief of the area in which they live. Consequently, they do not recognise him as chief. Of the total population at Shongweni only a few people are members of the Kholwa tribe, and these people who owe allegiance to the chief do not form a compact community such as the Kholwa at Lindleyville. They are scattered across the whole Shongweni area. There is thus nothing, either derived from a common history, or in the method of allocating land, which gives unity to the Shongweni Kholwa.

The function of the Kholwa chief is limited to conducting his court. It is still conducted, as at Ndwedwe, near the chief's homestead. The number of cases is small and the attendance is low. In a period of three months cases were held on only three days, and there was an average of nine people.

The chief may act as adviser to any people needing advice, but he is never approached by the tenants who do not recognise him, and is often by-passed by people who go to such bodies as the Landholders Association when they want technical advice about their land. The chief has no jurisdiction in the allocation, sale, or re-sale of land.

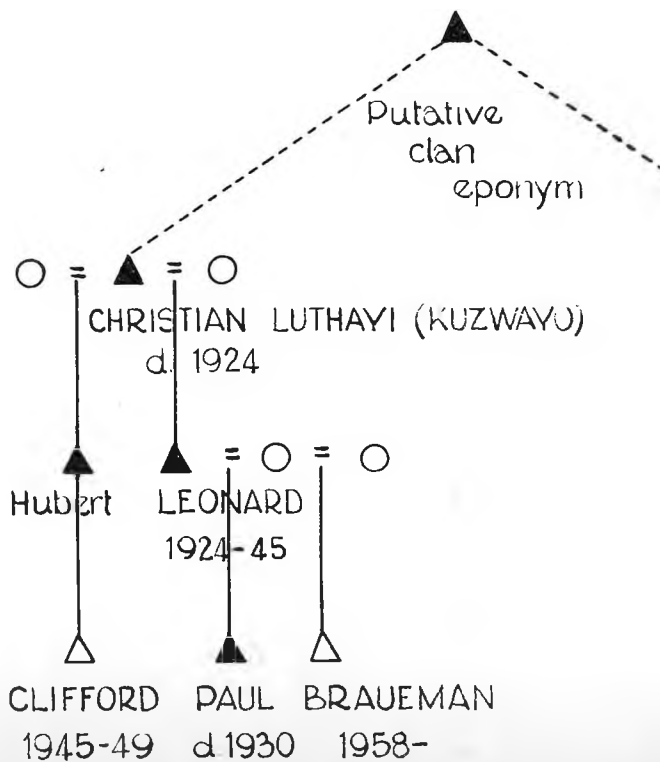
Except for a short interregnum between 1950-58 the chieftainship has always been in the hands of the Luthayi family. (See Diagram No. 8). During the interregnum, the chieftainship passed to the Mcoyi who belong to the same clan group - the Qwabe - as the Luthayis.

Succession did not follow automatically from father to son. The eldest son of Christian, the first chief, was excluded from the chieftainship on the grounds that he had grown up with his malumes and was not 'known to the men'. Christian was succeeded by Leonard, the eldest son of his second marriage. When he was killed in a level crossing accident his principal heir (also by his second wife) was a minor. The men chose Clifford, a grandson of the original chief (he was in fact the son of the man who had been passed over). Clifford held office between 1945-49, but was by all accounts far more interested in the Zionist Church which he had had to leave to become chief. This led to trouble, not from the Methodist Church authorities<sup>1]</sup>, but with the counsellors whom he had inherited from his predecessor. One of these counsellors, Nkehle, had ambitions of his own. Nkehle's criticism of Clifford's lack of interest in

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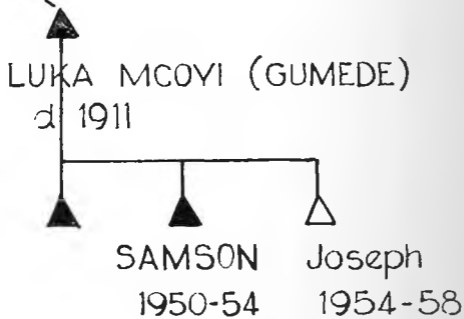
1] This is the official church at Shongweni.

# Succession to the Chieftainship in a KHOLWA



# DIAGRAM 8

community.



the chieftainship culminated in the latter's leaving the district for good and renouncing the chieftainship. Nkehle, claiming that the Luthayis were no longer 'good' chiefs, called for the election of a 'new' chief. There were no candidates from the Luthayis except Leonard's son who was still a minor. Nkehle was an avowed candidate, but a rival candidate was found who, though not a Luthayi, was at least of the Qwade clan. This was Mcoyi, who was not descended from one of the original settlers, but had lived in the area since he was a youth. He was eventually elected. During his tenure of office the threat from the local Health Board (poynandi) led to the reformation of the Landholders' Association. The chief was at first closely associated with the opposition to the entry of the Health Board into the area, which was considered by the articulate landholders to be a real threat to their land (see below). He died while negotiations were still in progress with the Provincial Authorities.

No immediate move was made to elect a new chief and the Administration, as a temporary measure, appointed the brother of the late chief as 'acting chief'. The regent's period of office was dominated by the attempts to find some way out of the impasse created by the local Health Board. He played no active part in these negotiations but when there was a split in the Landholders' Association it was clear that the regent through his son was supporting the section which was prepared to co-operate with the Administration. This section was led nominally by Nkehle. Opposition to the regent crystallised round his tacit support of the Nkehle group. The opposition was made explicit by the Landholders' Association which sent individual members to plead with the Administration to regularise the position of the chief



by holding new elections. It was never openly avowed, but the Landholders' Association was centering its opposition to the regent by supporting the son of Leonard who was by this time an adult and also about to be married. The election was held and the chieftainship reverted to Braveman, son of Leonard. On the surface this seemed to be a return to agnatic descent and clan loyalty, but in fact it masked the struggle which the Landholders' Association was conducting not only within the area but also outside.

(3) Association of Landholders at Shongweni:

The Landholders are a group of people with a common interest. Being a landholder does not mean that one is necessarily a member of the local Kholwa tribe. Though they are aware of their independence of the local Kholwa tribe, landholders are worried about their land rights, and to protect these they form associations of landholders. The immediate threats are the limited land available for freehold tenure, and the threat of purchase of the land by such bodies as the South African Native Trust, or the Industrial Development Corporation<sup>1]</sup>.

The landlords at Shongweni have felt the need to protect themselves on three separate occasions: once in 1954 to prevent the local Health Board from instituting a local authority over which property owners thought they would have too

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1] The South African Native Trust has already bought an area of 366 acres in Shongweni which is administered as trust land. The Industrial Development Corporation in recent years has considered the erection of industries at Hammarsdale and by 1965 the first 'border industries' in this area were in production.

little control; on another occasion the Administration was considering taking steps to implement legislation which would declare all tenants as squatters and make the landlords subject to a cumulative tax of R2.00 per tenant per annum<sup>1]</sup>. The third threat concerned the Industrial Development Corporation which has been interested in the area for a number of years. Because of the available transport and the proximity of labour, it is felt to be a 'border area'. The people fear that development as such will mean that not only will factories be erected but that the South African Native Trust will buy up ground to create 'rural villages' in which to house the workers<sup>2]</sup>.

The most active of the landholders' organisations claims a paid up membership of 400. It was founded in 1948, when it wanted to 'explain the rights of landholders and to help them with the problems of surveying and registration'. It appears to have become moribund, but was faced with a serious challenge in 1954 which brought in some new leaders, and also forced it to make proposals about the organisation of local authorities.

The Association holds two official meetings a year, and at one (its Annual General Meeting) it elects an executive committee of nine members. The office holders include teachers (one who has had twenty-six years' teaching experience), and three business men, (one of whom though untrained has extensive local experience). Three members of the executive were ordinary

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1] Act No. 18 of 1936, Chapter 4.

2] See Provincial Gazette 14/7/1961.

labourers who qualified for membership because they were landholders. The executive has representatives from all over the area, although it does not have a system of ward organisation. Only two of the nine members were descendants of original settlers. Tenants, though not specifically barred from becoming members, have in practice never joined the Association.

In keeping with its earlier plans, the Association has not only represented the interests of its members, but it has tried to improve conditions within the area. It had plans drawn up and subscribed some funds to the digging of a well in one section of Zig-Zag Farm. This was not only to provide a continuous water supply for domestic purposes, but also to help two farmers (members who wished to irrigate their land). The Provincial Authorities claimed in 1954 that conditions in the area were such that it would be necessary to institute some form of local control to safeguard the health of what was becoming a heavily populated area. To further this end they intended instituting a local Health Board<sup>1]</sup>, which led to protests by the local people.

The opposition of the Association to the Health Board was based primarily on the proposition that it was the 'wrong kind of government for the Bantu'. The Landholders privately

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1] The intentions of the Administration were published in the Provincial Gazette 15/7/54. The relevant ordinance is No. 20/41. Local Health Committees may be elective or appointed. They function as local government in rural areas. They have control of matters pertaining to roads, health and siting of houses. They are entitled to levy rates on property.

feared that once 'they move in, our title deeds will be worthless'<sup>1]</sup>. At the time of the original announcement there was only one association in the district. The first meeting of protest against the introduction of the Board was held in the chief's house. It soon became clear to the members of the association that opposition to the Board would not be sufficient, because they saw that protests by Indian market gardeners in the neighbouring Cliffdale area were of no avail. An alternative course of action had to be proposed. One of the active members of the association found what appeared to be the answer to the dilemma. The association drew up a petition to the Governor-General requesting that a local council as envisaged in the Native Administration Act<sup>2]</sup>, be instituted in the area. The petition, in making this appeal, asked for no greater powers than the local councils in the Ciskei and Transkei were enjoying at that time<sup>3]</sup>. It also stressed that the area, being exclusively African, was well suited to having the 'opportunity to develop on its own lines'. Once the petition had been drawn up and forwarded to the Governor-General, a deputation of residents from Shongweni interviewed the Administrator of Natal. The deputation<sup>4]</sup> stressed the fact that what they had asked for was well within the limits of Government policy because the Act made special provision for this very situation. The deputation

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1] The people felt strongly that the rates which would be levied would be spent by a body over which they had no real control.

2] Section 30, Act 38/27.

3] This was the right to have elected members with an appointed chairman, also the right to levy rates, and see that proper standards of health and hygiene were maintained in the area.

4] Sometime during October 1954.

submitted that under the circumstances it would be better to postpone the entry of the local Health Authorities until the Governor-General had made a final decision about the Association's request - to this the Administrator agreed. The local Health Board was not introduced into the area.

The association finally heard in 1955 that their petition had not been acceded to. The first reason was that those few councils constituted under the Act had not been successful, and that the Administration preferred the institution of Bantu Authorities to an elected local council. The association, after deliberation, decided to ask the Department to reconsider its refusal in the light of the unique conditions obtaining in the area: firstly this was a Kholwa community, and it would therefore be difficult to institute Bantu Authorities; and secondly many people held the ground under freehold tenure and this would further complicate the matter. The association was unfortunately not able to maintain its unity, and differences of opinion were becoming clear. Nkehle, who had wanted to become chief, said in so many words that unless the people met the government half-way they would be working for a 'dead horse' (ihashi elifileyo). He felt that there was no point in continuing to ask for something the government was unwilling to grant. The difference of opinion eventually became an open rift and a rival association was formed. It centred around the Nkehles, but included a number of the original settlers who were not very well represented on the executive of the original association. Much was made of the fact that the association's executive consisted of men who worked in town and who, as a result, found it easier to hold

meetings in town instead of at Shongweni. A private criticism by the Nkehle group was that the leaders of the association were 'week-end agitators' an accusation which was made publicly by an Administration official.

The regent at the time, though he never joined the Nkehle group, gave them his tacit support. In these circumstances, the decision of the association to support the candidacy of the son of a former chief meant not only that it was a move against the regent, but it was an attempt to win over those members of the original settlers who felt that they played no great role in the affairs of the association.

To the extent that their candidate was successful, the association can be said to have succeeded in its objective. Its relationship with the chief, however, is not very close. He is not a member of the association. His election had to be confirmed by the Administration, which does not recognise the association. This means that the pressures which the association can bring to bear on the chief must be exercised in such a way as not to invite the interference of the Administration. The association is not able to put the problems of its members directly to the Administration. They have to be channelled through the chief, or through individuals who may be able to interview the Commissioner from time to time.

(4) The Role of the Church at Shongweni:

Shongweni was originally a mission station. The first Methodist missionary built a church, which is still standing at Georedale. There is a permanent African minister attached to

the church, and the congregation elects deacons who, with the minister, are responsible for the upkeep of the church. There is also an organisation to which the women in the congregation belong.

Around Georgedale there are still many Methodists, and scattered throughout the whole area one finds members of the congregation. The church had no exact records of the size of its congregation, but I estimated that 40% of the people in the area were church members. The congregation includes most of the old settlers (including the present chief).

Other churches have been established in the district; of the orthodox churches only one, the Roman Catholic, has a church building. This is a mission with a resident (White) priest, and with a primary and a high school attached to it. Several churches (e.g. the Presbyterian, and the Bantu Congregational Church) have small congregations looked after by lay preachers, but have no buildings.

One separatist church, the Church of the Caananites, under the late Paul Nzuzza established itself at Peacevale (which forms part of the area). It is, however, geographically cut off from the area by the railway, and the church members live as a distinct community, having no contact with the people of Shongweni.

There are many small sects which flourish among the tenants, and which believe in the laying on of hands and speaking in tongues. They have regular services on Sunday, and in addition

during the week women (who are the majority in all congregations) often gather to sing hymns and bear witness. There are also prayers and often dancing.

There is a greater diversity of churches at Shongweni than at Inanda. The scattering of the first settlers in the area has also meant that the compact community which lives round the church at Inanda is missing. The various churches still look after the spiritual needs of their members, but no church, not even the old established Methodist Church, provides a focus for the whole community.

(5) Shongweni as a Community:

Shongweni is not a community in the sense that there is a common loyalty binding all the people who live there together. It is very difficult for any leadership to develop in these circumstances. There are groups who have common interests, but these are limited to the members of that group, and do not cover the whole community.

The original settlers form part of the Kholwa tribe, but this is only a small and scattered portion of the people living there. Land owners form a group who have a common interest in the land they own. Tenants and landlords form another group, although the basis of their relationship is purely commercial.

The churches are too small and uninfluential to create a community interest, and thus cannot provide any leadership; nor can the chief, for though recognised by the government



and given jurisdiction to try cases, he finds his jurisdiction limited by the fact that many people living in the area do not recognise him.

The landholders' associations have provided leadership. They represent the landholders but the leaders are recruited on a non-traditional basis (i.e. they do not hold office in a 'traditional structure', but are successful in their own right as business men or teachers), and they achieve office by election and do not inherit it. These associations give the clearest expression of independent leadership observed in any of the three communities.

CHAPTER XVCONCLUSION

This report has dealt with rural African communities living in a heavily populated region adjoining a heavily industrialised part of Natal. These communities depend for their livelihood on the labour which they export to the towns and factories, and this is their main contribution to the industrialisation of the catchment areas.

The three rural areas are still occupied exclusively by Africans. This is made possible by the policy of segregating Africans on land held in trust for them, and this has meant that some of the traditional patterns of the social structure and social organisation have been retained. The economic basis of the traditional society, the practice of shifting cultivation, the family herds and the subsistence from one year to the next on the produce from the family fields, has given way to the exigencies of the money economy. People earn their food by leaving their homes in the country and seeking work in towns.

In the towns the African labourer forms part of a complex of groups which make up South African society. The relationship between the groups is affected by segregation and lack of contact. The groups are distinguished by differences of colour, race, language, beliefs, knowledge, traditions and material possessions. There is a dominant cleavage between the

superordinate White group, and the subordinate non-White group of which the African forms part.

At home the dominant cleavage is felt through administrative action, although it is not as marked as it is in town. To the extent that access to reserves is limited to Africans, the reserve communities are atypical of the society as a whole. The only non-Africans who enter the reserves have specific roles: they may be ministers attending their flocks; salesmen attending to business; or the Commissioner carrying out an inspection. The contact between these people and the local communities is limited and transient. Within these local communities I was asked to report on the broad outline of the social structure, and changes and modifications in kinship and family patterns; also on the regrouping of social loyalties in non-traditional frames of reference; on rights and the use made of natural resources, such as land, and also to make an analytic study of leadership.

Our point of reference for the broad outline of the social structure was inevitably the traditional structure. This was largely because although there have been marked changes in this structure, in such communities as Shongweni and Inanda, neither of these two communities have developed a completely new pattern of institutions. The changes which are apparent in all three communities have been affected by the coming of White administration, involvement in the White economy, and by the advent of the missions and schools. Special land provisions for the latter was made by the creation of mission reserves.

The earliest White settlement (1824) came soon after Shaka's becoming monarch of the Zulus (1816). The growing White settlement, and the creation of Natal south of the Tsekela as opposed to Zululand north of it, made involvement in the White economy inevitable. The Voortrekkers attempted to implement an administrative policy from 1838 onwards, but it was only with the arrival of Shepstone as Diplomatic Agent to the Natives in 1845, that a real start was made. The colonists demanded a supply of labour, and also taxes with which to finance the administration deemed necessary to 'control' the Africans.

The tribes have never lived as independent people in the Valley of a Thousand Hills. Shortly after their arrival they were made subject to the Colonial Government. It is significant that in relating the story of their coming into the district, they have incorporated the role played by the Whites. They have always lived under a supreme chief and a magistrate.

Certain aspects of the administrative policy are important. Its methods have been described as being rooted in the nineteenth century, and reflect particularly the expansion of imperialism in which the colonisation of Natal was only one aspect. In this regard Shepstone was 'only an administrator and the framing of policy was beyond his control'. Whatever aims and ideals he had, he probably found it proper to modify or abandon them according to the needs of the moment, since he had to concern himself primarily with day to day problems. Two of these problems were the recognition of indigenous institutions, and also of Native Law. The policy of recognising traditional

institutions was a 'modification' accepted by Shepstone. He admitted that when he assumed control only half the people living in Natal were living under their hereditary chiefs, and the status of these chiefs was doubtful. Shepstone therefore used his own conception of the Zulu kingship to create the supreme chief, and at the same time reverted to the pre-Shakan system of semi-independent small tribes dependent on his administration. Money to develop the reserves on which these tribes lived was not forthcoming, and agriculture, except for a few isolated experiments, never developed beyond the subsistence level. More important, the limits which the Administration placed on available ground meant that in time it became more difficult for people to move away, and the process of segmentation was more effectively stopped than it ever had been in Zululand.

The results of the administrative policy can still be seen today. All three communities are officially recognised as tribal units. The disestablishment of the Inanda Kholwa has meant, from the Administration's point of view, that the people have transferred to another chief. Scant recognition has been paid to other traditional institutions, but in the reserves the isigodi and the umndeni have survived. The isigodi does not exist as such in the Kholwa communities, except that at Inanda there is a statutory Board whose functions are not entirely similar to those of the isigodi. The extended kinship groups, the imindeni, have not survived in all three communities. This is due partly to the patterns of residential settlement, and partly to the teachings of the missionaries.

The homestead has, however, survived in all three communities, although it has had to adapt itself to changed circumstances. In its size, composition, and dependence on outside sources for its income, it differs very little from one community to another. Within the context of the homestead much of the social life of the community takes place. It remains a centre of activity in a way in which the larger of the traditional institutions, the isifunda and the isigodi, do not.

The difference between one homestead and another, in the way they are built, and in the manner in which they are furnished, are reflections of a man's income as well as of his upbringing and background. A well-built home is no longer the mark of the Kholwa although (as is the case with education) most of the Kholwa people are better educated and have better houses.

The homestead is the focus for most of the activities in each community, and the relationships which make up the system of kinship are concentrated there. For the Christian this is often because he is taught to believe in the fellowship of his 'brothers in the church' rather than in a wider range of kin. Even for the traditionalist, economic difficulties tend to limit the scope of his activities to the immediate circle. The contraction of kinship obligations now tends to imply that a man is concerned only with his immediate agnates and affines; his father mother, father's brother and mother's brother, brother and sister and his wife and parents-in-law. The importance of all remaining relatives of both categories has tended to recede into the background, unless through territorial proximity and individual

preference they come to be closely associated with a man.

The old comprehensive kinship system functioned in a context of an adequate subsistence economy, which provided the basis for extensive reciprocal giving and general assistance, both of which were a social function of the system. In former times the people's way of life, with its seasonal fluctuations, was such as to make them highly dependent on one another, and therefore this social function was necessary. At the same time, during the plentiful season at least, there was a sufficient surplus over domestic requirements to allow assistance to others in need. The lower population density probably made this far more feasible than it would be today.

Nowadays, the population density is high. The people are by their own standards and by accepted dietary standards, deficient in food and milk. The surplus for kin or even travellers is lacking. The old courtesies are disappearing. There are also individualistic tendencies underlying the values in the new money economy. These tendencies are applicable to all sections in the community - the educated and the illiterate, the convert and the traditionalist, the affluent and the indigent.

The kinship system tends to cluster round the close family group, and this itself is growing smaller. The less essential kinship ramifications are falling away, because the obligations are too hard to meet from an economic standpoint. The people, especially the older ones, mourn the passing of the system, and then they talk of things in the old days - they stress that they find some of the harsh realities and

responsibilities of today unpalatable. They all realise, however, that as they now live in the times of the 'White man's laws' former habits are not likely to return. There are few people, either converts or pagans, who feel that the system which obtains today is a satisfactory substitute for the earlier way of life, or that it is a substitute at all. They merely accept the situation. The young man who leaves school to go and work, knows that he must begin saving from the outset if he ever wants to fulfil his isibizo and lobola obligations, and wishes to set up his own house. Retirement to his umuzi does not always mean that a father will be looked after in his old age.

A corporate group of agnatic kin, such as the umndeni, only continue to exist where it has a definite function to perform, e.g. the allocation of land. In the two Kholwa communities this function devolves on other groups, and the umndeni has not survived as it has at Ndwedwe. It is the combination of freehold tenure and the initial pattern of settlement which has not led to the development of a local residential group with the same landholding function as in the reserve. The wider range of kinship activities which still cause the umndeni to act as a corporate group in the reserve are expected to devolve on the family (homestead). This is in keeping with Christian teaching, because matters like marriage have become more individualised. It is also, however, due to the fact that the immediate kin group is not a residential unit, and is more difficult to gather together.

Leadership, particularly in the reserve, still devolves nominally on the traditional institutions officially recognised



by the Administration: the chiefdom (isifunda), and the chief (nkosi). The office of chief has, however, undergone changes and is faced with new challenges introduced by contact with the White Administration. None of these challenges and changes have yet removed the chief from his nominal position as leader of his people, but they have considerably weakened his authority and introduced role conflict. In the newer duties and responsibilities which are necessitated by the workings of the bureaucratic system the chief plays a passive role; he is someone who is by-passed in important 'matters of the government'.

Traditionally the chief was the distributor of land, and it was important to pay allegiance if one wished to receive land. Today, though it is still necessary to be a member of the isifunda people are no longer as dependent on the chief, whose role in land allocation is to give official sanction to allocations which are in effect made by the local group.

The other traditional role of the chief as judge and arbiter has been weakened. Not only does the Administration lay down what Native Law he may apply, but also what punishments he may invoke. His position has also been weakened by the position of the induna wesigodi, who is the chosen leader of his own isigodi. These men are dependent for their positions on the men of the isigodi, and are in closer contact with the people of their isigodi than the chief is. An induna can often command greater loyalty than a chief. The main difficulty facing the chief is that he has become an administrative servant, recognised and paid by the Administration which expects him to carry out its demands and commands. At the same time he is supposed

to be the protector of his people (especially against undue administrative interference). In the latter role, however, the severe limitations on his power are widely recognised.

Although the Administration officially recognises the chief as a leader, it has made him a public servant without the effective sanctions he could employ in the traditional society. The chief is recognised for his structural position in the tribe, and he is not responsible for the executive functions which are performed mainly by officials of the Administration.

The chief is still recruited in a manner approximating to the traditional way of choosing a chief, but the choice is effectively controlled. The position of the chief invites comparison with other Africans employed by the Department, notably the clerk. The clerk is a member of the Administrative Staff; he is recruited solely on grounds of his education and his ability to deal with the clerical work inherent in bureaucratic administration. The clerks perform the administrative work which most chiefs do not understand, or which they dislike. The clerk is, because of his position in the Administration, able to explain to the chief those aspects of administrative policy which the chief cannot understand or feels need clarification. To this extent the chief often meets the clerk as a suppliant. He is treated at best as an equal, and at worst as a person seeking guidance. The position of the clerk in the Administration is not as high or as secure as the relations with the chief would have one believe. The clerk, because of the dominant cleavage in the society, occupies all the lowest posts in the Administration, and the fact that he belongs to the African group affects his

relationships with the other (White) officials. Despite this, the clerk is better equipped and more favourably placed to deal with these matters than the chief.

Although his structural position in the tribe is unaltered, the chief's leadership has not been buttressed by the incipient elites in the community. He finds it hard to compete with the men of education or of wealth, and they do not recognise his leadership in the fields where they have succeeded. They very rarely give active support to the chief even in those fields which are supposed to be 'of the chief'. Many of his people are members of churches which admit him as an ordinary member, but not as a leader. Most of his people, too, have jobs which necessitate their absence from home for most of their life. This means that the greater part of their life is beyond his control. He has no power to help them find or keep jobs, which are vital to their existence.

The division between things of the home and things of the government are, as the name implies, those things which locally in the reserve are still controlled by the chief or the induna, and those things which are considered beyond their control. The home, relations between the husband and wife, between one homestead and another, problems of land allocation and land boundaries, payments of lobola, the grazing of cattle, the settling of disputes either through the induna or the chief, are all things of the home. Such matters as taxes, roads, clinics, schools, dips, relations with the police, relations with the Administration, permission to get employment, are all clearly matters for the government.

Home is important to a man because it implies his land, his family, and the interests built up around them. They, however, depend on his ability to earn money to pay taxes, to buy food, to pay for medical expenses. There are thus large areas of pressing problems in a man's life, in which he does not ask for support from his local leaders, because both he and the leaders agree that in these matters the leaders have no 'strength'. The potentially conflicting role of the chief, representing the Administration to his people and his people to the Administration, is becoming increasingly difficult to play. The chief is the point of contact between two systems which are becoming increasingly hostile. It is in the Kholwa communities that the process, which is not so clear in the reserves, becomes more explicit. Here we have two communities who had Kholwa chiefs. In the one the chieftainship has been abolished, and in the other it exists under exiguous conditions. At Inanda the abolition of the chieftainship has meant that the few cases which did come before the chief's court should now go to the neighbouring hereditary chief. We say, however, that in fact the leading members of the community were all well educated and also exempted. They felt no direct implication in the disestablishment, and whatever fears they had were for their status as exempted men, and not for themselves as followers of the chiefs. Thus, when the Administration removed the 'leader' the processes of social life continued as though he had not been removed - not because people still approached him as a leader who was no longer recognised, but because people had not approached him when he was officially leader of the community.

In Shongweni, the community of Kholwa does not show

even the cohesion that it does at Inanda. Here, though the chief is still alive and in power, he is denied or ignored by most of the people who live within his chiefdom. He does not serve even in the important unifying capacity that the chief in the reserve does - that of being guarantor for the land. Despite the decline in traditional institutions, there has been no clear growth in the patterns of alternative framework for expressing social loyalty. There is one very valid reason for this, namely that rural communities export not only labour but also brains. Men who have achieved distinctions in education (or even in business) invariably achieve that distinction outside the rural context. Even in cases at Shongweni and Inanda where they continue to live in the area, their interests are concentrated in the towns.

Two medical men <sup>1]</sup> from the district have been trained: one is practising elsewhere, and one lives in the district but practises in town. Not only the professions are affected; there are a few more active people (notably some engaged in politics) who are very rarely seen in the district because their work, and their interests lie elsewhere. This deprives the local communities of much of the benefit they would derive from being able to use their talented sons. The fact that teachers derogatively refer to the reserves as the 'land of smoke' is an admission that they find little there that is congenial. The slow pace of life offers few opportunities.

It is possible that for this reason very few voluntary

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1] Of whom I have personal knowledge.

organisations have developed in the rural areas. There are churches which appeal only to a limited circle of people, and are not always sure of their following. There are also organisations which serve a limited economic following: stokfels, co-operatives and bus companies. The interest in these is limited to the participants.

Thus the people continue to live in the homestead, going away to work while their wives and children remain behind to till the soil. The people have not developed into a peasant farming community, despite the hopes that this would happen. It was felt as early as 1848 that the introduction of freehold tenure would be a means of 'civilising the population'<sup>1]</sup>. Fifty years later in an annual report a magistrate could still claim that 'defining the boundaries of the various tribes will cause them to make the best use of the land and compel them to become an agricultural people, which is one of the first steps towards civilisation'<sup>2]</sup>. The setting aside of land as locations did not achieve this objective, neither did the creation of the Natal Native Trust in 1864. The Trust did not turn the Africans into a contented peasantry, as both Shepstone and the Colonial Office had hoped<sup>3]</sup>. It secured title for the people to their land, but it did not advance their economic condition. They remained on the land exactly as they had always been.

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1] Report 1846-48 Commission.

2] Resident Magistrate, Inanda Annual Report, 1894/5, Colony of Natal.

3] Cf. Wolfson, op. cit., p.54.

The communal tenure under which land has been held has resulted in allocations being made which are increasingly regarded by the occupiers as personal property. These holdings are not very large, and the area cultivated is small. What in fact has happened to the areas where freehold tenure was made available? Did these areas develop into agricultural communities? In the case of Shongweni the answer is no. In a few other areas attempts have been made with some success to grow sugar cane, for instance at Umzinto, Umlazi, Stanger and Mtunzini<sup>1]</sup>. There are, however, several factors which must be considered in relation to the granting of freehold land before one can consider the reasons for the apparent failure of the experiment at Shongweni. When the land was originally allocated to the Africans as reserves, all the relevant officials were emphatic that the setting aside of land did not preclude Africans from purchasing land elsewhere if they chose<sup>2]</sup>. This right existed until it was taken away by the Union Parliament in 1913<sup>3]</sup>. All officials were agreed that individual tenure was an excellent way of 'civilising' the population, and despite the difficulties in acquiring such land, it was acquired in several places in Natal.

Since 1913 it was impossible for Africans to purchase

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1] Brookes and Hurwitz (1957); op. cit., p.109.

2] Cf. H. Cloete (recorder), evidence proceedings of the Commission appointed to enquire into the Past and Present State of the Kaffirs in the District of Natal 1852-3, 3.11.52: T. Shepstone (Diplomatic Agent) evidence answer to Question 334: B. Pine (Lt. Governor); see L. Young, op. cit., p.282; see also Lt. Governor Scott to Secretary of State. Shepstone was, however, against the granting of freehold in the reserves - Shepstone to Moodie 26.4.1846 (S.N.A. 1.8.1).

3] Act No. 27 of 1913.

land under freehold in areas where freehold did not exist at that date. This has only been slightly relaxed with the passing of legislation in 1936<sup>1]</sup>, creating 'released areas'. It is in this context that a freehold area such as Shongweni must be seen. A freehold area is an exception, and in addition Shongweni is in a strategic position on the railway line close to a major urban centre. This has increased the population pressure there as it has on all peri-urban areas. This in turn has meant that people have tended to try to find room to settle rather than to develop agriculturally. People prefer migratory labour to intensive farming<sup>2]</sup>. Freehold tenure has not had the effect of creating a settled rural community, because individually-owned land has remained a very scarce commodity among Africans, and the population pressure has proved too great for the active pursuit of agriculture<sup>3]</sup>.

Freehold tenure at Shongweni has, however, produced a type of voluntary association not found in the areas that have communal tenure. This is the landholders' association. Its importance is that it has leaders, recruited on a non-traditional basis, and by representing the interests of the landholders it

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1] Act No. 18 of 1936.

2] This is probably because of the postulate which Redfield put forward [(1956): op. cit., Chapter V]. Both the communities at Inanda and Shongweni have neighbouring communities where Indian market gardeners make a living. This has not been widely emulated by the Africans.

3] It should be noted that since this report was first drafted, 'Border Industries' are being built in the Shongweni district, and so this area is becoming even less agricultural with the introduction of industrial work for the Africans.



has been able to provide leadership.

The trend towards urbanisation in South Africa is not of recent origin. People who have not moved into town, or as near to town as possible, have not escaped the effect of the urban wage and way of life. People living in Ndwedwe, Inanda, and Shongweni are dependent on the towns. Their life in the country, with its recognised traditionally derived officials, must be accommodated to the demands of wage-earning in towns.

The rural areas are important because they give people a place to live. The person who makes this possible creates obligations in the recipient. He may be the landlord at Shongweni or the chief at Ndwedwe. The equilibrium which people seek is between the security of a home in the country and the necessity of a wage in the town. If there is any preference, the economic necessity to go out and work would make people forego even their residential privileges. The support that a man gives to the leaders in the country is therefore tightly balanced to maintain this equilibrium.

A P P E N D I X    A.  
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Names of Chiefs of the Areas where  
Fieldwork Was Undertaken.

(Appendix A (i))

The following are the names of the chiefs of the areas where fieldwork was undertaken:

(a) Shongweni:

No records could be traced showing the names of chiefs in the area studied.

(b) Ndwedwe:

Chief Mzonjani Ngcobo  
 " Simangenduku Shangase  
 " Batili Chili  
 " Mzingelwa Hlophe  
 " Dumezweni Ngcobo  
 " Ngabayena Khumalo  
 " Sicisini Nzama  
 " Mona Luke Ngcobo  
 " Fana Ngcobo  
 " Mzingezwi Ngcobo  
 " Mziyonke Cibane

Acting  
 Chief Mpungwa Gwala

(c) Inanda:

Chief Philip Mpili, (resident on the Dalmeny Trust Farm) and chief of the Zizimbane Tribe.

A P P E N D I X B

Further Details of Agriculture in the  
Areas Studied:

[A Supplement to Chapter X]

1. Full-Time Farmers:

There are very few full-time farmers. At Inanda there are two people who grow a crop (sugar cane) which they can readily sell for cash (they have a quota with the mill at Mount Edgecombe). In the reserve no cane is grown. During my stay in the reserve I met only five people who were seriously interested in farming as a means of earning a living. With one exception they were men who had retired from work and had turned to farming. The exception was a much younger man who had decided that he could as easily make a living farming as he could as a migrant labourer. The cases of Mokoena and Mhlongo illustrate the type of farming which is done.

'G.M. has been living at home since September 1956 when he decided to start farming. His homestead consists of himself, his wife and one adult son (unmarried) who is away working. There are ten other children from fifteen years of age to a babe in arms. Since his decision to farm, he has ploughed a larger area than he had before; he has cleared land which will be ploughed in due course; he has fenced in most of those fields which are cultivated (and he intends fencing the others); he has developed a system of irrigation which involves dragging water by sled about 400 yards from a spring and storing it in 45 gallon drums. School children who bring him manure which they find in the veld are rewarded with sugar cane. He had four fields ploughed in 1959 with a

(Appendix B (ii))

total of 6.57 acres under cultivation. He had already planted pineapples, potatoes, beans, sweet potatoes and bananas; and he wants to plant orange trees and avocados, but no other fruit trees as yet. He plants some mealies for domestic consumption only. He also grows vegetables - cabbages, tomatoes, pumpkins and carrots. These were originally intended for home consumption, but are now also grown to sell, as there is a steadily increasing demand for them. He keeps two head of cattle (one a cow), but gets very little milk (he thought about 1 pint per day). He also keeps goats. These are penned some distance from the house and the younger children have to herd them. He claims that the family buy only mealies, bread, rice and condiments from the store, all the other food is grown by themselves. He lives by selling his produce locally. Up to the time of the interview (July 1959) he had managed to sell everything locally and had not yet sent anything to market. He reckoned that in an average month he earned about R14.00 to R20.00. He keeps no books so that I was not able to check his figures.

Fields and Earnings:

On 1.03 acres he has planted potatoes, sweet potatoes (and a patch of cane).

On 1.04 acres he has planted beans.

On 1.87 acres he has planted household vegetables.

On 2.63 acres he has planted pineapples.

(Appendix B (iii))

He sold produce to local people at the following prices: pineapples  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents each; potatoes (sold by the container), more or less 12 lbs for 20 cents; bananas 20 for 10 cents; pumpkins were rarely sold (most people at that time had their own) but he said later he would sell them for 5 to 10 cents each. He was busy selling the beans that he had planted and reaped in the previous season; they had been harvested and dried and were sold by the 'tin' (his measure) and were about 4 cents per pound. The beans were of the variety the people call amahlibi.'

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Peasant Farming:

'V.M. worked for South African Railways between 1916 and his retirement in 1946. Since he retired, he has planted groves of oranges, avocado and banana trees. He has a total of four fields (5.75 acres) under cultivation. He lives alone with his wife and rarely employs anyone to help him. When he does employ labour, it consists mostly of women to help weed the lands, and they are employed on a 'togt' basis. Since 1946 he has considerably enlarged the area which he ploughs. He has difficulty with the neighbours, and has had two cases taken to the chief's court about alleged encroachment. He has had one favourable and one unfavourable judgement. The neighbour who won his case against Mhlongo has since moved out of the district and Mhlongo is taking over the disputed land. He says that he now

(Appendix B (iv))

has enough land, and that he will not plough a larger area. Apart from the fruit trees he has planted, he has also mealies, mabele, sweet potatoes, madumbe and vegetables, (mostly cabbages and tomatoes). These he sells locally but he has an arrangement with a (White-owned) store in the New Hanover district which sells his produce for him all the year round. From the local sales, and from sales to the store, he reckons on making R10.00 a month. During June 1959 I was present when he sold oranges locally at 1 cent each. He computes that while he has oranges he makes about R1.00 a week. Mealies he sold (off the cob) at 2 cents per lb. (by measure and not weight). This was slightly less than the store price.

Fields:

- 1.85 vegetables and mealies
- 2.01 sweet potatoes and vegetables and madumbe
- 1.55 pineapples
- 0.34 cabbages and potatoes.

The fruit trees were planted in the less accessible places which could not easily be ploughed. He had a few days previously sold 36 pineapples to the store at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents each and two pockets of avocados (there are an estimated 40 to a pocket) for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents each.

The problem which faces both these people, but



(Appendix B (v))

particularly Mokoena, is how to market their produce. Though the few figures I have show that he is able to sell his goods, Mokoena's market is purely local. If his neighbours were to follow his example, and start cultivating different types of crops, his market might disappear. Access to other markets is a major problem. Mokoena is three-quarters of an hour by mountain footpath from the nearest bus terminus. Though there is a well-developed squatters' market at Verulam, the bus which serves Mokoena connects him directly with Durban, where the competition is much keener. He envisages selling his produce in Durban under a hawker's licence when he has worked up his farm to a high enough level of production. His problem will be one of transport rather than of licences.

The significant aspect of this work is the interest which the neighbours display. Though Mokoena has had disputes about boundaries, they do not appear to be worse than many land disputes the ordinary landowner would have in similar situations. They may be due to envy on the part of his neighbours, but many of these neighbours privately expressed their interest. It was obvious from the beginning that Mokoena was acting on his own initiative without encouragement from the Administration, and the practical results which he has achieved have aroused more interest than the larger betterment scheme a few miles away on the Mhloti.

A P P E N D I X C.

Texts of Some Cases Recorded by the  
Fieldworker or Culled from the  
Chief's Records:

[Appendix to Chapter XII]

(Appendix C (i))

Case 1: Plaintiff: M. Goqo (Official Witness)  
 Defendant: Makavithi Ngcobo.  
 Complaint: Ill-treatment and disrespect to an  
 Official Witness.

The chief began by addressing his classificatory father, Makavithi, by asking whether he had put down his R2.25<sup>1]</sup>, and whether he had paid for the policeman to fetch the witnesses (30 cents)<sup>2]</sup>. Makavithi had not, and before the case could proceed he had to produce the money (which he had ready). Next the chief asked who the witnesses were going to be. He listened to names given by both the defendant and the plaintiff. Immediately their names had been called the induna enkhulu asked them to leave the isigcawu. They did so and formed a small group under some trees about 50 yards away.

Goqo (plaintiff) then put his case. He had been approached by the defendant to officiate at his son's wedding as an official witness. He arrived, and before the bridal party (umthimba) started dancing, he wanted them to come to the spot where he would ask (buza) the girl if she consented. The father of the girl objected, saying that she should dance first, otherwise people would say his daughter was an iqhasha (a woman

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1] The plaintiff should deposit this money, but in this case the plaintiff had laid no charge. Because, however, there had been general complaints about what had happened at the wedding, the chief and the induna enkhulu forced the plaintiff to make a case, but they expected Makavithi to pay the necessary fees.

2] The fee is supposed to be 25 cents.

(Appendix C (ii))

who has had pre-marital sex relations, but not a prostitute). He announced that in the circumstances he would not perform the ceremony and he left. When he was about a mile away he saw that he was being followed by some men. One of the leaders of this group was a son of Makavithi. The men ordered him to go back and he did, under protest. There was a lot of noise at the homestead and he had to buza the girl while many people were threatening him. He had to buza her thirteen times before she said yes.

Makavithi (defendant) replied that he had heard all that had been said. He knew the girl wanted to dance before being buza'd because she was not an iqhasha. The official witness then walked away and later came back to buza the girl. After the ceremony the official witness told him that he had been forced to come back. The chief pointed out that the official witness came because Makavithi had invited him, and that when he came he was the representative of the law (umthethe). He, (Makavithi), as head of the homestead, should have seen what his sons were doing and stopped them. One of Makavithi's sons then interrupted and said it was not right for the chief to blame his father, because it was not his father who had made Goqo come back. The chief dismissed the interruption, saying that he would have nothing to say to the son('boy') while his father was still alive. The son had no authority in his father's homestead. If his sons had acted in this way their father should have reported the matter to him. Because their father did not do so, he presumed they were acting according to their father's

instructions. He wanted to hear the other witnesses.

The induna enkhulu suggested that from Makavithi's evidence it was clear that everybody could see who was wrong. The other witnesses would have nothing more to say. A man from the crowd got up and asked where the father of the girl was. Why was he not present? He was the one who had started the argument with Goqo. The other witnesses then came back and a general discussion followed. Most of them agreed that it was not right to expect a girl to be buza'd before she had danced. One man said that Makavithi could not have these things said about the girl that his son married. The last speaker was asked sharply by the chief why he dragged such irrelevant matters into the case. Next time a witness came here to tell lies on behalf of another man he would fine him.

He then said he would teach the people the law, and invited one of the men home on leave (a sergeant in the South African Police) to stand up and read the real law (umthethe). The latter read from the Zulu version of the Code which stated that the dancing would be preceded by the buza<sup>1]</sup>.

The chief then summed up. He said Makavithi was an elderly man; if he felt his sons were getting out of hand he should complain to the chief. He had not complained and a

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1] The Code in the English version merely says 'at an early stage' - Section 62.

(Appendix C (iv))

situation had developed in his homestead which might have led to a fight. He fined him R20.00 and said if he was not satisfied he could go straight to Ndwedwe.

Case 2:     Plaintiff:   Muziwakhe Msomi.  
               Defendant:   Sigitshwa Zama.  
               Complaint:   Assault.

Muziwakhe who had paid R2.25, was asked to tell the court of his complaint. He said first he did not want to make a case, but his father, Mdumyana (classificatory father, deceased father's brother) had forced him to make a case.

Sigitshwa was paying lobola for Muziwakhe's sister, and had spent a week-end visiting at Msomi's homestead. There had not been enough beer and this had led to an argument about certain presents which had been requested of the Mkhongi. Msomi, acting for his late father, had asked for R10.00 and a bottle of brandy or gavin. Zama had said this was too high; he would get a bottle of gavin but no R10.00. Msomi then said that the sons-in-law (bawanyana) were insulting them. His mother had already complained about the isibizo presents she had been given. Msomi then said that if they felt that way about it they should fight it out. He went and fetched a shield and stick. They fought until his stick broke. He ran home to fetch another stick. He then found that Nsindabeni Zama had joined Sigitshwa. Nsindabeni was always visiting the Msomi homestead because he liked one of the Msomi girls and was

(Appendix C (v))

sleeping (ubepha) with her. The two Zamas tackled Msomi and beat him over the head and on the face.

Cross-examined by an induna, he said that he did not want to lay a charge. He was a young man (insizwe) and he would continue to fight the Zamas but one at a time. A Zama then raised the question of the marriage. He said that the trouble was about the lobola. He said that Mdunyana Msomi (the classificatory father of the plaintiff) should explain all the trouble.

Mdunyana explained that Sigitshwa had already paid a fine (ihlawulo) because he had opened negotiations before the Msomi had finished mourning for their father. The fine had been paid to him (Mdunyana) because he was the guardian of the other Msomis. However, he had paid the fine to Muziwakhe's mother. A lot of argument followed over the right to have asked for the fine and whether one could have a fine and the R10.00. A letter was then displayed in court which appeared to still the argument, but it only stated that apart from isibizo payments R65.00 had already been paid in lobola.

Sigitshwa in his defence said that he had only asked Muziwakhe why he wanted another R10.00 after the fine had been paid. Then Muziwakhe had got angry and pulled out a knife. After much argument, it was established that Muziwakhe did have a knife, one of the bad habits (umkubo umubi) which he had

(Appendix C (vi))

picked up in gaol, according to the chief<sup>1]</sup>.

Sigitshwa was supported by an elder brother, who said that the Mkhongi had had a difficult time with the Msomis. They never knew what those people would be thinking next. They also had had trouble in negotiations with both Mdunyana (guardian) and Muziwakhe. The Zamas pressed the point that, after his brother's death, Mdunyana had wanted to nkena his widow, but had been prevented because his brother had never been properly married. They then insisted that Mdunyana and the Msomis should have nothing to do with the lobola, it was for the Ngcobo of Mlangeni to worry about because they were Muziwakhe's mother's people<sup>2]</sup>.

At this point the chief stopped the proceedings and said it was quite clear that the quarrel between the boys should not have come to court. They should settle their own quarrels, but not in such a way that it caused a disturbance to everybody. He also said it was clear that Muziwakhe's mother was not properly married, that all the problems of lobola should be referred to her people at Mlangeni.

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- 1] Muziwakhe has, it was generally admitted, a long list of convictions. He refused to answer any questions about it, but I was reliably informed of three convictions (although some old ladies mentioned as many as ten).
- 2] By the strange twists of succession the present regent of the Mlangeni is full brother to the woman in question. The participants in the case were aware of this when the matter was discussed.



Case 3: Between Fokuzwayo Mchunu and Delekile Mchunu.

Particulars of Claim: The plaintiff states that his wife had deserted. He reported to the induna, the chief and the police sergeant at Ndwedwe. On his return from Ndwedwe he found his wife at home.

Particulars of Defence: The wife claims she left the house because the husband had assaulted her. She spent the night with relatives at Maphofu. She left a note for her husband.

Judgement: Judgement was awarded against the defendant. She should go back to her husband's homestead. The evidence of the women witnesses is against her.

Case 4: Between Mnyinyinwa Khubisa and Ehebhebe Khubisa.

Particulars of Claim: The plaintiff states that the defendant had agreed to hand over his wattle plantation in exchange for his field with R2.00 to be paid in addition. But instead the defendant gave him a burnt plantation in exchange; moreover he now wants to sell the plantation to him.

Particulars of Defence: The defendant claims that he told the

(Appendix C (viii))

plaintiff that the plantation had been burnt. He further claims that he asked the plaintiff to pay the sum of R2.00 and start buying the plantation. He refused and still maintains the plantation is his, as the sale was not completed. The plaintiff never delivered the field.

Judgement: Was awarded against the defendant. There is sufficient evidence that there has been an exchange. The defendant is sowing the field and the plantation was burnt a long time ago. He should pay costs to the amount of R2.25.

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